WIDENER
HN KDXJ $

Digitized by Google
Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Port. 163.2
Vol 3

Harvard College Library.

FROM THE BEQUEST OF

CHARLES SUMNER, LL.D.,

OF BOSTON,

(Class of 1830).

"For books relating to Politics and Fine Arts."

18 May, 1895.

Digitized by Google

Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE

HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

VOLUME III.

Digitized by Google

Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

FROM THE

REIGN OF D. JOÃO II.

TO THE

REIGN OF D. JOÃO V.

1481–1750.

Digitized by Google

Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

London:
W. Wilfred Head and Mark, Printers,
"Dr. Johnson Press,"
Fleet Lane, Old Bailey, E.C.

Digitized by Google
Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE

HISTORY OF PORTUGAL

FROM THE

REIGN OF D. JOÃO II.

TO THE

REIGN OF D. JOÃO V.

(COMPILED FROM PORTUGUESE HISTORIES.)

BY

EDWARD McMURDO.

VOLUME III.

LONDON:

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, SEARLE, & RIVINGTON

Limited,

St. Dunstan's House,

FETTER LANE, FLEET STREET, E.C.

[ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.]

1889.

Digitized by Google

Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

I.4738.

Port.163.2

HARVARD COLLEGE
MAY 18 1895
LIBRARY.

Summer fund.

Digitized by Google

Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CONTENTS.

PAGE

BOOK THE FIRST: 1481—1495. Reign of D. João II. ... 1

Strifes between the King and the nobility—Cortes of Evora—Protests of the Duke of Braganza—Attitude of D. João II.—Financial Questions—Intrigues with Castille—Judgment of the Duke of Braganza—Sentence of death—He is executed—Further conflicts with nobles—Execution of the effigy of the Marquis de Montemôr—Conspiracies—Death of the Duke of Vizeu—Imprisonment of the Bishop of Evora—Foundation of the Castle of Saint George of Mina—Explorations—Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope—Expedition of Pero da Covilhã and of Alfonso de Paiva—Prester John—War in Barbary—Marriage of the Prince D. Alfonso—Memorable feasts on the occasion of the wedding—Pestilence—Sudden illness of the King—Disastrous death of the Prince D. Alfonso—The impression his death caused throughout the kingdom—Political changes—War of succession—Spanish Jews are admitted into Portugal—Departure of the King to the Algarve—Arrival of Christopher Columbus to Portugal—Intervention of the Holy See—The treaty of Tordesillas—Serious illness of D. João II.—His testament—His death.

BOOK THE SECOND: 1495—1521. Reign of D. Manuel ... 51

Accession of D. Manuel to the throne of Portugal—The house of Braganza—Expulsion of the Jews—Marriage of D. Manuel with D. Isabella—Death of the Infante D. Juan of Castille—D. Manuel and D. Isabella are proclaimed heirs to the throne of Castille—Their arrival at Toledo—Aragon refuses to concur in this acclamation—Birth of Prince D. Miguel, heir to the crown of Castille—Death of the Queen of Portugal—Projects for an African expedition—Death of the prince-heir—D. Manuel marries D. Maria of Castille—Birth of the Infante D. João—Pilgrimage of the King to Compostella—Famine—Pestilence—Earthquakes—Reformation of laws—Expedition to discover India projected—Departure of Vasco da Gama and his fleet—The Canary Islands—The Bay of St. Helena—Bushmen—The Cape of Good Hope—The Creek of S. Braz—Conspiracy against Vasco da Gama—The rivers Inhambane and Quilimane—Arrival

Digitized by Google

Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PAGE

at Mozambique—Bombuçu—Melinde—Arrival at Calicut—The Portuguese worship in a Brahmin temple—Interview with the Samorim—Humiliations of the Portuguese—Hostilities between the Portuguese and Indians—Return of Vasco da Gama to Portugal—Belem—Second expedition to India—Discovery of Brazils—Arrival to Calicut—Misunderstandings arise—Cochim—Return to Lisbon—Other expeditions start—Islands of Ascension and St. Helena—Second expedition of Vasco da Gama to India—Bombardment of the city of Calicut by the Portuguese—Return of Vasco da Gama—Departure and return of other expeditions—Ingratitude of D. Manuel in respect to Duarte Pacheco—First Viceroy of India is appointed—The mission of Francisco de Almeida—Alfonso de Albuquerque—Retirement of Almeida—His death—African strongholds—The expedition of Tristão da Cunha—His discoveries—Action of Alfonso Albuquerque—Conquers Calayate, Curiate, Mascate—Conquest of Ormuz—The city of Goa—Its conquest—Malacca—Death of Alfonso de Albuquerque—Lopo Soares—Governors of India—Island of Ascension—Fernam de Magalhães—His voyage of circumnavigation—Expedition of Gregorio de Quadra—Project of crossing Africa from the Congo to Abyssinia—D. Manuel sends an embassy to Rome—Arrival of an embassy from Abyssinia—Antonio Carneiro—Death of the Queen D. Maria—Third marriage of D. Manuel with D. Leonor—Birth of D. Maria—Marriage of D. Beatriz—Death of D. Manuel.

BOOK THE THIRD: 1521—1557. Reign of D. João III. ... 119

D. João III.—Sketch of his life—Departure of the Queen-mother to Castille—Marriage of D. João III. with D. Catherina—Religious movement—The Governors of India—Vasco da Gama nominated Viceroy—His viceroyship and death—Defence of Diu—Estevão da Gama—Expedition to the Red Sea—Taking of the fortress of Diu—Departure of Martim Affonso de Sousa—Saint Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies—D. João de Castro is appointed Governor of India—Second defence of Diu—First establishment of the Portuguese in China—Missions to Japan—The services rendered by the Portuguese Jesuits in the cause of religion and science—Lourenço Marques—Colonisation of the Brazils—Defence of the coast of Portugal—The corsairs of Argel and France—The internal and foreign policy of D. João III.—The decadence of the kingdom of Portugal—Its causes—Death of D. João III.—The state of the country at that epoch.

BOOK THE FOURTH: 1557—1578. D. Sebastian 155

Birth and infancy of D. Sebastian—His minority—Regency of D. Catherina—Nomination of D. Constantino de Braganza Governor of India—His acts and victories—Brazil—Foundation of the city of Rio de Janeiro—D. Catherina abdicates in favour of D. Henrique—Meeting of the Cortes—The Regency of the Cardinal Infante—The state of the Portuguese possessions during the Regency of D. Henrique—D. Henrique

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PAGE

delivers up the Regency to D. Sebastian—Character of D. Sebastian—Influence of his education—His tutor and preceptor—Choice of ministers—Sumptuary laws issued—Reduction in value of copper money—Projects of alliance and marriage with D. Sebastian and a Princess of France—Conduct of Philip II. of Spain—Pestilence—Palace intrigues—Attempted departure of the Queen D. Catherina for Castille—Projects of a Holy War—Arrival of a legate from Rome—New Viceroy appointed for India—Triumphs achieved by D. Luiz de Athayde—Indian Princes ally together to expel the Portuguese—Successes of the Portuguese against the Indians in Gôa, Chaul, and other places—Disastrous expedition to the Brazils—First expedition of D. Sebastian to Africa—Ceuta and Tangiers—He returns to Portugal—Fall of the Camaras—New council of ministers—D. Sebastian seeks aid from Philip II. of Spain—The State of Barbary—Intestine wars, which afforded a pretext for an African war—D. Sebastian prepares a second expedition to Africa—Refusal of Philip II. to send the promised aid—Tributes are levied—Opinions of the Portuguese respecting the projected expedition—Proposals of peace from the Moors—Secret projects of D. Philip II.—State of India—Beheading of the Governor of Chale, D. João de Castro—Intrigues at the Court, and with the new Governor—Preparations for the second expedition to Africa—Blessing of the royal standard—D. Sebastian embarks in the royal galley—Departure of the fleet from Lisbon—Arrival to Ceuta—Fresh proposals of peace rejected—Battle of Alcacer Kibir—D. Sebastian is lost.

BOOK THE FIFTH: 1578—1580. CARDINAL D. HENRIQUE ... 219

Consternation caused in the kingdom by the disaster of Alcacer Kibir—Fate of the prisoners—Coronation of the Cardinal King—The measures taken at the commencement of his reign—The ransom of the noble prisoners—D. Francisco da Costa is left as a hostage—His death in exile—Machinations of Philip II.—The people rise up against the ransomed nobles—Reports are spread that D. Sebastian is not dead—Policy of D. Philip II.—Pretenders to the throne of Portugal—Corruption of the Portuguese alcaides and nobility—D. Christovão de Moura—The treasury of Castille becomes exhausted—Philip II. issues Cedulas—The Cardinal D. Henrique solicits dispensation from Rome—A marriage is projected—D. Antonio, the Prior of Crato—Refuses the offer of Philip of Spain—The Duke of Braganza declines the kingship and possession of the Algarve—D. Henrique summons a council to declare his project of marriage—Claims of Philip II.—D. Henrique summons a Cortes in Lisbon—Hostilities manifested by the representatives—Project of marriage again broached by D. Henrique—Approval of the Cortes—Departure of Christovão de Moura—His return as Ambassador of Spain—The Cardinal summons to the palace the three arms of the State—They are constrained to take the oath prescribed by the Cardinal King—Proposals of the Prior of Crato to Philip II.—A Junta is formed and sentence of illegitimacy is given against D. Antonio—He is sentenced to exile—Appeals to Rome—Proposals of Christovão de Moura—The Governors of the kingdom are elected—Intrigues of Castille—Famine and pestilence—Irresolution of D. Henrique—Five governors are appointed—Philip II.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PAGE

prepares for war—Dangers of an Iberian union—England seeks an alliance with France—Sends an ambassador to Portugal—Interference of the Court of Rome—Philip II. replies to the Pope—The Prior of Crato is summoned to the Court—Refuses to obey—Is deprived of all rights and privileges, and exiled—Negotiations with Philip II.—The Duke of Braganza is offered Brazils in compensation for the kingship of Portugal—The elections—Cortes opened in Almeirim—Phebus Moniz—Public manifestations in favour of D. Antonio—Declaration of D. Henrique in favour of Philip II.—Attempts at a reconciliation with the representatives of Lisbon, Evora, Oporto, Coimbra, and Santarem—The Duchess of Braganza solicits and obtains an audience from D. Henrique—Enthusiastic reception of the Duchess by the people—Last moments of the Cardinal King—His death—Impressions caused by his death—Difficulties of the Governors—Efforts of the pretenders—Queen Elizabeth of England is besought as an ally—Her reply—Dissolution of the Cortes—Pope Gregory XIII. claims the crown of Portugal—Philip II. prepares for war—The direction of the campaign is entrusted to the Duke of Alba—The governors of fortresses are suborned—Threats of Philip II.—Foreign aid is invoked—The governors become terrified—Attempt to sell the Crown jewels—Phebus Moniz endeavours to reconcile the Portuguese pretenders—Philip II. departs from Madrid to the frontier—Reviews his troops—Surrender of various strongholds—Tumult in Santarem—D. Antonio demands the surrender of the castle—Flight of the governors—The army of the Duke de Alba enters Portugal—Solemn entry of D. Antonio—Proclamation of Philip II.—Victory of the Spanish army in Alcantara—D. Antonio flies—His efforts to reorganise another army—Illness of Philip II.—Death of the Queen of Castille—Pursuit of D. Antonio—His adventures—Takes refuge in France.

BOOK THE SIXTH: 1580—1598. PHILIP II. OF SPAIN (FIRST OF PORTUGAL) 287

Entry of Philip II. into Portugal—The Cortes of Thomar—First expedition to the Azores against D. Antonio—Departure of the Pretender from Belle Isle—Second expedition under the command of the Marquis of Santa Cruz—Naval battle of Villa Franca—Victory of the Spanish arms—Return of Philip II. to Madrid—Government of the Archduke Albert—The King of Penamacor—The King of Ericeira—Relations are severed between England and Spain—The Armada—The last undertaking and death of D. Antonio—The pastrycook of Madrigal—Death of Philip II.—The government of Philip II.—Popular discontent—The Colonies—India—Brazils—Reforms—Instructions of the Catholic King to his successor.

BOOK THE SEVENTH: 1598—1621. REIGN OF D. PHILIP III. OF SPAIN (SECOND OF PORTUGAL) 319

The new King—Appointment of Christovão de Moura as Viceroy of Portugal—Marco Tullio, the false D. Sebastian—The Sebastianistas—The new Christians—Demission of D. Christovão de Moura—The Bishop of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PAGE

Coimbra—Treaties with England and France—Amnesty of Spain with Holland—Discontent in Portugal—State of public finance—Government of the Marquis of Castello Rodrigo—Projected voyage of Philip III.—Death of Christovão de Moura—Financial reforms—Conflict with the Roman Curia—The Count das Salinas is nominated Viceroy—Journey of Philip III. to Portugal—His entry into Lisbon—The Cortes—Precipitate departure of the King for Madrid—Death of Philip III.

BOOK THE EIGHTH: 1621—1640. REIGN OF PHILIP IV. OF SPAIN (THIRD OF PORTUGAL) 335

Situation of Spain—The new King—Measures relative to Portugal—Discontent—Reforms—The Colonies—India—Invasion of the Dutch in Bahia—Its conquest—Retaken by the Portuguese—Wreck of the Indian fleet—Fresh subsidies demanded—Offer of the Portuguese Jews—Fall of Pernambuco—Marriage festivities—Fleets are sent to aid Pernambuco—Meeting of the Spanish and Dutch fleets—A forced loan is exacted from the Portuguese—Commerce absorbed by the Dutch—Mischievous policy of Spain—Duchess of Mantua appointed to govern Portugal—Miguel de Vasconcellos nominated Secretary of State—Discontent in Portugal—Domineering character of Vasconcellos—Serious disturbances take place—The Archbishop of Evora endeavours to put down the riot—Distrust of the populace—Attitude of the Count de Basto—The revolutionists take possession of Evora—The leaders seek to enkindle a revolt in other places—Timidity of the Duke of Braganza—The Duchess of Mantua endeavours to calm the revolt—Demands of Linares—Juntas formed by Olivares on the frontiers of Portugal—Approach of the Spanish army—Devastates and sacks Portugal—Withdrawal from Portugal of all influential persons—Violent measures are taken—New oppressions—A Nuncio appointed for Portugal—Interdict fulminated on the authorities—The Nuncio takes refuge in the Convent of S. Francis—Destruction of the Spanish fleet by the Dutch Admiral Tromp—Loss of the squadron of Count da Torre in Brazils—Political aims of France—Visit of the Duke of Braganza to the Duchess of Mantua—Demonstrations in Lisbon—Disturbances at Catalonia—The nobility are ordered to accompany the King to the Cortes of Aragon—The house of Braganza—Character of D. João of Braganza—His hesitation to assume the Crown of Portugal—Meetings of the nobles—The revolution of 1st of December—The nobles attack the palace—Death of Vasconcellos—The Duchess of Mantua is arrested—D. João of Braganza proclaimed King of Portugal—Surrender of the castles and towns.

BOOK THE NINTH: 1640—1656. REIGN OF D. JOÃO IV. 377

Coronation of D. João IV.—Impression caused by the Revolution—First Cortes—Entry of the Queen—Adhesion to the new Government of various Portuguese possessions—The Colonies—D. Francisco de Lucena appointed Prime Minister—Portuguese deserters from the Spanish army

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PAGE

—The students of Salamanca—Indignation at Madrid against Olivares—The defences of the kingdom—Division of the provinces into districts—Organisation of a fleet—Plots against the Portuguese—Execution of the conspirators—Imprisonment and death of the Bishops—Skirmishes on the Alemtejo—The King proceeds in person to Alemtejo—Invasion of Estremadura—The taking of Salvatierra—Battle of Montijo—Albuquerque is rewarded with the title of Count de Alegrete—Attempt of Baron de Mollingen to enter Portugal—Deposition of the Count-Duke Olivares—The Infante D. Duarte is bidden to come to Portugal—His arrest through treachery—He is delivered over to the Spanish Government—His imprisonment and death—Francisco de Lucena is accused of felony—Found guilty of high treason—Condemned to death—Disastrous state of the possessions of Portugal—First battle and victory on the mountain Das Tabocas—Stratagem of the Governor of Bahia—Siege of Recife—Henrique Dias—Antonio Filippe Camarão—Fierce combat on the mountains, Gararapes—Organisation of a General Company of Commerce—Capitulation of Recife, Parahyba, Rio Grande, and Itamaraca—Restoration of Maranhão—State of the Portuguese forces of Ceylon—Defence of Colombo—Conquest of Angola—Restoration of St. Thomé and Benguella—Marriage negotiations—Proclamation respecting the succession—The Prince heir, D. Theodosio, enters Elvas—His illness and death—Prince D. Alfonso is proclaimed heir to the throne—Attitude of the foreign powers in respect to Portugal—Treaty of peace signed between the King of Portugal and Cromwell—Failing health of D. João IV.—His death—By his will the Queen is appointed Regent—Character of D. João IV.—His prudence and good sense.

BOOK THE TENTH: 1656—1683. Reign of D. Alfonso VI. 407

Minority of D. Alfonso VI.—Regency of the widowed Queen—Want of intelligence of the Royal child—Rumours of substituting D. Pedro to the throne—Discords—Party feuds—Character of the Regent—Impression caused by the death of João IV. in Madrid—War projects—Fall of Elvas and Mourão—Reconquest of Mourão by Mendes de Vasconcellos—Siege of Badajoz—Horrors of the siege—Attack on Elvas—Victory of the Portuguese troops—Unfavourable condition of the Provinces—Loss of Monção and Salvaterra—The youth and character of D. Alfonso VI.—Antonio and João Conti—Influence of the Contis over the spirit of the King—Their expulsion by the Queen-Regent—Complaints brought against the King—His indifference—He is induced to fly to Alcantara—He demands the government of the kingdom—The Queen-Regent abdicates—Machinations of the ex-Regent—Accession of D. Alfonso VI. to the throne—The Privy Secretary, the Count de Castello Melhor—The Queen-Mother is ordered to quit the palace—She retires to the monastery at Grilo—Conspires with the Infante D. Pedro to depose the King—Marriage of D. Catherina with Charles II. of England—Tangiers and Bombay are bestowed on England as her marriage portion—Charles II. promises to aid Portugal—Departure of the bride—Arrival to Portsmouth—Arrival of the exiled Contis—D. John of Austria harasses the Portuguese in the Alemtejo—Siege of Evora—Its humiliating surrender—Panic in Lisbon—Tumults of the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PAGE

people against the nobility—Lisbon is threatened by an invasion—Reinforcements arrive from Beira—Skirmishes take place on the shores of the Degebe—Position taken by the Spanish army—Plan of action of D. John de Austria—The Portuguese charge the Spaniards—The battle and victory of Ameixial—The news produces immense enthusiasm in Portugal—Reception of the Generals—Valencia de Alcantara—Its surrender—Defeat of the Duke de Ossuna—Taking of Borba—Villa Viçosa—Battle of Montes Claros—Victory of the Portuguese—State of India—Treaty of peace between Alfonso VI. and the Low Countries—Holland renounces its claims to the possession of Brazils—Portugal cedes its rights to Ceylon—Moluccas and other lands held by the Dutch—The Infante D. Pedro manifests himself hostile to the King—Death of the Queen-Mother—Death of Philip IV. of Spain—D. Marianna of Austria appointed Regent—Negotiations of marriage of the King of Portugal with the Princess of Savoy—Dowry of the bride elect—Departure of the future Queen of Portugal from France—The Spaniards project to capture the escorting fleet—Entry of the bride into Lisbon—Influence of the Queen—Party conflicts—French influences—England enters into negotiations with the Spanish Cabinet—System of duplicity pursued by Louis XIV.—The Queen-Regent of Spain refuses the Portuguese ultimatum—Skilful proceedings of the Count de Castello Melhor—Conspiracy of the Infante D. Pedro—The Queen demands the dismissal of the Secretary of State—Refusal of the King—D. Pedro sides with the Queen—The palace is doubly guarded—Indignation of D. Pedro—He demands the dismissal of the Prime Minister—His resignation and retirement—Recall of the Secretary of State—Hostile attitude taken by D. Pedro—He proceeds to the King's apartments—D. Alfonso VI. orders him to deliver up his sword—Excitement of the populace—Coercion of D. Pedro—The King attempts to fly to the Alemtejo—The Queen separates from her husband—She enters the Convent—She demands a judicial separation—The King yields to the demands of D. Pedro and announces his rights to the throne—The Cortes are convoked—D. Alfonso VI. declares the nullity of the marriage—Sentence is pronounced annulling the marriage—The Infante D. Pedro marries the divorced Queen—Banishment of D. Alfonso VI. to the island of Terceira—Conflict of parties—Birth of D. Isabel—The Cortes—Return of D. Alfonso VI.—He is taken to Cintra—Project of marriage of the Infanta D. Isabel—Insult offered by Savoy—Death of D. Alfonso VI.—Declining health of the Queen—End of the Regency of D. Pedro.

BOOK THE ELEVENTH: 1683—1706. REIGN OF D. PEDRO II. 449

D. Pedro II. takes possession of the kingdom—Death of the Queen—Second marriage of the King—State of Europe—The throne of Spain disputed—The Treaty of Partition—Duke de Anjou is chosen King of Spain—Ascends the throne under the title of Philip V.—Portugal acknowledges him—Treaty of mutual alliance—Death of D. Isabel—The widowed Queen of England—Treaties—War rumours—Declaration of war between Philip V. and Pedro II.—Events in Portugal—The Duke of Berwick—Capture of Valença d'Alcantara—Entry into Catalonia—

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PAGE

Character of the Catalans—The taking of Brozas—Surrender of Alcantara—Charles III. acknowledged in Catalonia—Progress of the Allies—Entry into Madrid—Death of the Queen of Portugal—Character of the Ministers of D. Pedro II.—Death of D. Catherina of Braganza—Illness of the King D. Pedro II.—Despondency of his latter days—Pitiable state of the country—Death of D. Pedro II.—Description of his children—Retrospect of his government—Three great events of his reign.

BOOK THE TWELFTH: 1706—1750. REIGN OF D. JOÃO V. 47

D. João V.—Battle of Almanza—Arrival to Lisbon of the Marquis das Minas and Lord Galway—Portuguese losses—Marriage of D. João V. with the Archduchess Marianna of Austria—Signing of the treaty—Continuation of war with Spain—State of French affairs—Victory at Caia—Campaigns on the frontiers—Treaty of Utrecht—Armistice between Portugal and Spain—Treaty of peace—Bitter feelings of the Spaniards and Portuguese—Return of the Portuguese troops to Portugal—Energetic action taken by D. Pedro d'Almeida—Enthusiastic reception of the troops at Olivença—General peace of Europe—New distribution of its Map—State of Brazils—Affray between French and Portuguese corsairs—Bombardment of Guaratiba—The government of D. João V.—Foundation of the Academia Real da Historia Portugueza—War declared by Charles VI. against Achmet—Clement XI. beseeches the aid of Portugal—Departure of the fleet—The allied fleets attack the Mussalman squadrons—Return of the Portuguese fleet to Lisbon—Erection of the Patriarchal See—Matrimonial treaties for the marriage of the heirs to the thrones of Portugal and Spain—Erection of the Palace of Vendas Novas—The ambassador of Madrid affronted—Political state of Europe—Poland—The Princes Jaques and Constantine Sobiesky—Stanislaus Leczinsky—The Infante D. Manuel is put forward as a candidate to the throne of Poland—The alliance of Portugal besought—France offers to mediate—Portugal solicits the aid of England—A fleet departs from England—An army is raised by D. João V.—Capture of the colony of Sacramento—Convention between Spain and Portugal—War between Spain and England—Smuggling on the American coasts—Portugal maintains her neutrality—Seven years' war—Cordial relations established between Spain and Portugal—Portugal is besought to mediate with the Powers—Treaty of peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Erection of Mafra—Convent of das Necessidades—D. João V. is stricken with paralysis—The Queen assumes the government of the kingdom—The Mosaic Chapel of S. John the Baptist—Public works—The aqueduct, hydraulic works, baths—The Mint—Goldmines—Diamond fields—Fleets to convoy merchant ships—Treaty of demarcation—Angola—Character of the King—Arts, letters, and science—Manufactures—Death of D. João V.—His children—Literary movements during the reign of D. João V.—Decrees against defacement of monuments—Conclusion.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

VOLUME III.

BOOK THE FIRST.

1481—1495.

REIGN OF D. JOAO II.

Strifes between the King and the nobility—Cortes of Evora—Protests of the Duke of Braganza—Attitude of D. João II.—Financial Questions—Intrigues with Castille—Judgment of the Duke of Braganza—Sentence of death—He is executed—Further conflicts with nobles—Execution of the effigy of the Marquis de Montemôr—Conspiracies—Death of the Duke of Vizeu—Imprisonment of the Bishop of Evora—Foundation of the Castle of Saint George of Mina—Explorations—Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope—Expedition of Pero da Covilhã and of Alfonso de Paiva—Prester John—War in Barbary—Marriage of the Prince D. Alfonso—Memorable feasts on the occasion of the wedding—Pestilence—Sudden illness of the King—Disastrous death of the Prince D. Alfonso—The impression his death caused throughout the kingdom—Political changes—War of succession—Spanish Jews are admitted into Portugal—Departure of the King to the Algarve—Arrival of Christopher Columbus to Portugal—Intervention of the Holy See—The treaty of Tordesillas—Serious illness of D. João II.—His testament—His death.

THE reign which is now commencing marks the opening of a new era.

We are entering the arena of a tragedy; we are to be spectators of a drama of grandest power and action; we shall see acts unfolded before our view enacted during the reign of the inflexible King D. João II., surnamed the Perfect Prince, which are both tragic and grand, luminous and darksome.

On the 31st August, 1481, D. João II. was proclaimed King of Portugal, and his first act was to summon the Cortes in Evora. These Cortes being the theatre wherein the wrestling between monarch and nobility was to take place.

D. João II., unlike his father, was of a cold, perseverant, concentrated nature. He was a man of rigid temper, cast in a mould fitted

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

for the especial circumstances in which he found the country. The public treasury was empty of gold, but full of responsibilities. The nobility, strengthened by the large favours which it had received from D. Alfonso V., not only absorbed a great part of the resources of the country, but had accustomed itself to rule royal power and to crush the popular classes. Two noble houses—the house of Braganza and the house of Vizeu—represented, so to say, so many other petty monarchies, which withdrew prestige and wealth from the successor to the Crown of Portugal. The character of the new king had been formed in the precocious experiences of life, and the lesson of the deplorable events which embittered the life of his father D. Alfonso V. The death of his grandfather, the Infante D. Pedro; the premature demise of his mother, whose pure, dove-like life had been wounded by the thorns of a palace intrigue; the rough work and labours of the war in Africa; the disillusions experienced by his father in the Court of France, and many other events, which it is needless to recapitulate, served to recast the soul of the successor of Alfonso V. in the iron mould of great characters, cold and hard.

The nobles should have known this, were they not blinded by their own omnipotence. They judged themselves strong, invulnerable, invincible; and as they at once perceived that the King bent towards the popular arm, they judged they saw in this a proof of weakness and cowardice. But weakness was not the character of the new King, and this fact the nobility were to experience at no distant date.

"Patient so long as the opportunity did not appear," says Rebello da Silva, "D. João II. watched them from afar and near; he placed a shadow close to each one of the fidalgos, and, invisible to them, he assisted at their cabals, and did not for a single moment betray the deep dissimulation with which he deceived them, pretending to be calm and unsuspicious, in order not to alarm them.

"Confiding in the analogy of interests which existed between his cause and that of the middle classes, and resolved upon not allowing the Crown to be scorned or trodden under foot, he watched calmly and sternly the tempest which was brewing, and, without despising it, awaited that it should burst, that the hour should strike to resort to a sudden daring stroke. Meanwhile, in the Cortes the representatives of the people were flinging the gauntlet fearlessly down before the privileged ones, and were rudely tearing asunder the hands which concealed the raw wounds and sores of the country, under the conviction that the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

new monarch would not resent this liberty. They were well aware that however loud might rise the cry of pain of the oppressed, the ears of the King would not be offended, rather to the contrary, he would listen to them, if not with pity, at least with benevolence.

"As might be expected, the States opened their long series of complaints with the chapters relative to the privileges and abuses of the nobility; and one of the first was that in respect to the jurisdiction of the lords of their lands.

"Observing that they could not add anything new to what they had so often laid before the King D. Alfonso V. in that respect, the representatives of the Councils noted, to *satisfy the commands of the sovereign*, that justice had been laid aside long since by their chief master, deploring that many important places, as well as others of lesser note, and many notable ones, should be dismembered from the royal dominion, notwithstanding that they were so worthy of honours and charters, in order to be given to the nobles, who treated the inhabitants with inhuman rigour.

"In conclusion they besought the King to demand the title deeds of the donations made, and order an investigation to be made of the claims on which they were based, and join to the Crown the lands proved to have been usurped, and also such lands as, although not proved doubtful, had nevertheless abused their privileges.

"As regarded such gifts over which there could arise no contestation or grievance, they proposed that those holding them should be further confirmed in their rights, but adding the clause that at the death of the present owners the properties should revert to the State.

"The hand of D. João II. had most certainly guided the pen of the wise individuals who had drawn up the chapter in which was so faithfully portrayed his thought; and his reply would suffice to demonstrate this, even did the revelations of the chroniclers not supply us with the needful links to the policy and intentions of the son of D. Alfonso V.

"The evident intention of the Prince was to adopt as his own the providences which by his art the Cortes were to lay before him. The new monarch was in no ways ignorant of the history of many of these properties and donations, not conceded, but clutched almost by sheer force.

"The means proposed were violent, and the inquiry besought had been attempted by many of his predecessors, but with no definite result; but, resolute and desirous of restoring to the dominion of the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Crown many properties whose loss impoverished the State, the King reckoned on his own stout will to level down all difficulties, and was not disposed to retreat one single step."

Such is the explanation given for his immediate and explicit assent to the petitions of the people.

When, in his reply, thanking them for what they had advanced respecting the towns and lands withdrawn from the heritage of the Crown through the liberality of the monarchs who had ruled before him; and by informing the Cortes that he had appointed competent persons to examine the validity of the deeds and titles of the grants made up to the time of his accession to the throne, the grandson of the Infante D. Pedro clearly defined the position he was taking. Therefore, by placing himself on the side of the Councils and upholding them, he virtually cast down the gauntlet anew with the point of his lance, that gauntlet which at his suggestions had been flung in the face of the nobility.

War was therefore declared—a war which D. João II. hoped, with the aid of the masses, to terminate with advantage, and by increasing his prerogatives. Continuing the proposed reform, he ordered his magistrates (*corregedores*), heedless of the protests of the nobles, to enter into the lands of such as held jurisdictions, and investigate the abuses and violence said to be practised in the administration of justice. By this he virtually claimed one of the most important rights of the sovereignty, and boldly rent asunder the privileges of the most powerful favourites of his father. These resolutions, taken at the very commencement of the reign, formed the basis of the revolution commenced by D. João II. in favour of monarchical union.

"Should the lords allow this, royal supremacy was at once acknowledged, and the path was cleared for similar or greater attacks. If they resisted, and a civil strife broke out, D. João II. would prefer war to debasement of royal power and the forced abdication of its most valued prerogatives."

Under these conditions did D. João II. launch into a strife which his predecessors had already attempted in part.

The first kings of the Portuguese Monarchy had made large concessions—principally as rewards of military services, and proofs of their religious sentiments—to monasteries and cathedrals. Such concessions were invested with the character of *feuds* based on the right of the strongest due to physical force or moral authority. Hence,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

since the first periods of the Monarchy we find feudalism established in Portugal, a system of social organisation introduced into the country by the Germanic people which invaded the peninsula at the time of the overthrow of the Roman Empire of the West.

It has been a point of historical controversy whether feudalism strictly so characterised had existed in the Hispanic Peninsula. Much has been written *pro* and *con* on this subject. We are inclined to accept the authenticity of feudalism in the peninsula because both its characters of servitude of the people, and the weakening of royal power which everywhere distinguishes feudalism, are found in it.

Another important question is still allied to this subject. Studied in its consequences and in its relations with sociology, was the feudal system an evil or a benefit? Montesquieu holds that feudal laws "*ont fait des biens et des maux infinis*," and Sr. Escosura writes as follows: "In the Middle Ages shone like luminous torches the Empire of Theodoric in Italy, Justinian in Byzantium, Charlemagne in the West; the two most famous Councils were celebrated, the Church was organised, the tutelar power of the Roman Pontificate was confirmed, colossal temples were raised, those magnificent basilicas, and grand edifices, primary and immortal works of architecture. It was then that the Crusades took place, those celebrated pilgrimages to conquer the Sepulchre of Christ, and to unfurl the standard of the Cross over the walls of the Holy City of David; then did renowned knights come forth on the field of honour to defend virtue, to protect the helpless orphans, to maintain the honour and purity of virgins, and to support the widows. It was in feudal times that the poets and troubadours began to sing about the bravery and heroism shown in singular combats, and of beauty and love hidden amid the turrets of the castle. In those days came forth chroniclers and narrators who gathered together historic events, and then commenced attempts at polite literature. From thence dates the formation of the Communes, the development of public liberties, and the assembly of the classes for the establishment of the laws and concessions of subsidies. And, lastly, at the expiration of the feudal system it bequeathed to the nations two magnificent dowries of priceless value—the invention of printing and the discovery of a New World."

Personally D. João II. ought to detest Louis XI., on account of the duplicity and low manner in which he had received his father in France. Politically, he took him as his model in the terrible conflict he was

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

engaged in, excepting the differences of character. João II. imitated Louis XI. not only in his especial conceits, but even in his dissimulation and cruelty. But he was more patient, and did not venture to take a step unless he was sure of a firm footing.

The feudal lords, who in France had assisted Charles VII. to expel the English, were certainly not more powerful than the Portuguese nobles, who in Portugal had supplanted the Infante D. Pedro.

The Duke of Braganza was relatively as important a noble as the Duke of Burgandy. This identity of circumstances induced D. João II. to copy the example set by Louis XI.

In the same manner as the King of France initiates his reign by proclaiming war against the nobility, so does the King of Portugal endeavour at the first Cortes held after the proclamation to fling the gauntlet to his rivals by laying down the form of homage to be offered him. It was the cartel for the challenge, the call to war.

Previous to taking their oaths of fealty, the King demanded of the Duke of Braganza and other nobles, as well as members of the Council, to use certain words which were laid down in the formula, and these words were to be repeated many times in form of homage. This new formula gave rise to discontent, bitter contentions, and opposition, as being too exacting and harsh.

But notwithstanding the opposition of the Duke of Braganza in the name of the nobility, João II. insisted upon the new form being used. As may be imagined, this clearly manifested the intentions of the King; and the Duke of Braganza, by rising to protest, shows that he, with the rest of the nobility, had not understood his character, and judged him to be weak, and that he could be intimidated by their resistance.

As the Duke of Braganza required the title deeds of his properties, which were at Villa Viçosa, in a private cabinet, wherein he kept his important documents, he sent the key to his majordomo, João Alfonso, bidding him to seek them and forward them to him. It appears João Alfonso delegated a son of his, in whom he had perfect trust, to seek for these documents. But whilst the son was searching the cabinet, the Duke's attorney, Lopo de Figueiredo, happened by chance to enter the room, and was desired by the young man to assist him in the search. Whilst engaged in seeking among the Duke's private papers for these documents, he found a packet in which were letters and private instruc-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

tions from the sovereign of Castille, and copies of letters in reply, with emendations and corrections in the Duke's handwriting. These papers clearly revealed a secret conspiracy.

Lopo de Figueiredo was able to conceal this packet in the sleeve of his coat unperceived by the young man. He sped home and carefully perused them, and at once proceeded to Evora, to show them to the King, who took note of them, and had them copied by Antão de Faria, and then desired Lopo de Figueiredo to replace them in the case from whence he had taken them without arousing any suspicions.

These letters and papers were as follows: One was from the Count de Athouguia to the Duke of Braganza, another from the Duke to Lopo de Athouguia, another from Lopo to the Duke, one from the Duke to the Infanta D. Beatriz, and another from the Queen D. Isabella to the Duke. Without revealing an actual treachery, it showed that the Duke did not scruple to win in Castille allies against the enmity which he fully expected from the new sovereign, and which the Infanta D. Beatriz, mother of the Duke of Vizeu, attracted by the prospect of the marriage of her son with a daughter of the Kings of Castille, was inclined to aid the plans of the Duke of Braganza.

The King disguised the joy which this discovery had afforded him, and manifested himself, says Ruy de Pina, "sad and pensive" when speaking to his favourite, Antão de Faria. It is possible that at the moment when he was about to engage in a death struggle with the most powerful lord of Portugal he should feel some hesitation, but which could only be momentary in the intrepid soul of the Warrior of Arzilla and Toro.

But D. João calmly allowed events to take their course; he held in his hands the thread with which to direct them. From the moment that Lopo de Figueiredo placed in the hands of his sovereign the honour and life of the Duke, the strife between D. João II. and the fidalgos assumes an especial character, which causes a shudder to posterity who knows the unravelling of the tragedy.

Without revealing by any possible manner that he is cognisant of the most intimate secrets of the Duke, D. João allows him to be involved more and more in the web which insensibly entangles him.

A sinister impression is caused in the mind on beholding this thoughtless yet aged nobleman manifesting daily a growing arrogance as he works his plot against the King; and the latter, a young man of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

six-and-twenty, more and more dissimulating, keeping cool, silent, impassive, and at times even timid and affectionate; whilst at the same time he is raising in the shadow the scaffold of Evora.

And while all this is going on, the representatives of the people continue to propose to the Cortes, and the King to adopt diverse measures, tending to lower the preponderance of the nobility.

The Adiantados, instituted by Alfonso V., high functionaries belonging to the nobility, were abolished. The system of distributing public finance was also better organised, in reply to the complaints of the people against the prodigality of D. Alfonso V.

About this time a pestilence broke out in Evora, which compelled the King to transfer the Cortes to Montemôr-o-Novo.

It was there that he experienced the first symptoms of the ill-will of the nobles.

The Archbishop of Braga was lodged in a house belonging to a person in the service of the Marquis of Montemôr. This irritated the Marquis very much, and he treated so rudely the Archbishop that the latter complained to the King. The King acted energetically, but without exceeding the limits of justice. He bade the Marquis hold himself under arrest in his own castle, and from thence, after five days, to cross the Tagus and await further orders.

The Marquis obeyed, but manifested himself sorely aggrieved at the proceeding of the King. The latter, however, summoned a Council to judge him, and promised to abide by the opinion of its members.

The Marquis de Montemôr was a brother of the Duke of Braganza, and judged he could revolt with impunity against the hand that was lifted up to punish him. Hence, from Castello Branco, where he had withdrawn to, he sent a messenger with secret instructions to the Kings of Castille to effect some understanding with them. But D. João II. was following him step by step. The emissary of the Marquis de Montemôr was one Pero Jusarte, a citizen of the type of Lopo de Figueiredo, who was not long before he was transformed into a spy of D. João II.

Previous to dealing the blow he meditated, D. João II. desired to effect a project he had much at heart. His only son, D. Alfonso, was placed as hostage, together with the Princess D. Isabella, daughter of the King of Castille, in Moura, in the hands of the Infanta D. Beatriz, with whom, by the letters found by Lopo de Figueiredo, there were suspicions of complicity with the Duke of Braganza. It was possible

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

that danger might accrue to the Prince D. Alfonso as soon as the Duke should be menaced by the impatient dagger of D. João II. Hence the great wish of the sovereign was to dissolve these treaties of hostages, and doubtless it was equally desired by the sovereigns of Castille, who dearly loved their daughter far from them in Moura, a locality which in those days was considered unhealthy.

Therefore, D. João II. sent an embassy composed of the Baron d'Alvito and Ruy de Pina, he who was later on to consign to posterity in his *Chronicles* the whole history of this drama in which he was both spectator and actor.

This embassage, however, did not have the result desired by the King. The sovereigns of Castille were forewarned by the Duke of Braganza and his adherents, who desired nothing less than that the treaty respecting the hostages should be annulled, but feared some sinister intentions of war in the action taken by D. João II. Their fears were further confirmed when some individuals, said to be emissaries of the King of Portugal charged with negotiating the marriage of D. Joanna, the Excellent Lady, with King Phebus of Navarre, were arrested. Hence they were little disposed to accede to the wishes expressed by the ambassadors. It was true, nevertheless, that D. João II., who always retained the Excellent Lady as a threat to the monarchs of Castille, had manifested a desire to arrange this marriage in order to counteract the conspiracy of the Castillian sovereigns with the principal nobles of the Portuguese Court. Therefore, Ferdinand and Isabella refused to listen to negotiations of peace so long as the King of Portugal did not punish those who were said to be his emissaries to the King of Navarre, and thus offer them satisfaction.

With this reply Ruy de Pina returned to Portugal. The King endeavoured for some time to evade satisfying the demand of Ferdinand and Isabella, but in January, 1483, he once more sent Ruy de Pina and his confessor, Father Antonio of the Seraphic Order of Saint Francis, to convey all possible excuses from him to the sovereigns of Castille, and with which Ferdinand and Isabella were fain to be satisfied. They were anxious for some pretext to have their daughter again with them, far from unhealthy Moura.

Meanwhile the King continued to temporise with the fidalgos, who, blinded by their own arrogance, took all this temporising as so many proofs of weakness and fear. At the commencement of 1483

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the Queen D. Leonor was taken ill, and the Dukes of Braganza and Vizeu proceeded to Almeirim to visit her. This occasion was taken advantage of by the King to speak with feigned frankness to the Duke of Braganza in the presence of the Bishop of Vizeu, D. Fernão, Gonçalves de Miranda, and his chaplain.

To these words the Duke replied with courteous and loyal words. Who would have then said when listening to their gentle platitudes that one of them was to be beheaded by order of the other? That at the very moment when they were exchanging words of loyalty and affection they were clasping with convulsive hands the concealed dagger! Because it was not alone the old strife between the nobility and royalty which was personified in those two men, it was a personal, inextinguishable hatred which existed between the son of D. Alfonso V. and the head of the house of Braganza.

This enmity was of long standing. The Duke of Braganza had been a friend almost since childhood of D. Alfonso V., who was somewhat younger and a companion of his boyhood, while his intrepidity and brilliant qualities rendered him exceedingly beloved by the Knight-King.

This predilection led him to treat him on an equality with his own son, and when he desired to see his nieces, the daughters of D. Ferdinand, married, he gave one to the Duke of Braganza, and the other to the Prince D. João.

The pride of the Prince never forgave his father, or his favourite, this audacious equality.

A deep irony, therefore, pervaded the language of D. João II. when, in his speech to the Duke of Braganza, he alluded to the family bonds which so closely united them.

When, at the death of D. Henrique IV. of Castille, the expediency of D. Alfonso V. accepting the inheritance of the deceased king was discussed in Evora, once more the husbands of the two sisters found themselves face to face. The Duke of Braganza counselled the King not to enter into the turbulent affairs of Castille, while Prince D. João being very ambitious, and seeing in perspective two crowns, incited his father to try the chances of fortune. Hence antagonism increased between them.

The Prince D. João in full council declared to D. Fernando that malevolence urged his vote, and that his relationship with the Queen D. Isabella influenced his decision rather than any interest for the prosperity and glory of his King and his country.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

When, after the Battle of Toro, D. João II. gathered together the dispersed troops and saved the remnants of the army as the conqueror on the field of battle, there was a moment when no one knew of D. Alfonso V. The Duke of Braganza, the loyal friend of the monarch, judging that he was either dead or a prisoner, gave utterance to his grief, and accused the Prince D. João of want of filial love, of being ambitious and deficient of soul, that he thus forsook his father, hoping perchance to raise from the dust of Toro, stained with a father's blood, the double crown of Castille and Portugal.

"The accusation was cruel and unmerited," says Rebello da Silva. "and D. João II. offended in his pride as conqueror, and in his filial tenderness, endeavoured even at that moment to moderate and calm the anguish and passion of the Duke and bade him hold his peace, but the grief of D. Fernando could not be reasoned with, and he continued to vent upon him bitter complaints, which did not cease until it was proved that the King was safe and protected by the walls of the Castle.

"But the memory of this public conflict was never blotted out from the spirit of the Prince, and probably D. João vowed within himself to humble this proud vassal, who had dared to speak thus to the heir of the throne as though he were the lowest servitor of his household."

Hence, aggravated daily by these quarrels, the enmity between the Duke and King became redoubled. When D. Alfonso departed to France he wished to abdicate the Portuguese crown in favour of his son. This resolution was strongly opposed in council by the Duke of Braganza.

Such were the motives of personal enmity which were linked to political odiums, and rendered D. João II. a deadly enemy of the Duke of Braganza. When in Almeirim he spoke to him in feigned frankness, and told him, in presence of the Bishop of Lamego, that he was informed of "his recent suspected league with Castille, but that if these combinations were no more than the outcome of a proposal made in error, he was ready to forgive and forget it." He reminded him of the obligations which the Duke owed to the memory of D. Alfonso V., from whom he had derived great honours and properties. And although he might judge himself aggrieved at the banishment of the Marquis and the entry of the *corregedores* into their lands, he ought to be the first to give an example of obedience and respect to the King.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Duke of Braganza, supposing that D. João II. would allow himself to be deceived and cajoled by his words; that he would consider him as an enemy who was retiring exhausted by the wrestling, full of hypocrisy, replied, affirming his sentiments of esteem and gratitude to the Chief of the State. But he was mistaken. It is certain that the nobility judged they had conquered the strong enemy of their possessions. On quitting Almeirim, the Duke of Vizeu, the Duke of Braganza, and his brothers met together in Vimieiro, boasting of what had passed, and they resolved between them not to allow the *corregedores* to enter their lands.

For the same object the Marquis of Montemôr, the Count de Faro, and D. Alvaro had secret interviews in the Monastery of Santa Maria do Espinheiro in Evora, the Marquis rendering himself notable by the exaltation and the odium which he manifested when speaking of the King.

D. João II. was kept well informed of these conspiracies and meetings, but, astute and reserved, he thought best to bide his time. For this object, he issued orders countermanding the investigations in the lands of the nobles, and he even went so far as to favourably countenance some pretensions of the Marquis and of the Count de Faro.

D. João II. was preparing the snare and awaited his prey. Meanwhile the Duke of Braganza, in secret intelligence with the sovereigns of Castille, continued to conspire. A Castillian messenger came secretly to Portugal to interview the Duke and to combine a capitulation, of which the Marquis de Montemôr was cognisant. The capitulation was divided into two principal points:—

1. That in view that the Excellent Lady did not live in actual monastic rigour as she was bound to, she should be delivered up to the Duke of Braganza or to her brothers, in order to compel her to fulfil what was right.

2. That it be permitted to Castillian subjects to trade in Guinea.

They were well aware that D. João II. would never consent to this; but it would afford a pretext to Ferdinand and Isabella for declaring war, and the Duke and his brothers would also have a pretext for declaring that as they found the exigencies of the Kings of Castille to be reasonable, they could not in conscience aid D. João II.

D. João II. was not aware of this latter circumstance until revealed by Gaspar Infante, brother of Pero Infante, a familiar of the Braganzas. D. João II., who was already distrustful, was forewarned, but it did not

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

suit his policy to be precipitate, more particularly as his son was a hostage, and he feared for his life. But fortunately, at this moment, an ambassador from Castille was arriving to Portugal to arrange about dissolving this treaty of the hostages, because the sovereigns of Castille likewise feared for the life of their daughter. It was then arranged that the Prince D. Alfonso should wed the Infanta D. Joanna, second daughter of the Castillian monarchs.

At this time, Pero Infante returned from Castille with the secret correspondence for the Duke. The King read it, and resolved at once that as the obstacles which the hostages had offered were about to disappear, he would apprehend the Duke or besiege him wherever he should be.

D. João II. sent his representatives to Moura for the Prince. The Duke of Braganza being informed of this, went to meet them at Portel, and then asked them what he had better do, as the Prince was to pass through his lands. The representatives replied that in order to at once appease the differences which had occurred between the King and the Duke, he, the Duke, had better accompany the Prince to the Court, serve, and honour him. But fearing lest this advice might be disagreeable to the King, they at once sent post haste messengers for instructions. D. João II. replied that it greatly pleased him that the Duke should proceed to the Court. This reply he forwarded in an open letter so that all might read it, and thus impose on their credulity. Quieted with this reply, the Duke assisted at the dissolution of the treaty, which took place in 1483, and departed with the Prince from Moura to Evora, where the Court awaited him, accompanied by the representatives of the King, while the Infanta D. Isabella was delivered up to the representatives of the King of Castille.

On the journey from Moura to Evora, the Prince D. Alfonso was received and lodged by the Duke of Braganza in his house with signal honours. The King came beyond the walls of Evora to receive the Prince, who was accompanied by the Dukes of Braganza and Vizeu. The suite of the King were all armed, because D. João II. was undecided whether he would apprehend the Duke on that occasion or not.

But the Duke appeared calm and unsuspicious, and therefore D. João II. postponed his project. The King manifested himself merry and tranquil. Many feasts were organised for the reception of the Prince and Infanta, and in all of them the King took part in excellent spirits.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Although warned by his brother, the Marquis, and other fidalgos, to mistrust the King, the Duke remained on at the Court. The Feast of Corpus Christi occurred, and the King still continued his calm behaviour, and on the following day the Duke proceeded to the palace to take leave of the King, whom he found engaged with the representative. D. João bade the Duke sit down near him, while he finished his business. Then he conversed alone with him for some time, the Duke taking the opportunity to justify himself respecting various allegations brought against him concerning the King, and desiring him to investigate the truth. After D. João II. had listened to him, he remarked that it was growing dark, and bade him come to his dressing-room. He then said that he was gratified to hear him wish for an investigation, and that he certainly would search out the truth, but he judged it best for the Duke to remain where he was until all things should be sifted. The King then quitted the chamber, leaving on guard of the Duke his Chamberlain, Ayres da Silva, and Antão de Faria.

The Duke fell into a state of deep despondency. Ayres da Silva strove to console him with gentle words, but the Duke replied, "Ah, Senhor Ayres da Silva, a man such as I am is not apprehended to be released again!"

Meanwhile, in another chamber of the palace, D João II. had summoned the lords and principal personages, authorities, and the learned in law, before whom he laid the grievances he had against the Duke, calmly reading to them the letters and instructions he had seized.

As soon as the news was spread in the city, the people ran to the courtyard and grounds of the palace, protesting their loyalty to the King, and demanding justice against those who should have attempted his life.

In the Council it was decided to secure firmly the person of the Duke, the Crown to take charge of his castles and lands, and the same to be notified to the sovereigns of Castille, but without alluding to the cause of the imprisonment, and likewise the Castillian ambassador.

So deep was the sensation which the apprehension of the Duke produced throughout the country, that the Alcaides of his castles at once delivered them up at the simple request of the King. This observation, which Garcia de Rezende makes, well depicts the prestige of the Monarchy, and the fanaticism of the people for the person of D. João II.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

As soon as the Marquis of Montemôr and the Count de Faro learnt what passed, they fled to Castille. The latter did not long survive. Another brother of the Duke, D. Alvaro de Braganza, received orders from the King to quit the kingdom, forbidding him to reside either in Castille or Rome. But D. Alvaro disobeyed orders and remained in Castille.

When the Duchess of Braganza heard of the apprehension of her husband, she at once sent her three sons to Castille, whilst she and her daughter Margarida remained in Villa Viçosa.

Meantime the Duke continued a prisoner in the palace, unmanacled, it is true, but constantly watched. He was treated by the servants of the King with all the respect and deference due to his birth and rank.

But D. João II. seemed to feel for the situation in which the Duke was placed, and resolved to deliver up the cause into the hands of justice. Yet D. João II. well knew how justice would proceed beneath the pressure of his royal authority. And the reserved character of the King led him to proceed in this manner, without haste or precipitation, calculating every move. D. João II. was a superior spirit.

The nobility now began to acknowledge that they had a dangerous enemy to combat, and that it was necessary to submit up to a certain point, in order to avoid the terrible blows which D. João had levelled at the house of Braganza, the most powerful house of the Portuguese nobility, should be likewise levelled at them. Hence some of the fidalgos informed the King that in exchange for the liberty and life of the Duke they would deliver up to the Crown, not only all the strongholds belonging to the Duchy of Braganza, but likewise those of the petitioners.

This concession on the part of the fidalgos pleased D. João, not as regards a definite acceptance, but as an instrument of victory. At that moment news had not arrived that by orders of the King the respective Alcaides of the fortresses belonging to the Duke, situated on the Douro, the Minho, and in Tras-os-Montes, had delivered them up. Hence D. João II. did not know whether the Alcaides would deliver them up promptly, and he even feared some complications with Castille. Should such complications arise, D. João II. would accept the offer made by the nobles; should no such complications take place, then he would refuse the offer, as he actually did, as soon as he learnt that the fortresses had been delivered up without resistance.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Meanwhile the Duke continued imprisoned, and the King was endeavouring to organise the tribunal which was to judge him.

He summoned to his presence his brother-in-law, the Duke of Vizeu, and reproached him for his complicity with the Duke of Braganza, his confederacy with the nobility, and told him he forgave him on account of his near relationship and his youth.

To Evora were summoned all the learned men of the *Casa do Supplicação*,* the eminent jurisconsult, Ruy Gomes da Grã, being chosen President of the Tribunal. The representative of the Public Ministry was Dr. João de Elvas, while Dr. Diogo Pinheiro, who later on became Bishop of Funchal, assisted by Alfonso de Barros, were entrusted with the defence of the Duke, because João II. wished to give this judgment all the character of impartiality and justice.

The libel formulated against the Duke comprehended twenty-two articles, which corresponded to so many crimes.

The note of accusations was intimated to the culprit—that is to say, the articles of accusation were read to him. On hearing them the Duke was fain to acknowledge that he was irremediably lost, not only from the gravity of the imputations, as to referring to facts which he judged were secret. Under these circumstances, it was well-nigh impossible to set up a defence, therefore he limited himself to reminding the King, through Ruy de Pina, of the Psalm of David: "*Et non intres in judicio cum servo tuo: Domine, quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnes vivens;*" and to demand that the tribunal be composed of princes and dukes, since he was one of their rank.

In the process were incorporated every document which could possibly convict the Duke, and every witness was heard. The evidence was all against the Duke, and was not contradicted. The whole cause and the summing-up occupied twenty-two days. The King sent for persons of distinction to assist, in conjunction with the doctors-at-law, at the judgment, and in all numbered twenty-one individuals.

After all the evidence was heard, the judges adjourned to a chamber in the palace. Twice did the judges assemble, in presence of the King and Duke, to hear the summing-up, the King always maintaining the *rôle* he had assumed, and manifested the greatest courtesy towards the Duke. A third time did they meet together, with the exception of the Duke of Braganza, who excused himself from appearing by saying that

* This was a tribunal of Lisbon instituted by D. João I.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

he was engaged with his confessor in arranging the affairs of his soul and his eternal salvation, as his thoughts were no longer of this world. On hearing this reply the King ordered the sentence to be proceeded with. The judges all voted unanimously sentence of death to the Duke, and as each vote was given the King broke out in sobs, and wept bitterly.

From the narrative of Garcia de Rezende is seen that the prime mover in this tribunal was the King, who endeavoured to palliate with a few tears the cruelty of his proceeding. So far as regards the King. On the other hand, the tribunal was well aware that his action was purely an ostensive one, and taken advantage of to cover the responsibility of the King. Moreover, in view of the severe and energetic attitude which D. João II. had assumed, these judges were well aware what fate would await them if they deviated from the intentions of the monarch. Two days and nights did the judges take to deliberate ere they pronounced sentence of death, condemning the Duke of Braganza to be publicly beheaded in the *praça* of Evora and all his goods confiscated to the Crown. After pronouncing sentence, which was, however, not communicated to the Duke, all quitted the chamber, and on the 20th of June, 1483, the last act of this sanguinary tragedy was carried out.

We must confess that the Duke of Braganza, judged by the impartiality of history, is certainly a far smaller character than the grand one of D. João II. But at this moment, when the Duke of Braganza, resigned to his fate, refused to assist at the ignoble spectacle of hearing the witnesses, many of whom owed him their position and education, condemning him; and when the King shed tears of hypocrisy over the fate of a man whom he himself had consigned to death, moral grandeur is on the side of the victim, and meanness on that of the executioner.

Mounted on a mule covered with trappings of woe, the Duke D. Ferdinand of Braganza was removed from the palace, where he had been under arrest, and conducted to the *praça* of Evora. Until that moment he had judged that at the time of pronouncing sentence it would have been commuted to imprisonment in some fortress, but when he saw to where they were conducting him, all hope disappeared. He was taken to a house contingent to the *praça*, and from whence a passage was erected to the scaffold. His confessor, Father Paulo, was awaiting him, and with soothing and gentle words broke the news to

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

him, which the Duke received with patient words and like a brave man. Numerous troops were gathered in the *praça*, and crowds of people stood by to witness this singular scene. Fearless, yet devoid of haughtiness, D. Fernando proceeded to the scaffold which had been erected, having first added a codicil to his will, which breathed only words of peace and mercy. In this codicil he desired the Duchess, his children, and his brother to bear no ill-will towards any one on account of his death, and much less towards the King. But he made no declaration whatever respecting the crime he was accused of, and yet he besought forgiveness from the King in humble terms.

The Duke had been cautioned against being affected at the extraordinary scene which the *praça* presented. Crowds had gathered from all parts, and scaffoldings were erected, the whole covered with black trappings of woe, and presented a fearful spectacle; but this caution was unnecessary, as he manifested at his last moments all the constancy and resignation of a martyr. He even submitted to the ignominy which D. João II., adding cruelty to vengeance, had ordered, that of tying up his hands. With sad irony the Duke said he was willing to have even a rope round his neck. The executioner advanced completely covered in black, so that he was not recognised, it being supposed that it was some culprit condemned to death, and drawing a dagger beheaded Ferdinand, Duke of Braganza.

A stifled murmur arose from the multitude, and then the people dispersed, commenting among themselves upon the harshness of the case, whilst the nobles withdrew sad and silent. The body of the Duke was left exposed for an hour, when the chapter of the cathedral and the clergy of the city came in procession to the scaffold and conducted the remains of the Duke to the monastery of San Domingos, where they were interred.

The Court was forbidden to assume mourning for this nobleman, who was allied to the highest of the land; the King alone went into mourning for three days—this was his last hypocritical manifestation.

The great act of his government had been consummated, leaving an indelible stain on his name, but an act deeply characteristic of the energetic feature of his reign. The knife of the executioner of Evora did not solely decapitate the head of the Duke of Braganza, it also struck off the hundred ever-growing heads of the hydra of feudalism.

Alfarrobeira had been revenged: the death of the Infante D. Pedro was avenged. A grandson of the Infante D. Pedro was avenging his

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

death in the person of the Duke of Braganza, grandson of the Count of Barcellos. The reign of D. Alfonso V. had been a retrograde movement, but by this political State stroke, which was levelled in Evora, D. João II. won at one blow all the lost ground.

The execution and death of the Duke of Braganza produced on the nobility such amazement and terror that none dared to raise their voice to upbraid the King for his cruelty; but, on the contrary, those who felt they had been accomplices with the Duke trembled for themselves, and dreaded an equal fate. Among these was the Duke of Vizeu, who had been forgiven by the King, although warned that there was to be but one King in Portugal. About this time D. Manuel, brother of the Queen, came to Portugal. He had been sent to Castille as a pledge of the hostages, and now that those had been withdrawn was free to return. D. João II. had assigned a separate residence for him, and treated him with the greatest distinction, giving him a coat of arms composed of a sphere, the symbol and presage of his stupendous future; little dreaming that he, D. Manuel, should succeed him on the throne.

All this, doubtless, encouraged the Duke of Vizeu to believe himself safe, and to take part in the unfortunate conspiracy which was to cost him his life. For although family considerations and youth induced D. João II. on one occasion to forgive the offence of the Duke of Vizeu, his vengeance was not thereby satisfied, and he could not console himself that the Marquis of Montemôr, who had been the ruling spirit of the conspiracy of the Duke of Braganza, should have escaped him by taking refuge in Castille. Hence D. João II. went through the farce of executing him in effigy, which was done in all solemnity, the King proceeding in July, 1483, to Abrantes, where a scaffold was erected and a statue made representing the Marquis, vested in coat of mail; in its right hand it held a sword, and in its left a flag bearing his arms. Around were grouped all the officers of justice, and a mock tribunal was held, when sentence of death was passed upon the Marquis. Then the effigy was despoiled of its coat of mail, sword, and vizor, and decapitated. Then all departed, and faggots were placed under the scaffold, and in a few minutes the whole was consumed. When the hapless Marquis of Montemôr was apprised of his beheading in effigy, he became so terrified that he did not long survive the news.

It is true that a reign of terror had commenced for the nobility, but this very terror gave them energy to combat the tyranny which threatened them. In Santarem the conspiracy of the Duke of Vizeu

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

was definitely arranged. In this conspiracy nearly the whole of the nobility were implicated, the nominal chief being the Duke of Vizeu, but the actual ruling spirit was the Bishop of Evora, D. Garcia de Menezes. The Duke was no more than an infatuated dupe in their hands, and his name really only appears in history owing to the celebrity afforded by his death at the hands of D. João II., and as adding to the list of martyrs of his policy. The nobles made use of his name and his supposed exemption from the King's wrath to deceive him with the hope of winning the crown by consigning the Prince D. Alfonso, the legitimate heir to the throne, to a lifelong banishment. Deluded by this ambitious idea, the Duke of Vizeu blindly led the conspiracy, judging himself the rightful avenger of the Duke of Braganza, and the individual predestined to save the kingdom from a tyrannical sway.

It was not long before D. João II. was secretly informed of all the projects of the conspirators. The first information he received of this plot was through one Diogo Tinoco, brother of the mistress of the Bishop of Evora. This woman revealed what she knew to her brother, who proceeded to tell it to Antão de Faria, and, disguising himself in the habit of a monk, besought an interview with the King at a monastery of Setubal. The King remunerated him largely for his information. The second information was volunteered by D. Vasco Coutinho, a brother of one of the conspirators, who, for some grievance, had been expelled from the kingdom. He stipulated that his brother's life should be saved in recompense for his information: this the King promised to do, but the vengeance of D. João II. knew how to evade the promise, and D. Guterres Coutinho died in a mysterious manner in his prison. D. Vasco, however, received soon after, from the hands of D. João II., the title of Count of Borba.

Hence, being thus forewarned, D. João II. followed the same system as in the case of the Duke of Braganza. The perfect dissimulation he adopted kept the fidalgos completely deceived, and they fully expected to realise their projects. On various occasions they attempted to carry out their designs, but D. João II., who was kept well informed of all their movements, always managed to thwart them, but without affording them the least suspicion that he was aware of their intentions. About Easter-time in 1484 he proceeded with the queen and the prince-heir to Setubal, and took part in the feasts and hunts arranged during their stay; but he was always armed and escorted by his bodyguard, com-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

manded by Fernão Martins de Mascarenhas. One day during a picnic the fidalgos had resolved upon assassinating him, but he perceived from their nervous manner and other indications what their intentions were, and quietly proceeded towards the church of Nossa Senhora da Annunciada, and placing himself in a defensive attitude, with perfect calmness awaited the guards of Fernão Martins. Again they were foiled. A third and a fourth time they essayed to carry out their plans, but were unable to do so. The last time was during the procession of Corpus Christi in Setubal, but being forewarned, their attempt was frustrated.*

It was nevertheless necessary that this drama, silent but terrible, should come to an end. The King quitted Setubal and went to Alcacer do Sal, from whence he determined to return by the Sado. The fidalgos combined to await him on the shore, and to slay him as he landed. But Vasco Coutinho, as usual, informed the King, and at the last moment altered the plan of route and entered into Setubal by land, accompanied by a strong cavalry escort. When the Duke of Vizeu perceived that once more their plans had been frustrated, he quitted Setubal, and went to visit his mother, D. Beatriz, at Palmella. But the King had determined upon putting an end to the conspiracy by levelling a decisive blow.

On the 23rd of August, 1484, the King, who had arrived to Setubal on the previous evening, summoned the Duke of Vizeu, from Palmella. The Duke hesitated to obey the summons, fearing some danger; but he nevertheless obeyed, lest his disobedience should enkindle revenge in the heart of the King. He was received by the King, D. João II., in his private chamber, in presence of the Alcaide of Moura, D. Pedro d'Eça, Diogo d'Azambuja, and Lopo Mendes do Rio, who had been summoned as witnesses of the terrible scene which was about to be enacted. Taking his brother-in-law aside, it appears the King upbraided him in a few words for his ingratitude and perfidy, and then quickly drawing forth a dagger, he clove it into the breast of the youth, who fell dead on the ground. The King then issued orders that all the accomplices of the Duke of Vizeu should be immediately arrested.

It was night, and the King's guards sallied out at full gallop to close the doors of the city, and guard the streets and roads. Terror took possession of Setubal, and a dark shadow overspread the whole place—

* In the spot where D. João II. escaped being assassinated there is seen, even at the present day, a head sculptured on the wall, with this beneath :—

"*Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?*"

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the shadow of the vengeance of D. João II., terrible like the justice of God, cruel as the revenge of the Evil One.

D. Garcia de Menezes, his brother D. Fernando, D. Guterres Coutinho, and others were at once arrested, and every effort made to apprehend the others. "It was a night of terror and surprise, and of great sorrow," says Garcia de Rezende, "because the fate of these nobles affected the highest families of the kingdom."

The Bishop of Evora was conducted to Palmella, but as his sacred dignity and character forbade that he should be executed, he was cast into a dungeon, where he died, it is said, from the effects of poison. D. Guterres Coutinho, whose life his brother D. Vasco had pleaded for, was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of Aviz, where, as we said before, he died in a mysterious manner. D. Fernando de Menezes, who manifested great haughtiness of spirit, was arrested and judged, found guilty, was beheaded, and then quartered. The same fate awaited D. Pedro de Athayde, who was taken prisoner as he fled from Setubal to Santarem. His father, Alvaro de Athayde, who had remained in Santarem to carry out the plan of the conspiracy, and take possession of the person of the Excellent Lady as soon as the King should be assassinated, was apprised in time, and saved himself by flight to Castille. Fernão da Silveira for a length of time was concealed in a cave, and his retreat guarded by a faithful servant, whom no threats or promises could induce to reveal or to betray his master. At last he was also able to fly to Castille; but D. João II. invested this extradition with the character of a diplomatic affair, and Fernão da Silveira was hunted about until he was forced to seek a retreat and an asylum at Avignon, in France; and even there the untiring, implacable vengeance of the King of Portugal followed him. An exile, whom Ruy de Pina calls the Count de Palhais Catalam, suborned by D. João II., assassinated Fernão da Silveira on the 8th December, 1489. It is true that the King of France, indignant at this violation of the rules of hospitality, severely punished the Count, but the vengeance of the Portuguese monarch had been satisfied. There still remained the two brothers, Pero de Albuquerque and Lopo, Count de Penamacôr. Their fates were diverse. Pero de Albuquerque was arrested, condemned to death, and executed; the Count de Penamacôr quitted the kingdom and traversed the whole of Europe, instigating enemies against D. João II., and carrying from court to court his inextinguishable odium, and even conspired against his own country, as he counselled in

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

England British merchants to prepare ships to proceed to Guinea—a plot which was not carried out, owing to the energetic action taken by D. João II. in respect to the English Government.

But let us return to the chamber where lay the dead body of the Duke de Vizeu. The King had sent for his brother, D. Manuel, who came accompanied by his tutor, Diogo da Silva. The terror inspired by D. João II. prevented D. Manuel from clasping to his arms his dead brother and breaking out into tears, as he gazed speechless on his body. The Queen herself, who was sister to the Duke of Vizeu, on being acquainted with what had taken place, wept in silence in her own apartment, and dared not to utter a single word of reproach. D. Manuel, pale and trembling, listened to D. João II. as he told him that he had slain the Duke because he had conspired to assassinate him, and as he desired that all he had in life would, at his death, freely revert to the Crown, he therefore made over to him for good all he possessed. He called to God as a witness that he loved him as his own son, and therefore, in proof of this, should his own son die and he leave no other legitimate issue, he desired from that moment he should be his heir and successor of all his kingdom and seigniorities. Little did D. João II. think that he was prophesying what was to take place. But, nevertheless, he was not the man to desist from enriching the Crown and allowing the State to be deprived of what had been given away. Hence he proceeded to say that it was but reasonable that the towns of Serpa and Moura should revert to the Crown, and some modification be effected in the rents and dues received by the Duke of Vizeu, which were oppressive on the people; and, moreover, would allow him during life the island of Madeira, at his death the island to revert to the Crown, as being the pearl set by the Infante D. Henrique in the diadem of Portugal. D. Manuel knelt at the feet of D. João II. and kissed in silence the hand stained with the blood of his nearest relative. It must indeed have been a dismal scene, and one worthy of a great historic painter—that in which the brother of the victim kissed, with pallid, trembling lips, the hand of the assassin.

The body of the Duke of Vizeu was conveyed to the principal church of the town, and placed on a catafalque, to be viewed by the people until it was buried.

It may easily be imagined what were the feelings and comments of those who witnessed so singular a spectacle. But the King, who never staggered in his purpose, or at any actions practised by himself, did not

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

attempt to conceal the crimes he had been guilty of, and actually had a deed drawn up by the Doctors Nuno Gonçalves and Gil Fernandes, explaining the causes which had induced him to act in the manner he had, and justified the act by the depositions of Diogo Tinoco and D. Vasco Coutinho, who were questioned, and confirmed all the King had stated. There yet remained a duty to perform, which was painful even to D. João II. This was to break the news to the Infanta D. Beatriz, who resided in Palmella, of the death of her son. It may be easily imagined how afflicted the poor mother was at the news. But the terror inspired by the King was sufficiently deep to prevent maternal love from bursting out into reproaches and curses, as might naturally be expected at that dreadful moment. Yet Providence reserved a dire punishment for that man who could thus break the heart of a mother, by chastising him with the loss of his own beloved son.

All the strongholds belonging to the Duke of Vizeu, with his adherents, quickly surrendered, as in the case of the Duke of Braganza, with the exception of Sabugal, where D. Catharina, wife of Pero d'Albuquerque, entrenched herself as soon as she knew of the arrest of her husband. The King in person proceeded to besiege her, but ere the castle was laid under siege, D. Catharina, feeling that resistance was useless, surrendered, and the King, pleased at her spirit and courage, endowed her with all the properties of her late husband. But this was an exceptional favour. About this time ambassadors from the sovereigns of Castille arrived to ask that the properties belonging to the house of Braganza should be restored to the sons of the late Duke of Braganza. This the King of Portugal refused to do, on the plea that it was to the interests of his sons, who were to marry and reign in Portugal, to prevent the re-establishment in its former preponderance of so powerful a house close to the throne. Ferdinand and Isabella, who were acting in a similar manner in their kingdom with the Spanish nobility, although they attempted to protect the Braganzas, nevertheless comprehended and approved the policy of D. João II., and therefore did not insist in their demands. Moreover, they knew that the losses would fall on their daughter, who was to wed the heir to the throne of Portugal. What they actually wished to do was to skilfully settle the diplomatic question.

The great and sanguinary strife had been smothered in blood, and D. João II., finding himself free, was able to turn his attention to affairs of administration. Let us now enter the brilliant period of the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

reign of D. João II. We have sufficiently followed the son of Alfonso V. in the blood-stained path he trod at the commencement of his reign, a path strewed with the dead. We shall now behold how, after subjugating the nobility, the nation which had acknowledged the vigorous hand that governed, blindly confides to him its destinies, how he takes wise and prudent measures to repair the evil done, how he gives enormous impulse to Portuguese navigation that it sufficed to his successor to allow things to take their course, to open wide the golden doors to the intrepidity of Vasco da Gama.

He reformed the arms of the kingdom according to the laws of heraldry, which had been somewhat contemned. The Cross of Aviz, which had been in use since the time of D. João I., was removed from the royal arms, and various other modifications were made which were considered in those days of vital importance, according to the testimony of Ruy de Pina and Garcia de Rezende. He also ordered a new coinage to be struck, called *Justos* and *Espadins*. It appears that by the *Justos*, which were of gold of the value of 600 reis, he wished to commemorate the repression of the fidalgos, because on one side was represented the royal escutcheon with its motto, and on the reverse the figure of the King seated on the throne, holding the sceptre of justice, and the motto, *Justus sicut palma florebit*. The *Espadins*, also of gold, but of half the value of the *Justos*, commemorated the conquering, daring feature of his government. On one side was a sword with the following inscription, "*Dominus protector vitæ meæ, a quo trepidabo!*" and on the other the royal arms. Other coins in silver were also struck.

Two projects the King had much at heart for the glory of his reign and the extension of his dominions—to increase the African conquests commenced by D. Alfonso V., and to continue the discoveries projected by the Infante D. Henrique. To follow out these projects he previously took the necessary measures—the general armament of the kingdom, by which he might, when needed, despatch a large army to Northern Africa. To further his object, Ruy de Pina tells us that he sent abroad for short lances and doublets, which he distributed throughout the kingdom. Owing probably to the exaggerated reports of the preparations which were being made, or to the fear inspired by the continual raids practised by the Portuguese garrisons of the African strongholds, in the year 1486 the stronghold of Azamor voluntarily surrendered to D. João II. Thus the Portuguese flag waved over five of the principal

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

fortresses of Morocco—viz., Ceuta, Alcacer-Ceguer, Arzilla, Azamor, and Tangiers.

During the reign of Alfonso V. he had assigned D. João, when still a prince, the revenues accruing from the commerce with Mina for the maintenance of his household. When D. João II. ascended the throne, he judged it would be advantageous to possess on the coast of Mina a fortress, in order to securely place the gold and other merchandise from Africa. This trade had been established in 1461 by Pero d'Escovar and João de Santarem in the port of Saama, but finding this spot inconvenient, D. João II. delegated a fidalgo of his household, called Diogo d'Azambuja, to erect the projected fortress on some spot he should judge most appropriate between the cape called Das Trez Pontas and the cape Das Redes.

Diogo d'Azambuja quitted Lisbon on the 11th December, 1481, with a fleet of ten caravels and two other ships, taking 500 men and 100 workmen for the construction of the fortress. Diogo withdrew from the rest of the squadron, and carefully explored the coast, and selected a spot where a village existed called Duas Partes. He ported here on the 19th January, 1482, and was fortunate in meeting a Portuguese merchant called João Bernardes, who served him as interpreter. Through him he was able to interview the chief of those tribes, who was called Caramanso, and to him he made known the great power of the King of Portugal, and his desire to convert him to Christianity, and to join with him in commercial relations, to which he would be greatly aided by erecting a fortress. Caramanso, who had around his neck heavy gold ornaments which no doubt awakened the cupidity of the Portuguese, perceived that he would gain nothing by opposing the erection of the fortress, and therefore manifested great good-will in view of the presents he was to receive. Diogo d'Azambuja had come well provided with presents, but as he did not give them away as promptly as the negro chieftain desired, the commencement of the erection met with some difficulties, which were soon removed when the cupidity of Caramanso had been satisfied. As the Portuguese had brought from Portugal as much as they could ready, the fortress was erected in twenty days, and was called Castle of Saint George, in honour of the saint who was always invoked by the Portuguese in their battles. Later on, in March, 1486, the King of Portugal being in Santarem, he issued letters patent granting to this place the privileges and rights of a city. The church, which was at once erected, was endowed with

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

a daily mass in perpetuity for the repose of the soul of the Infante D. Henrique, the immortal pioneer of all the Portuguese discoveries.

Diogo d'Azambuja, after allowing the crews to bargain with the natives, permitted sixty men and three women to remain and form the nucleus of the new colony, and sent the rest back to Portugal. He himself remained in Africa for two years, and then returned to Portugal. This was the first European fortress erected on African lands unknown to the ancients.

In the year 1484, Diogo Cão quitted Lisbon with two caravels, taking with him the renowned Martin Behaim, the inventor of the astrolabe applied to navigation, and the author of the world-wide famous globe of Nuremberg.

Up to this date the Portuguese had limited themselves to erecting a cross, oftentimes of simple wood, in the places they discovered, or else carved out on the bark of a tree the device of the Infante D. Henrique, *Talent de bien faire*. In this voyage of Diogo Cão were made use of for the first time monuments or pillars of stone fifteen feet high, with the royal arms of Portugal sculptured on one side, and on the reverse the name of the King and of the discoverer, and the date of the discovery in Latin and Portuguese.

Diogo Cão continued further in the discoveries, which, as we know, had ended in the Cape of Saint Catherine, proceeding towards the south, and came to a river, called by the natives the Zaire, but now known as the river Congo. He named the river Rio do Padrão (River of the Pillar), because it was on its shore that he planted the first of the pillars so called of Saint George. Diogo Cão ascended this river, and met with friendly natives, but whose language was unknown to the interpreter. He succeeded, however, in bringing some of the natives back with him to Portugal to learn the language. After a voyage lasting nineteen months he returned to Lisbon. In 1486 he proceeded on a second voyage of exploration, and followed up the same coast to the kingdoms of Congo, Angola, Benguella, and Mossamedes, where he placed a second pillar at the Cape of Santa Maria.

This pillar is still in existence, although much worn out by the action of ages; and a third pillar he planted in Cape Negro, which he called Pillar of Saint Augustine, and is likewise still in existence. He pursued his discoveries further on along the whole length of the desert coast of Cimbebasia up to Cape Serra, where the coast ends, called by the English Cape Cross.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

On his return journey, on passing the mouth of the River Zaire, Diogo Cão met the native King, who was eager to form an alliance with the King of Portugal and become a Christian. He besought Diogo to send missionaries, and he sent a native called Cacuta to Portugal with Diogo, who was baptised in presence of the King and Court, receiving the name of John in honour of the King, and the surname of Ayres da Silva in compliment to the Chamberlain of the King of Portugal. Other natives who came with Cacuta were also baptised, and remained in Portugal to be educated at the Institute of Saint Eloy in Lisbon until the year 1490, when they returned to the Congo, accompanied by some of the fathers of the congregation of Saint Eloy. They were conveyed in a small fleet, commanded by Gonçalo de Sousa, who died at Cape Verde, and was succeeded in the command by his nephew, Ruy de Sousa. The Portuguese were received in Congo by an uncle of the native King, who asked to be baptised with his son, who took the name of Antonio, and his father that of Manuel.

The King of Congo sent for the missionaries and the Portuguese, and received them with every mark of joy. The negro King and his favourite negress were then baptised, the King taking the name of John and the negress Leonor. He permitted the erection of a church, which was quickly built and opened for worship.

The native tribes were at the time in revolt, but after the arrival of the Portuguese to Africa the chief succeeded in breaking up the rebel hordes. This success greatly enhanced the new religion, as he ascribed his victory to having embraced Christianity. But his second son, whom the chroniclers call by the name of Panso Aquitino, manifested himself a deadly enemy to the new religion, and not only refused baptism, but dissuaded many of the vassals of his father from embracing the new religion or allow themselves to be baptised. The reasons advanced were no doubt, in their point of view, of great weight, and even the chief found the new religion irksome. The prohibition of polygamy imposed by the Christian priests was not pleasant to the aged negro. This rule so deeply wounded him that, beholding his eldest son Antonio, who had been baptised, continue steadfast in the new faith, he deprived him of his right to the succession, and gave it to the second son. But Antonio was sufficiently artful to know that, by having the Christians on his side, he could scorn all wills made by his father. And, in effect, at the death of the King of Congo, the Portuguese assisted Antonio

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

to rout out the rebel brother, and the new King, deeply grateful for the aid given, always maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese, who took a firmer footing on the Congo than in any other part of the coast.

More than fifty years had the Portuguese employed in exploring Western Africa and a large extension of coast, but without finding any indications of a road to the East. But they did not lose heart, and D. João II., growing daily more enthusiastic, persevered in prosecuting discóveries. Hence he organised two expeditions, one by sea and the other by land, these expeditions having for their immediate object the search for the lands of the mysterious Prester John.

The first expedition was by sea, and on the 2nd August, 1486, two ships quitted the port of Lisbon, commanded respectively by Bartholomew Dias and Pero, or João Infante, the first, however, being the chief of the expedition. A smaller craft, loaded with provisions, followed, under the command of Pero Dias, brother to Bartholomew. These ships conveyed a number of blacks who had been to Portugal, and it was intended to leave them at various points along the coast, in order that they should give their fellow-natives favourable accounts of Portugal and of the power of its monarch. In this act we behold one of the most notable features of the character of D. João II. Historians, both foreign and native, praise the different character he gave to African expeditions. Hitherto the Portuguese, when effecting a landing on new territories, always resorted to slaying, capturing, or robbing the defenceless natives; but in the reign of D. João II. the Portuguese explorers were instructed to treat the negroes kindly, enter into friendly relations with them, and afford them a pleasant idea of the country to which they belonged.

Bartholomew Dias was further instructed that upon arriving at any of the cities of the mysterious personage they were seeking, to disembark richly dressed and with costly gifts.

At one of the places Diogo Cão had touched, and which he had called Angra do Salto, Bartholomew Dias left some of the negroes he had brought, and following his search in a southerly direction, he touched at a creek which he named Angra dos Ilhéos, or Angra Poquena, and which is known at the present day by the name of Spencer Bay. Here he placed the first pillar called Santiago, and left a negress. The bay was dominated by two dark wooded hills, to which he gave the name of Serra Parda. Crossing the coast of the Hottentots, he sailed along

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

that of the Cape of Good Hope, and came to a bay, where he remained five days battling against the wind and unable to proceed, although he made several attempts, and for this reason named it Cabo das Voltas; its name still subsists, and forms the southerly point of the mouth of the Orange River.

From this time forward the tempest became the pilot of Bartholomew Dias. Carried along by the wind, the expedition, at the mercy of the elements, ran into unknown seas. The crew grew amazed as, tossed about for thirteen days, the temperature grew cold, yet they judged they were speeding in a parallel line with the coast; but when the storm abated, and they sought for land to the east, they found nothing but an expanse of ocean. They had passed far beyond the Cape without distinguishing it enveloped in a fierce storm, and they found themselves, as it were, isolated in the midst of the vast ocean, never before ploughed by daring ships.

Bartholomew Dias then turned towards the north, and at length reached a bay, where he perceived that a number of cattle were browsing on the shore. The herdsmen fled as soon as they saw the Portuguese ships. Bartholomew Dias named this bay Angra dos Vaqueiros, and is known at the present day by the name of Flesh Bay, and lies close to the river Gauritz, beyond the Cabo das Agulhas.

Further on towards the east did our discoverer proceed, and found another creek, which he called Saint Braz, better known as Mussel Bay. Later on he discovered Algoa Bay, where he erected a pillar called Santa Cruz. At this juncture the crews and escort which accompanied Bartholomew commenced to murmur and complain of the persistence of their commander in proceeding further along an ungrateful land. Our illustrious navigator, being anxious to continue further still, and expecting by the change of route to make some important discovery, besought his men to allow him to proceed for three or four days longer ere he turned to return to Portugal. He only discovered a river known in our day as the Great Fish River. Here the crews refused to proceed any further. They felt terrified at the immense extent of ocean they had traversed, and the fearful storms they encountered, and dismay filled their hearts at the thought that they should never again behold their native land. The position of the land led them to infer that they had doubled a cape, and in their terrified imagination they conjured up the fearful legends of the Dark Sea. But they little thought that it was not the darksome sea, peopled

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

with its legendary horrors, that lay before them, but the bright East the Indian Ocean that they dared not enter.

Bartholomew Dias, despite all these prognostics of evil, felt within his soul a deep and piercing sorrow at being forced at that moment to turn back on account of the protests of his seamen; therefore, he insisted upon the men signing a deed to the effect that it was solely due to their representations and objections that he turned back and desisted from further explorations.

It was on the return voyage that the celebrated Cape was discovered which had been formerly hidden from them by the fierce storms which had overtaken them and enveloped all things in mist. This Cape formed the extreme southerly point of Africa. In this spot Dias erected another monument or pillar, which he called of St. Philip, and named the place itself Cabo Tormentoso, in memory of the fearful storms that had assailed them. He then set sail for Portugal, and arrived at Lisbon on 19th December, 1487, having been on the voyage sixteen months and sixteen days.

D. João II. received Bartholomew Dias with every mark of esteem, and handsomely rewarded him. The King was much pleased at the description given by the navigator, and after consulting the greatest geographers of the kingdom, came to the conclusion that the new road to India had been clearly traced out. For this reason D. João II. altered the name given by Dias to the Cape, and called it the Cape of Good Hope, a name which has never been changed.

About the same time that the expedition of Bartholomew Dias sailed on its voyage of discovery, another expedition was sent out, overland through Asia, to discover the territory of Prester John. This expedition was led by Fr. Antonio of Lisbon and Pedro de Montarroyo, but as neither were acquainted with Arabic, they soon returned, after going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

A second expedition was then sent out by D. João II., commanded by Pero da Covilhã and Alfonso de Paiva, their departure being witnessed by the future King of Portugal, D. Manuel, on the 7th May, 1487. The expedition proceeded to Naples, from whence they embarked for the Island of Rhodes, which at the time was the seat of the Order of Hospitallers, and two of the Portuguese Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem afforded the travellers the necessary means to proceed to Alexandria. Here they were taken ill from some malignant fever. When their health was sufficiently restored they went on to Cairo, and

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

from thence to Aden, where they separated. Alfonso de Paiva proceeded to Ethiopia, and Pero Covilhã on towards India, but they combined at a stated time to return and meet at Cairo.

Pero de Covilhã embarked at Aden, and went ashore at Cananor, from whence he passed to Calicut (Calcutta) and Goa, and on his return to Cairo at the stipulated time, found that his companion had died a few days before. During this journey Covilhã had passed the gold mines of Sofala. At this place the natives spoke to him of an island which they called Lua, and which proved to be the Island of Madagascar. He also gathered valuable information respecting spices, of which the Portuguese were anxious to trade in, and judging that he had sufficiently important information to warrant his return to Portugal, he proceeded to Cairo to meet his fellow-traveller, and it was then that he learnt of his death. In Cairo he met two emissaries from the King, D. João II., who had been sent to meet him with letters. These were Jews, the Rabbi Abraham, a native of Beja, and a shoemaker of Lamego, called Mestre José. It appears the latter had some time previously sailed out to seek his fortune in foreign lands, and had visited Bagdad, the ancient Babylon, and was there told of the immense wealth to be had in the Island of Ormuz, the centre of the commerce of India, and from whence the caravans of Aleppo and Damascus derived all the wealth of the East, which they transported to the Asiatic ports of the Mediterranean. On the return of this Jew to Portugal he communicated all the information he had received to the King, who judged it of such value that he sent him to Egypt to meet Pero Covilhã. He also sent with him the Rabbi Abraham, who was learned in science, and could therefore gather more useful information than the simple shoemaker. In the letters they brought from the King to Pero de Covilhã, the King bade him not lose heart, but to continue his search for the kingdom of Prester John, should he not have discovered it already.

Although his health was somewhat impaired, Pero de Covilhã, with the Rabbi Abraham, left the gulf of Aden, and proceeded to Ormuz. Before departing he wrote to the King respecting all he had heard and seen, and sent the letters by the shoemaker, who returned to Portugal. Pero de Covilhã remained a considerable time at Ormuz, and then separated from the Rabbi, and went on to Aden, and then to Abyssinia, where he actually found Prester John. The Rabbi returned to Europe in the caravans of Aleppo.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The reigning Negus of Abyssinia was called Alexander, or Exander in the native tongue. He received the Portuguese traveller most cordially, and expressed much satisfaction and pleasure at receiving the embassy of a Christian prince of Europe; but a few days after the Negus died, and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Naut, who not only despised him, but forbade him to quit the kingdom, and Pero de Covilhã lost all hopes of ever beholding his native land. This Portuguese knight married in Abyssinia, and ended his days there. He was living when, in the year 1515, D. Rodrigo de Lima, the ambassador sent by the King, D. Manuel, arrived at the Court of the reigning Negus, David. This ambassador pleaded hard for leave to be granted to Covilhã to return to Portugal, but all in vain, and the desired permission was never granted. It was through this embassy that we know the particulars of his voyage. It appears the embassy took a chaplain, Father Francisco Alvares, to whom Covilhã recounted all his life, and this priest wrote down his narrative and all else he himself had seen and learnt; when this book was published it was at once translated into French, Spanish, German, and Italian.

In the year 1487 the Portuguese arms were victorious in the attack which the Xarife Alle Barraxa made on the city of Tangiers, of which D. João de Menezes, afterwards Count de Tarouca, was the governor. The Xarife was taken prisoner, but released after paying a heavy ransom and signing a humiliating capitulation. Later on the routing and capture of the Alcaide of Alcacer-Kibir took place at the hands of D. Vasco Coutinho, Count de Borba, the Captain of Arzilla, and the Moor was compelled to pay a heavy ransom.

Not content with this, D. João II. ordered another fleet to be prepared and equipped, with the object of carrying out a more violent war against Africa. But when the Moors learnt what was being done they fled for safety, hence only a small fleet, composed of some thirty caravels, left the kingdom, commanded by Fernam Martins de Mascarenhas, who landed in Arzilla, and in conjunction with D. João de Menezes and the Count of Borba, effected an incursion into Alcacer-Kibir, and returned to Portugal.

It seemed that all things concurred to widen the royal power of D. João II. in Africa. In the year 1488 a native prince called Bemoim, from the kingdom of Gelof, in Guinea, arrived to Portugal with the object of becoming a Christian, and in this way win the good-will of D. João II., as he desired to ally himself with Portugal, in order to

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

have a protector against the enemies who threatened him in his own kingdom and sought to dethrone him.

This black prince was baptised in Setubal, receiving the name of John, and later on was knighted, the King of Portugal assigning a coat-of-arms, and taking the oath of fidelity to the Portuguese King. acknowledged himself a vassal. After some time he departed with twenty caravels assigned by the Portuguese King to aid him against his enemies. This fleet was commanded by Pero Vas da Cunha, who on reaching Africa, suspecting treachery, slew the black prince Bemoim. This death greatly grieved D. João II., nevertheless he did not punish the assassin. It is said some notable persons were involved in this affair, and therefore he did not punish him.

Following his desire of dominating Africa, D. João II. ordered a town with its fortress to be erected on the shore of the River Larache, which would be of great service for warring against the Moors of Fez and Alcacer-Kibir. A large expedition left Lisbon, composed of the flower of the Portuguese nobility, to carry out this plan, the town to be called Graciosa. But when the King of Fez was apprised of the intentions of the Portuguese in erecting this fortress, he purposed to besiege the Portuguese, who therefore found themselves in a critical position.

This intelligence so greatly moved D. João II. that he sent immediately a large reinforcement, and even expressed a desire to command it in person and succour the Portuguese. The King of Fez, however, thought better to enter into a convention, in virtue of which the Portuguese were allowed to retire and return to the kingdom. The treaty or convention was signed on 27th August, 1489.

Let us return to the affairs of the kingdom.

After the death of the Dukes of Braganza and Vizeu, and the energetic manner in which the King of Portugal had put down the conspiracies of the nobles, the Catholic Kings of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, fully acknowledging that all attempts to remove from the throne D. João II. would be useless, judged it more expedient to withdraw from plots and conspiracies and faithfully maintain the peace pledged between the two nations. Hence they began to establish friendly relations, and in the year 1487, when the Catholic Kings were engaged in the war with Granada, and that ammunition failed them during the siege of Malaga, they besought D. João II. to aid them, and he sent at once a shipload of powder and ammunitions of war.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

In the year 1488 the Prince D. Alfonso completed his fourteenth year, and as the Infanta of Spain, D. Isabel, was still unmarried, D. João II. desired to know whether the sovereigns of Castille were disposed to carry out the conditions of the treaty.

The reply from Castille was a favourable one, which the King of Portugal received with great joy, and the marriage of the Prince D. Alfonso with D. Isabel of Castille was fixed to take place on the following year. The marriage by procuration took place in Seville on Easter Sunday, in the year 1490. Throughout the nation feasts took place, but the sad news of the death of the Infanta D. Joanna came to cast a gloom over the festivities. Nevertheless, after the official mourning was over, preparations were at once made for the reception of the Castillian princess, who was to arrive in Portugal during the month of October.

D. João II. desired that the festivities should be the most splendid ever witnessed, and for this purpose sent to foreign lands for rich stuffs and brocades. Invitations were issued to all the principal personages throughout the kingdom, and it was resolved to hold the feasts in Evora, as pestilence was then raging in Lisbon. Garcia de Rezende and Ruy de Pina assign many pages of their chronicles to the description of these royal feasts, but as we judge that they would not be of interest at the present day, we shall only mention them as a fact in relation to the enormous expenditure which they entailed, and as the political realisation of an alliance between the Crowns of Portugal and Castille.

The marriage took place at the end of November, when the princess arrived, and the feasts and rejoicings exceeded in splendour and magnificence all that was expected.

But every medal has its reverse side. After the feasts of Evora, when the newly married pair went to Santa Maria do Espinheiro, D. João II. retired to Fonte-Coberta, where he was taken ill, it is said, from the effects of poison put into the water of the fountain or spring which gives the place its name. It appears the revengeful arm of the nobility, taking advantage of the festivities, was lifted up anew for strife. But D. João recovered, although his health remained ever after impaired, and he returned in the early spring, with his Court, to Evora. Fearing the effects of the summer heat in the Alemtejo, the royal family, in May, proceeded to Santarem. Here they gave themselves up to such amusements as the place afforded. On the 11th of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

July, the King and his son, Prince Alfonso, went to hunt in the mountains of Almeirim, and the following day, towards evening, D. João II. asked his son to accompany him for a bathe in the Tagus. It appears the prince had attended Mass in the morning, and feeling very tired from his previous day's sport, had retired after dinner to his apartments, and, on the plea of fatigue, desired his father to excuse him from going with him. D. João was in the courtyard of the palace, and was leaping on horseback, when the prince and the princess appeared at the window, and again begged his father to excuse him. The King smiled back an adieu, and proceeded alone towards the river.

The prince was touched by his father's affectionate manner, and feeling sorry at not complying with his request, quickly ordered his mule to be got ready, and descended to the courtyard. Finding that the mule he usually rode was not ready, he mounted a horse of one of the suite, and sped to overtake the King, and went with him to the Ribeira. There he met D. João de Menezes, Commander of Aljezur, whom he challenged to run a race with him. His suite respectfully advised him not to do so, as the evening was far advanced; but D. Alfonso insisted, and in the second race his horse tripped, fell, and rolled over its rider.

D. Alfonso was at once released by those who followed him, and carried in an unconscious state to a fisherman's hut close by, and laid him there while the nobles hastened to summon his father, the King. The report of the accident very soon reached the palace, and the Queen and princess were soon on the spot. The physicians were summoned, and attended on him with all possible skill. During the whole of that night the King, Queen, and bride remained at the bedside, and it is said the King nearly lost his reason at beholding his tenderly-loved son laid so low. Towards morning the physicians perceived that death was near, and the priests were summoned to administer the last sacraments, when it became necessary to withdraw the royal family from that scene. The Queen and princess were removed in a semi-unconscious state, after tenderly kissing and embracing their dearly loved one. It was a harrowing scene to witness the grief of mother and newly wedded wife at parting for ever from their idolised son and husband. The King then also withdrew, and, with his family, retired to the residence of Vasco Palho, whose house was situated on the Ribeira. Soon after their departure the prince

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

breathed his last sigh, being only sixteen years of age, and married scarcely seven months. He died on the 13th of July, 1475.

The grief of the King was excessive, and no less that of the royal family and Court. Many fidalgos hastened to the Court to offer their condolence and sympathy, foremost among them being the Duchess of Braganza, the hapless widow of the duke whom the King had ordered to be beheaded at Evora, yet who at that sad moment was Christian enough to follow the grandest maxim of the Gospel, *forgiveness!*

The Duke of Beja, who, although by this untimely death, became the legitimate successor to the throne, bitterly bewailed his loss, as they had been companions and friends of boyhood. But the spirit of the King never recovered the terrible shock he had sustained, and he became abstracted, and at times appeared to commune with the spirit that had fled for ever from earth. The invisible hand of the justice of God was deeply chastising him, and remorse was mingled with his grief.

The remains of the Prince Alfonso were conducted to the Monastery of Batalha, and laid in the Chapter House, close to the tomb of his grandfather, D. Alfonso V.

After the death of Prince D. Alfonso the affections of the King of Portugal became centred on his natural son, D. George of Lancaster, by a noble lady called D. Anna de Mendoza. This gave rise to a family strife, which the chroniclers do not endeavour to conceal. D. João II. desired to proclaim D. George his successor to the throne, whom the Queen had always repelled from the Court, either through jealousy or family conveniences, because in the event of D. George not being acknowledged King of Portugal the throne would belong to her brother, D. Manuel, Duke of Beja.

The stubborn character of the King would not easily yield in this case, and he therefore solicited from Rome the nomination of the mastership in perpetuity of the Orders of Santiago and of Aviz for D. George (1492), in order to smooth the path to the throne.

But the strife raging in the bosom of the royal family was daily becoming more marked. On one side stood the new Master of Santiago, protected by the King; on the other the Duke of Beja, protected by his sister the Queen. The character of the King during this conflict of contrary interests became more sullen and concentrated.

The widow of the late Prince Alfonso, who was dearly loved by the King of Portugal, had returned to her parents, the sovereigns of Castille, at the time when they were concluding the conquest of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Granada. It appears the beauty of D. Isabel had made a deep impression on the spirit of the Duke de Beja.

Whether owing to grief at the loss of his son and to the family strifes which followed, or to the existence in the system of the poison administered to him at *Fonte Coberta*, but the health of D. João II. began visibly to decline, and he became subject to fits and faintings. Those around him foresaw the coming end, and the King was forced to alter his way of living and drink wine, which he had never done before, in order to ward off illness. But it was, however, too late to arrest the progress of the malady. Nevertheless, he continued to occupy himself with the affairs of State, which at the present juncture assumed a new phase that threatened a doubtful solution.

The affair of the succession to the throne worked a visible change in the relations between the King and Queen, whose noble qualities and highest prudence he so greatly appreciated, but whose stern will he dreaded in the latter days of his life. Placing his whole affection on his son D. George, and desirous of making him the successor to the throne, he saw with displeasure the efforts of D. Leonor to secure the throne for her brother. Hence a moral separation rose up between the royal consorts. For many years D. Leonor had been the devoted companion of D. João II., and had assisted him politically during the strife against feudalism, as is proved by a letter addressed to the Municipal Chamber of Lisbon, in which is clearly revealed how much D. Leonor desired to bind the relations of the throne to the municipality and the popular element it represented.

But now the question of the succession had morally separated them. Yet he manifested in all his acts, when not prompted by passion or strife, that he was led by his own enlightened reason, as was seen by his manner of proceeding in respect to the Jews who had fled from Spain.

For a great length of time the Jews had been subjected in Castille to an almost insupportable system of laws. Queen Isabella, amid her brilliant qualities, had one defect which dimmed them: this was fanaticism, and Ferdinand was likewise fanatical, and moreover superstitious and avaricious. Hence the Jews fared badly under the rule of these sovereigns, because the Hebrew race possessed the two qualities which more quickly drew towards them odium—they were wealthy and did not follow the law of Christ.

Although subjected to most humiliating and oppressive laws, the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Jews, both in Castille and in Portugal, had acquired a legitimate preponderance, due to their intelligence and superior illustration, and also to their great wealth.

It is true to say that the Christian population detested them; but the reigning monarchs, who oftentimes required their aid, frequently protected them against the general odium, and the greatest perils these hapless sons of the Hebrew race had to ward against were popular risings, and which oftentimes were severely punished by the King.

The Inquisition which had been erected in France in 1233, during the reign of Saint Louis and of the Pontificate of Gregory IX., and later on adopted in Germany and Italy, was transplanted to Aragon in 1242. This tribunal, which had been created in the thirteenth century against the heresy of the Albigenses and others, when these heresies were destroyed in a great measure, was now directed against the defenceless Jewish race; and Queen Isabella allowed the Inquisition to be erected in Castille by a bull of Pope Sixtus IV. on 1st November, 1478. For the space of fourteen years did the Inquisition in Spain visit its terrifying scourge on the hapless Hebrew race, until Ferdinand and Isabella, not satisfied with the establishment of this darksome tribunal, projected the expulsion of the Jews from their States, depriving themselves in this way of skilful politicians who had endeavoured to restore prosperity to an impoverished kingdom, of an industrious race, wealthy and intelligent, whose departure must necessarily produce an enormous want in the country they were quitting.

Terror-stricken at what was projected, the Jews endeavoured to appease the Catholic Kings by offering a round sum of 30,000 ducats in order to be left in peace. Despite all the terrors of the Inquisition, the proscribed race clung to the land of their adoption, and could not resign themselves to quitting it. However, the offer was not accepted, and the sentence of expulsion was definitely signed in Granada on the 30th of March, 1492. It was ordained that all Jews should quit the kingdom by the end of July. The sentence of exile fell like a thunderbolt on the heads of the Israelites. Many of them, judging that the Moors of Africa would prove as tolerant as their co-religionists of Granada, embarked in Cadiz for Arzilla, and from thence proceeded to the interior of Barbary. But the Moors treated them no less mercilessly than the Christians. They robbed them of all the gold and silver they had been able to take with them, and in every way treated them so barbarously that they preferred in their despair to return to Arzilla

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and receive baptism. Others proceeded to Italy, the greater number landing at Naples, but the captains of the vessels conducting them robbed them unmercifully, while the accommodation afforded them was so unsanitary that the pestilence broke out among them, and was brought into Naples, when over 20,000 persons fell victims. Others, again, fled to Turkey and the Levant, which they rendered wealthy by their industry. A great number passed on to France and England, but the greater number sought a home in Portugal, which was close at hand, and from whence they could later on pass to other parts less inspired by fanaticism. They greatly wished to remain in Portugal, but feared lest the fanaticism of Ferdinand and Isabella might likewise induce D. João II. to drive them away. Hence they offered the King a large sum of money to be allowed to remain in the kingdom until a favourable opportunity should offer to pass over to Africa.

The King was at Cintra when he summoned a council to deliberate on the affair, but before the discussion commenced he manifested himself willing to accede to the proposal of the Jews. The council, says Ruy de Pina, agreed simply to please the King, although it appears some were opposed. D. João II. permitted the Jews, on payment of a certain tribute levelled upon each head, to enter the kingdom, and remain in it for the space of eight months, to enable them to go on to Africa, and even permitted many who were skilful artificers to establish themselves in Portugal, from whence the successor of D. João II., the excellent King D. Manuel, was to expel them!

D. João II. was at Alcochete when he was apprised of the grave illness of the Queen in Setubal. He immediately hastened to Setubal, where he found the Queen seriously ill, and the country grew apprehensive; but, fortunately, her illness did not prove fatal. The King, however, was daily failing, and he grew worse. His physicians ordered change of air, and he removed to Evora; but as pestilence broke out in Evora, the King fled to Alcaçovas, where his maladies considerably increased. But the sickness was as much of the spirit as of the body. After losing a dearly loved son, the hostility moved by the Queen against his other son embittered his existence. The King tried one more endeavour at conciliation, and induce D. Leonor at least to receive D. George of Lancaster; but the Queen resolutely refused. Then the King was ordered by the physicians to try the baths of Monchique, in the Algarve. Before departing, D. João II., feeling that the end of his life was near and his strength failing him for wrestling.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

desired to make peace with the Queen, and it was with his heart full of bitter grief that he agreed to deprive his son George of the succession to the throne. It was in the town of Alcaçovas that the King of Portugal made his will, and Ruy de Pina tells us that, expressing deep regret for the past, he became reconciled to the Queen, his wife, on affectionate terms. In this testament D. Manuel, Duke of Beja, is assigned as the future King of Portugal; but when D. João II. recommends D. George as his successor, it is always with eloquent demonstrations of affection and esteem. The promises made to D. Manuel after the death of the Duke of Vizeu are to be taken as the outcome of a deep remorse. It was later on that the affection for D. George of Lancaster was openly manifested, and then commenced the strife with the Queen in order to appoint him the successor to the throne. After the death of the hapless prince, the Infante D. Alfonso, the void which this deplorable event left in the heart of the King was filled up by D. George of Lancaster, whom his father ever wished to have at his side. We see him assisting at his last resolves, he was present at the signing of the will, and accompanies him to the Algarve, whilst the Queen and the Duke de Beja remain in Alcacer do Sal.

Finding that the change to the Caldas of Monchique did not work the desired benefit, the King proceeded to Alvor, accompanied by D. George. After this we find he did no longer follow his father, and that he remained at Villa Nova de Portimão. There are various opinions as to the reason of this apparent neglect, and contradictions in the narrative of Ruy de Pina, and he adds, that if D George remained at Villa Nova de Portimão while his father was dying in Alvor, it was because D. João II. wished to avoid the painful remembrance that his cause, which he had had so much at heart, had not triumphed, hence he did not wish his son to witness his remorse.

As the state of health of the Queen continued very unsatisfactory, the King bade the Duke of Beja to come to him. The Duke was preparing to proceed to Alvor, when he was apprised that D. João II. was actually in his death-agony, and the Duke turned back. In this is seen the selfishness of D. Manuel. He cared not to receive the last sigh or kiss the hand of one who, in his last moments, was placing the sceptre in his hands. But the King was not dead, and he lived some days longer, and he wrote to the Queen and to the Duke to inform them of the improvement in his health. But he, with the nobles, did not, perchance, feel very anxious that his life

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

should be prolonged, and they even sent to Lisbon a caravel to bring black cloth and tapers. The nobles judged that with D. Manuel as king, he who was the brother of the murdered Duke of Vizeu, their preponderance would be re-established. But the classes were sorrowful; they, indeed, felt that they were losing their powerful ally. On the day when D. João II. lay almost expiring, the people flocked beneath the window of his chamber, and, Garcia de Rezende informs us, there was great joy when they learnt he was better, and they desired to see him. The King, on hearing the uproar, asked what it might be, and on being informed that it was the expression of pleasure because he was better, he ordered the door to be opened, and said, "Let the people come in who desire to see me, and I also wish to see them." "And the people quietly came in one by one, and shedding tears of joy and gratitude to God, approached his bedside and kissed his hand and went out, the King, meanwhile, smiling kindly upon them." The people were well aware that their King, stricken down as he was on a bed of sickness, still possessed sufficient power to defend the rights of the oppressed and the lowly. Hence a ray of hope of his being restored to health gladdened them.

On the following day fainting fits came on, which announced the coming of the end. The King was quite conscious of the state he was in, nevertheless he wished to learn the truth from those around him, in order to prepare for the end in a spiritual sense. The Prior of Crato and the Bishop of Tangiers were chosen to apprise the King of his danger. The King listened to them with perfect calmness, and replied that the news was a sad and bitter trial, but he thanked God for it, as he judged it was necessary to him. D. João II. then prepared his soul, receiving the last sacraments of the Church, and manifested himself both generous and humble—generous towards those who had besought, during his last moments, for favours; humble towards those who, by his actions as King, might retain some resentment towards him. It was no longer the King who was expiring, it was the individual. As a man, he was bound to reconcile himself with his enemies at that supreme hour, when he was stepping into the mystery of eternity. As a king, his work would survive him and remain, and what was done could not be undone. Thus, evidently, thought D. João II. when his ailments had assumed a grave and dangerous character. In his testament, dated 30th September, 1495, he had traced out for his successor the political path he should follow, which

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

proved that D. João II. was certain of the integrity of the work he had done, and for which he had no remorse; but it also shows that he had not that confidence in his successor which he would have had had it been his son D. George. We find another clause in his will which refers to the Excellent Lady, whose tearful form perchance rose up before the mind of the dying King, and probably the only remorse which at that juncture embittered his spirit. He bids the Duke honour and respect the Excellent Lady, and always keep her in the position befitting her rank, and that no revenues be withdrawn during her lifetime.

Notwithstanding that his spirit was firm and tranquil, a profound sadness must have assailed him when he perceived his last end approaching. The work of D. João II. had not been completed, yet he felt he was dying. In the mind of D. João II. there was a perfect consciousness of the grand destinies of the age he lived in.

"The fifteenth century," writes Latino Coelho, "constitutes the progressive passage of the mediæval times in respect to the new era of civilised Europe. All former vestiges which linked to restored Europe the customs and institutions of antiquity disappear. It was the epoch when European Christianity had reached its period of adolescence and maturity after pitiful convulsions, and had slowly cast off the crust of barbarism. Modern national unions had become in a great measure constituted, thanks to the triumph of the conquerors against the social anarchy of feudalism. The tottering empire of the East disappears for ever, as well as the extreme and degenerate relics of the ancient Greco-Roman society in presence of the organism of Christianity. And to counteract the irruption of the Mussalmans in the extreme east of Europe, the invading hordes of Mahomet II. cease to do their work in Spain, and the standard of the Crescent, formerly so triumphant and victorious, no longer waves from the minarets and mosques of Granada.

"The fifteenth century, in relation to the subsequent one, which became the apogee of the Renaissance, bears the same admirable relation in the evolution of humanity as the eighteenth century did to our contemporary one. Both were signalised by a lengthened and profound elaboration, being the laborious novitiate and preparation for the fruitful civilisations which distinguished later and subsequent ages. Hence, in the same manner as Watts and the first steam engine applicable to industrial uses became the glorious precursors of the prodigious civilisa-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

tion of the present age, so also did the fecund invention of Fust and Guttenberg presage a new epoch in science and letters as the splendid harvest of the Renaissance.

"Europe commences to feel in the fifteenth century that higher destinies are calling her to new and greater undertakings than those afforded by an even, quiet life. Internal wars and domestic contentions no longer satisfy her nervous activity, since they produce no fruit or are of any value. Europe feels that a new transformation, vaguely suspected, is now necessary to its existence. It is from the North that the printing press—the first and grandest invention, the precious instrument of intellectual culture—comes forth. But from the European lands of the South and West another branch of universal civilisation is to spring out. Guttenberg discovers the apparatus which is to perpetuate and materialise thought. Yet it is in Portugal where the most astonishing marvels spring, which the press and movable types are to record and recount."

João II., the individual who so perfectly comprehended the ends and aims of the age he lived in, was dying without beholding a great part of the work, and in which he had taken a large share, realised.

India, which, after Bartholomew Dias doubled the Cape of Good Hope, was so near to him, and when at the very moment that he stretches out his hand to grasp the peninsula of Hindustan, meets instead a fathomless abyss—the abyss of eternity—separating him for ever from it.

"His greatest desire," writes Garcia de Rezende, "was the discovery of India, to further which he did so much; for he even, after discovering the Cape of Good Hope, organised and equipped a fleet to explore it, appointing as chief captain Vasco da Gama, a fidalgo of his household." But India, which to D. João II. was his greatest and most constant dream, was flitting away with his life!

America also had fled from him with Christopher Columbus, the celebrated Genoese discoverer, who had been in Portugal studying and working maritime charts, probably from 1470 to 1484, and who wedded in this country a daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello.

According to Bossi, Columbus had come in the fleet of Colon el Mozzo, which fought on the coasts of Portugal with four Venetian galleys which were returning from Flanders. After a terrible combat, in which the ship of Columbus was threatened to be blown up, Columbus swam ashore, landing near Lisbon. There are other versions of the reason of his

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

coming to Portugal. It was certainly natural that he should come to Lisbon, where his brother Bartholomew resided and earned his living by the sale of maritime charts. Nevertheless, we shall give our readers further on another version.

Senhor Alexandre Magno de Castilho affords us a curious sketch of the principal events of the life of Columbus, especially those in relation to the history of Portugal and of the epoch under consideration.

"Hence in the same way as it is possible that the science of history influenced the designs of the Infante, so also it is presumed that the reading of ancient books induced in Columbus the idea that there was a short road to India. Eratosthenes, Aristoteles, Strabo, Seneca, Pedro de Alliaco (Cardinal Cameracensis), Alfergarri, and others judged the eastern part of Asia to be far nearer the west of Europe than it really was, and so close to each other that Aristoteles says the supposition is not improbable that the regions existing towards the side of the Pillars of Hercules touched the kingdoms of India."

Columbus was not assisted by D. Alfonso V., because the then existing war with Castille compelled him to desist from any great maritime undertakings; nor could D. João II. afford him any help, because having summoned a council to discuss the proposal of Columbus, it was rejected as impracticable, and the one who more greatly opposed it being Caradilla, Bishop of Ceuta. Columbus then retired to Spain (1485), and after a length of time, during which he had to earn his living by designing charts and selling books, he obtained the protection of Pedro Gonzales de Mendoza, the Archbishop of Toledo. This prelate introduced him to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, who, after listening to what Columbus had to say, held a council in the convent of St. Stephen of Salamanca, composed of professors of astronomy and geography, dignitaries of the Church, learned monks, and others. The majority, founding their views principally on Biblical texts and the cosmographical opinions of Moses and the prophets, not only rejected his proposal, but even accused Columbus of heresy.

"But after the conquest of Granada the Dominican, Diego de Deza, professor in theology of the University of Salamanca; the Franciscan, Juan Perez de Marchena, Luis de Sant Angel, and Alonzo de Quintanilla succeeded in inducing the Catholic sovereigns to grant Columbus a second audience, and not only were his projects admitted, but even the conditions imposed by him accepted. On the 3rd of August, 1493, a squadron composed of three ships—the *Santa Maria*, commanded by

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Christopher Columbus; the *Pinta*, by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the *Niña*, by Francisco Martin Pinzon, and manned by 150 men—departed from the bar of Saltes.

"On the 11th of October of the same year they reached the island called by the Indians Guanaharni. Columbus named it S. Salvador, and the English Cats Island, this being the first land they came to. It was only some six years later that, in 1498, during the third voyage of Columbus, he arrived to a tract of land called Isla Santa, near Punta Redonda, on the eastern coast of the province of Cumana, to the east of Cano Macareo."

We must add to the above the further proofs offered to us by the annotations to the letters of the Indies published for the first time by the Minister of Public Works (Madrid, 1877), which say that Christopher Columbus, not wishing to take part in the disputes of Italy, passed on in 1476 to Lisbon, where his brother Bartholomew resided, and from the Portuguese capital he made several voyages to England, the coasts of Guinea, islands of Spain and Portugal, and northern regions, to about a hundred leagues beyond Iceland. It remains now to touch upon two important points, which we shall do in a brief manner.

First. Whether, before Columbus, any one had thought of discovering a western passage to the Indies.

The Viscount de Santarem,* who deeply studied the question categorically, affirms that the priority of this conception belongs to the Portuguese. The Infante D. Henrique had already sent ships to the west before Columbus thought of discovering Cipango, and Alfonso V. had consulted the Florentine astronomer, Toscanelli, respecting a passage on the west towards the country where spices ripened.†

According to other writers, America had been discovered in 1486 by a Portuguese called Alfonso Sanches, who, returning in ill-health to Funchal where Columbus then resided, confided to him his charts and route in order to remunerate him in some measure for the hospitality which Columbus had afforded him during his illness, an illness which resulted in his death.

Modern investigations of historic criticism tend to the belief that João Vaz Corte-Real and Alvaro Martins Homen had discovered New-

* "Recherches historiques, critiques et bibliographiques sur Amèric Vespuce et ses voyages."

† See "De la découverte de l'Amérique," by Luciano Cordeiro, Lisbon, 1876.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

foundland, or Island of Bacalhaus (Codfish Island), before Columbus touched S. Salvador.

Secondly. Is the narrative true of the persecution moved by D. João II. against Christopher Columbus which we find in various writers, among them Madame H. Dujarday?*

We hold that this narrative be considered false. The letter addressed by D. João II. to Christopher Columbus would prove this, since he writes to him as "our especial friend in Seville, Christopher Columbus," and in which he bids him be in no fear to come to Portugal, as he shall not be arrested or detained, accused or charged in any way, whether civilly, criminally, or otherwise. This the King bids all the justices take notice, and furthermore desires him to come at once and to have no fear: this letter was dated from Aviz, 20th March, 1488.

If D. João II. did not accept the project of Columbus, it was not because he thought it untenable, but on account of the inconvenient manner in which the project was formulated, especially in respect to the exigencies of recompense.

In 1493, when Columbus came to Lisbon after having discovered the island of San Salvador, he manifested himself impertinently vain in the presence of the King of Portugal. The attitude of the Genoese so displeased the Court that they wished to punish him, but D. João II. would not take heed of the resentments which had arisen around him, and showed Columbus great honour and esteem.

But, as was natural, a doubt rose up in the spirit of D. João II. In virtue of the Treaty of Alcaçovas of 4th September, 1479, made between Portugal and Castille, the seigniority of Guinea, with all its seas, islands, and coasts, discovered or undiscovered, as far as India, belonged *in solidum* to Portugal. D. João II. desired to revindicate the rights of the Portuguese Crown, and ordered that a fleet, commanded by D. Francisco de Almeida, should be charged to resolve this affair, when the sovereigns of Castille hastened to send him ambassadors to deter him from doing so until by some other means they should assign by right the proprietorship of the lands boarded by Columbus. What Castille had really in view in doing this was to start a diplomatic negotiation which would afford them time until the return of the ships sent out to investigate the importance of the discovery. From Portugal an embassage was sent to Castille, and from Castille came envoys to

* See "Résumé des voyages, découvertes et conquêtes des Portugais," cap. iii.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Portugal with instructions to delay the negotiation. Again did Portugal send another embassage to Castille, because, although stricken with sickness, D. João II. was not the man to desist from the revindication of his rights. In virtue of this ombassago it was that the celebrated treaty of Tordesillas was signed on 7th June, 1494. By this treaty it was agreed upon that 370 leagues, from the Cape Verde Islands towards the west, and from thence casting an imaginary line across the poles dividing the globe into two hemispheres, should appertain to Castille, and the east to the Portuguese, in order that each of the nations should in either hemisphere continue freely their discoveries.

Hence we see up to what point the action of D. João II. had extended in relation to the vast project of maritime discoveries. Of his political work, that is to say, the centralisation and consolidation of royal power, we have already given our readers a hurried but fair idea.

At sunset on 25th October, 1495, the great King expired. He was perfectly conscious to the last, a fact which, no doubt, aggravated his moral sufferings and agony. He was dying, yet his work was not finished. He had laid the foundation of a grand social edifice, but death came to close his eyes ere he had seen the cupola placed over it. But circumstances were to work it out. D. Manuel suddenly found himself placed in the midst of eminently favourable circumstances. Yet the work was not his own, as likewise it was not exclusively that of João II. Fortunately, the successor of Alfonso V. realised the legacy of his elders by comprehending and employing every possible effort to augment it. After this it was only necessary to gather the harvest. This was the work which D. Manuel did, as we shall see when we follow out his reign.

During his last moments he manifested himself deeply repentant for the severe measures adopted during his government, and confessing he had sinned by cruelty, besought pardon of those he had made orphans, and among them the mother of the murdered Duke of Vizeu, for the grief he had been the cause of. Did Providence absolve him? We know not. But we do know that during his lifetime he cruelly expiated the excesses of his vengeance, because he saw death strike down his firstborn, his dearly loved son Alfonso, and State reasons compelled him to leave his other son, borne to him by D. Anna de Mendoza, at the mercy of his enemy, the brother of him whom he had with his own hand assassinated.

But let us say it to the honour of D. Manuel, D. George was ever

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

treated during his government with the highest distinction, and the Dukedom of Coimbra, the Masterships of the Orders of Santiago and Aviz, were the splendid appanage of the bastard son of D. João II.

On his death-bed, nevertheless, the great King beheld himself forsaken. D. João II. had no loving hand of a relative to soothe him in his death-agony, excepting, perchance, that of his son George. The Queen, laid up in her bed of sickness in Alcacer do Sal, did not follow him to the Algarve, nor made any effort to do so, owing to the discords existing between them. The Duke of Beja likewise deserted him, although summoned to his bedside.

When we behold the King D. João II. punishing severely the nobles, we must not infer that he was a man devoid of clemency; or when we see him so jealous of the rights of the Crown, and anxious to recover them, must we judge that he was ungenerous. He was, on the contrary, very generous in recompensing largely those who had served him, and, moreover, possessed the gift of discovering merit and appreciating it. He did not gather the fruits of his administration, but D. Manuel, who succeeded him on the throne, gathered the harvest which he found ready sown. The men who shed such glory and lustre over his reign were all arranged by D. João II. for the great acts which he had intended to carry out, and the circle which formed the aureole of the throne of D. João II. included Vasco da Gama, D. Francisco d'Almeida, Alfonso de Albuquerque, Duarte Pacheco, Fernão de Magalhães, and many others.

But what principally rendered D. João II. so great was his political and administrative genius, by which he concentrated in his hands the supreme authority, and the use he made of it for the public weal, by an economic administration, avoiding to impose tributes unnecessarily, seeking for worthy individuals to whom he entrusted great undertakings, and concurring in every scheme for the development of Portuguese civilisation, impelling navigation, and bringing into the country the arts and sciences from Italy.

He was well instructed in mathematical and cosmographical science, and had a good knowledge of the construction of ships. It was in his time that the largest ship as yet built in Europe was constructed in Portugal, and that important trials were made of the use of artillery on board ship.

The King, who kept up an active correspondence with Policiano

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and Torricelli, who summoned Contucci to Portugal, who knew how to gather together in his Court on occasions of feasts all the pomps and splendours of his epoch, was in truth a king who did not keep aloof from the great movement of European renaissance.

The remains of D. João II. were deposited in the Cathedral of Silves, and later on translated to the Church of Batalha. In the year 1810 the French soldiers violated this tomb, as well as other sepulchres, and amid the ruins the scarcely recognised remains of the monarch were saved, the religious placing them in their former tomb, which they had restored.

END OF FIRST BOOK.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE SECOND.

1495—1521.

REIGN OF D. MANUEL.

Accession of D. Manuel to the throne of Portugal—The house of Braganza—Expulsion of the Jews—Marriage of D. Manuel with D. Isabella—Death of the Infante D. Juan of Castille—D. Manuel and D. Isabella are proclaimed heirs to the throne of Castille—Their arrival at Toledo—Aragon refuses to concur in this acclamation—Birth of Prince D. Miguel, heir to the crown of Castille—Death of the Queen of Portugal—Projects for an African expedition—Death of the prince-heir—D. Manuel marries D. Maria of Castille—Birth of the Infante D. João—Pilgrimage of the King to Compostella—Famine—Pestilence—Earthquakes—Reformation of laws—Expedition to discover India is projected—Departure of Vasco da Gama and his fleet—The Canary Islands—The Bay of St. Helena—Bushmen—The Cape of Good Hope—The Creek of S. Braz—Conspiracy against Vasco da Gama—The rivers Inhambane and Quilimane—Arrival at Mozambique—Bombuçu—Melinde—Arrival at Calicut—The Portuguese worship in a Brahmin temple—Interview with the Samorim—Humiliations of the Portuguese—Hostilities between the Portuguese and Indians—Return of Vasco da Gama to Portugal—Belem—Second expedition to India—Discovery of Brazils—Arrival to Calicut—Misunderstandings arise—Cochim—Return to Lisbon—Other expeditions start—Islands of Ascension and St. Helena—Second expedition of Vasco da Gama to India—Bombardment of the city of Calicut by the Portuguese—Return of Vasco da Gama—Departure and return of other expeditions—Ingratitude of D. Manuel in respect to Duarte Pacheco—First Viceroy of India is appointed—The mission of Francisco de Almeida—Alfonso de Albuquerque—Retirement of Almeida—His death—African strongholds—The expedition of Tristão da Cunha—His discoveries—Action of Alfonso Albuquerque—Conquers Calayate, Curiate, Mascate—Conquest of Ormuz—The city of Goa—Its conquest—Malacca—Death of Alfonso de Albuquerque—Lopo Soares—Governors of India—Island of Ascension—Fernam de Magalhães—His voyage of circumnavigation—Expedition of Gregorio de Quadra—Project of crossing Africa from the Congo to Abyssinia—D. Manuel sends an embassy to Rome—Arrival of an embassy from Abyssinia—Antonio Carneiro—Death of the Queen D. Maria—Third marriage of D. Manuel with D. Leonor—Birth of D. Maria—Marriage of D. Beatriz—Death of D. Manuel.

D. MANUEL, who was ascending the throne of Portugal after the death of the King, D. João II., was brother to the late Duke of Vizeu

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

assassinated by D. João II. He was born on the 31st of May, 1469, and therefore twenty-six years of age when he assumed the government of the realm. He was the last of the nine children of the Infante de Ferdinand, brother to D. Alfonso V. His sisters were D. Leonor, widow of D. João II.; D. Isabel, Duchess of Braganza, and D. Catherina, who died in infancy.

As we said before, when the King, with his own hand, slew the Duke of Vizeu, the last surviving brother of D. Manuel, he summoned him to his presence, and returned him some of the properties and titles held by the Duke, yet reserving for the Crown a large portion. But the appanage of the Duke of Vizeu was such that, despite the reduction, he owned an enormous rental. D. Manuel was Duke de Beja, Lord of Covilhã and Villa Viçosa, Commandeur of the Order of Christ, and Chief Frontier-Governor of Entre-Tejo and Guadiana. D. João II. had thus endeavoured to heal the wounds inflicted on his consort's family, when he lifted the dagger to slay the Duke of Vizeu.

It was amid the most prosperous circumstances ever enjoyed by Portugal that the proclamation of the Duke de Beja as D. Manuel, King of Portugal, took place, in Alcacer do Sal, after the reading of the will of D. João II. The Cortes were at once convoked in Montemôr-o-Novo, to which the new King assisted, and where the Prior of Crato presented to him the late King's natural son, D. George of Lancaster, and delivered up the private instructions received respecting this son from D. João II. These instructions were so explicit and couched in such affectionate language, and were presented with so much solemnity, that D. Manuel could not do aught than promise to fulfil them. The young prince was then in his fourteenth year. The King received his foster-brother very kindly, and ever after treated him with the highest regard, feeling, no doubt, that some compensation was due to one who had been deprived of the crown. It is true to say, nevertheless, that D. George never revealed any qualities which approached those possessed by his father, nor did he manifest later on a character which induced the nation's regret that he had not assumed the purple.

Owing to the pestilence then raging, the Cortes summoned at Montemôr had not a long session, nor the due solemnity. But at the end D. Manuel, by allowing the sons of the Duke of Braganza to return to the kingdom, as well as other nobles accused or suspected of being conspirators against D. João II., clearly revealed his intention of holding the testament of the late King as a dead letter, and that he meant to follow

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

a totally diverse policy. This proceeding, so soon after the demise of the late King, was very reprehensible, and D. Manuel, the ungrateful King, commenced his reign by destroying at one blow the whole political work of his predecessor. While still at Montemôr, D. Manuel notified to all who held privileges, liberties, or letters of endowment, to present them in order that they should be confirmed. This was a complete rehabilitation, both moral and material, of those whom D. João II. had judged worthy of punishment. Hence the epoch of the predominance of the nobility was being restored by thus newly investing it with all its powers and properties.

To D. Jayme, the eldest son of the Duke of Braganza, the King, D. Manuel, bestowed favours such as never had been done before by emperor or king, says the chronicler. He restored him to all the properties which the Crown had taken for itself, or that D. João II. had granted to other fidalgos. In this way the lustre of the once omnipotent house of Braganza was again established, and the family once more entered into possession of some fifty castles, towns, meadow-lands, farmsteads, and residential properties. All this gave rise to much discussion and ill-will throughout the kingdom. The nobility felt aggrieved that their importance should be crushed down by the extraordinary splendour of the house of Braganza. It was evident to all that D. Manuel proposed to crumble up the political work of João II., and that his hand would open to dangerous prodigalities. His tutor, Diogo da Silva de Menezes, he created Count de Portalegre, with its rentals, jurisdictions, and castle; but the principal citizens so rebelled against these donations that D. Manuel was forced to substitute them for others to avoid strife. D. George da Costa, the Cardinal de Alpedrinha, who, owing to some misunderstandings with D. João II., was residing at Rome, was now invited to return to Portugal This invitation, however, was not accepted, and he continued in Rome.

As we said, D. João II. had allowed the Jews expelled from Spain to reside temporarily in Portugal. This was a grand stroke of political economy, because by this means some twenty thousand families came into the kingdom, paying a certain tribute on each head, while artificers and others who might prove useful to the country as clever workmen were only taxed one-half. It so happened that many of these Jews, due either to poverty or other causes, were unable to quit the kingdom at the stipulated time, and these were considered captives. D. Manuel, on ascending the throne, liberated them. By this proceeding he again

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

acted diversely from the policy of his predecessor, who had drawn from this numerous colony all they could give, first as payers of tributes, and afterwards by the gratuitous services they rendered.

But D. Manuel was in love with D. Isabel, the daughter of the sovereigns of Castille, ever since she came from Spain to wed the hapless prince, D. Alfonso; besides this, he commenced to fan a secret project of succeeding to the Crown of Castille by marrying the eldest child of Ferdinand and Isabella. Hence D. Manuel entered into negotiations with their Catholic Majesties with this object, and in order to win their regard he resolved to annul his former resolution and expel the Jews and Moors from the kingdom. In doing this he heeded not the grave inconveniences which this retraction would entail—inconveniences which in part were originated by the spirit of the epoch, and in part due to former administrative errors. But his whole aim was to flatter the Spanish sovereigns and to follow his own plans. Daily were the relations between them becoming closer, D. Manuel even admitting the alliance proposed to him by Ferdinand and Isabella against the King of France in the contention respecting the Kingdom of Naples. Hence, despite that the non-converted Jews were preparing for the journey which the last resolve of the King compelled them to undertake, D. Manuel ordered, on Easter Sunday, 1496, that all their children under the age of fourteen should be taken from them. This order caused a great panic throughout the Israelite colony, and a feeling of reprobation even among a great number of Christians. Many of the Jews preferred to slay their own children rather than consent that the Christians should forcibly take them from them. Persecution had commenced, and, to judge by the first manifestations, was likely to prove a tremendous one. And while D. Manuel was ordering them to quit the kingdom, he not only did not afford them any ship for them to embark, but of three ports he closed two, thus compelling all emigrants to come to the port of Lisbon. In virtue of this perfidious order, and one which the Jews did not reckon upon, some thousands flocked to Lisbon, who were miserably housed in the "Estaos" of Lisbon, where later on the Inquisition was erected. These, waiting for others to join them from different parts of the kingdom, were subjected to many vexations, and as the term allowed expired, they were held as captives. Many of them demanded, with loud cries, for their children to be restored to them and they would become Christians. This forced conversion was considered good by D. Manuel. Other

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Jews, more fixed in their creed, haughtier, and more distrustful, preferred to give up their children sooner than renounce their religious principles, and these embarked. The future proved that these last ones were the more prudent. Moreover, the Jews, ever a wandering race, and hence weak, could not hope to take revenge for the perfidy of the Portuguese King, who persecuted them, while he manifested himself less cruel towards the Moors, who were stronger and more powerful. In any light we may view the measures taken against the Jews, they are all reprehensible. Not only had he alienated an important pecuniary subsidy and labour which they represented to the country, but no conquest had been obtained for the Christian religion by thus dragging them violently and against their will to the altar steps.

But D. Manuel desired to wed the widow of D. Alfonso, and he was hopelessly enamoured of her. Every means served him so long as he attained the desired end. D. Isabella had given herself up, after the death of the son of D. João II., to a religious concentration of spirit, vividly impressed by the fatality which had occurred to break up the joys of her newly wedded life. Under this impression the Infanta at first refused the proposal of a second marriage, but at the constant pleadings of D. Manuel the widowed princess yielded. It appears the King of Portugal desired the marriage should take place at an early date, but D. Isabella bade him delay his coming until he had expelled the Jews from his kingdom. We must suppose that some secret political project lay beneath his extreme enthusiasm for the Castillian princess.

The sovereigns of Castille had one son, D. Juan, and five daughters. D. Juan had married Margaret of Austria. The daughters were D. Isabel, widow of Alfonso; D. Juana, who became Queen of Spain; D. Maria, who, after the death of her sister, married D. Manuel; and D. Catharina, who was the first wife of Henry VIII. of England.

At the time of the marriage of D. Manuel with the Castillian princess, the prince-heir to the throne of Castille was lying seriously ill, but as the King of Portugal wished to hasten his marriage, the bride was accompanied to the frontier only by her mother, Queen Isabella, while D. Ferdinand remained with his son, who was in a dying state. And it was actually while the religious rites were taking place in Valencia de Alcantara that the news arrived of the death of the Infante D. João, which put an end to the festivities of the marriage.

By the death of the prince-heir, the right of succession to the Crown

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

of Castille passed on to the Infanta D. Isabel. This idea, no doubt, occupied the ambitious spirit of the successor of D. João II. But at the death of the prince, his wife D. Margarida being *enceinte*, there were hopes of succession; but she gave birth to a still-born child. Hence D. Manuel and his wife, the Infanta D. Isabel, were justified in assuming the title of Princes of Castille, Leon, and Aragon. In order to be proclaimed and sworn as such, it was necessary to proceed to Castille. A Cortes was convoked in Lisbon in the year 1498, and these Cortes authorised the departure of the sovereigns to Castille. On the 29th of March, D. Manuel and his consort, attended by a brilliant retinue, departed for Castille, leaving the regency of the kingdom to the widowed Queen, D. Leonor.

On arriving to the frontier of Castille, the Portuguese sovereigns were received by the Duke of Medina Sidonia and a suite of nobles, who accompanied the royal personages to Toledo, where the Catholic sovereigns awaited them, and D. Manuel and D. Isabel were sworn heirs to the kingdoms of Castille and Leon. They then proceeded to Aragon, in order to be likewise sworn in Zaragoza, but certain inconveniences occurred which prevented the realisation of the ceremony from at once taking place. It appears, writes Goes, that D. Ferdinand desired, on the day after their arrival, which was Sunday, that the Princes should be sworn, but the Aragonese would not consent, on the plea that in order to take the desired oath, it was necessary that deputies from Valencia and Barcelona should be present. This led to a good deal of unpleasant discussion, but on being pressed by D. Ferdinand, they replied that they would do so if some privileges, which had been taken from them, be restored and confirmed. The King would not consent, nor would the Aragonese yield up the point, and thus three months elapsed in useless discussions. One of the principal objections being that the succession of the throne could not descend to a female, but only to a male; and should there be no legitimate succession in the male line, it was only by election of all the states of the King that a sovereign could assume the crown, and therefore the deputies of Valencia and Barcelona delayed their attendance, as a manifest sign that they would not give their consent to the oath of fealty being taken.

This fact is interesting and important, as manifesting the national reaction against the imperious will of the Crown, which, at that epoch, had been invested with the glory of an extraordinary prestige through-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

out the Spanish Peninsula, due to the King, D. João II. of Portugal, and to Ferdinand and Isabella of Castille.

And while all this contention was going on, D. Isabel, the consort of D. Manuel, gave birth, in Zaragoza, to a prince, who received the name of Miguel, and, from that moment, he was proclaimed heir presumptive of Portugal, Castille, Leon, Aragon, and Sicily. This event at once put an end to the objections of the Aragonese. But the birth of this prince cost the life of its mother, D. Isabel. She was buried in the Monastery of St. Jerome, in Zaragoza. D. Manuel returned to Portugal in September, 1498. The Infante D. Miguel was proclaimed heir to the throne of Castille and Aragon, and in order that the same formality be celebrated in Portugal, D. Manuel summoned the three States to a Cortes in the month of March, 1499. When the session was opened, the States refused to take the oath unless the King promised, in the name of his son the Prince, that all Government appointments of justice and finance throughout the kingdom and seigniorities of Portugal should be granted only to Portuguese, under any circumstances or events, likewise the governorship of African strongholds and places, and the nomination of Alcaides of towns and castles. This the King granted.

How many times was the kingdom of Portugal on the eve of being united to Castille in consequence of political and personal alliances having as its origin some marriage!

It is even a subject of astonishment that all these combinations should prove unsuccessful, and that Portugal preserved its independence, when we take into account the history of these combinations and the foundation of its nationality. On this occasion the project of uniting the two States was prevented by the death of the Infante D. Miguel, who died in Granada on 19th July, 1500, being only twenty-two months old.

It appears the King did not betray any grief at losing his son, nor did Castille, because in neither kingdom did their respective Courts assume mourning, or the usual ceremonies take place as for princes of royal blood.

No doubt readers of history must feel some surprise that D. Manuel should view without regret his dream of aggrandisement dispelled, and the union of the Crowns of Portugal and Castille cast to the winds. But the reason of this was that at the moment another and a greater joy had dazzled and blinded him with the splendour of the Asiatic

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

wealth contained in India and the East. Vasco da Gama had at length reached the desired haven, as we shall describe further on. This event flattered the vanity and fascinated the spirit of D. Manuel. Therefore, he little cared to grieve at the death of his only son, left to him by the beauteous woman he had so long loved in secret. The heart of D. Manuel, when seen closely, has much to render it repulsive.

But the flourishing condition of Portugal once more induced the hope in the bosoms of Ferdinand and Isabella of succeeding in a second attempt at union by another family alliance. They offered their third daughter, the Infanta D. Maria, to D. Manuel for his consort. Their second daughter, D. Juana, was married to Philip, Archduke of Austria, and to her belonged, by right of succession, the crown of Castille and Leon. Hence, as D. Maria did not represent a throne, but simply a wife, the ambitious King of Portugal refused her hand several times. At length, finding that it was necessary to secure succession, he listened favourably, and the marriage took place in Alcacer do Sal on 30th October, 1500.

Satiated with the joys of his newly wedded life, D. Manuel conceived the ambitious desire of becoming the conqueror of Africa, as his predecessors had been. He wished to pass on to Africa, despite all contrary circumstances. But he was opposed by the royal council, and the Queen especially manifested great discontent, complaining bitterly to her parents; but he had set his heart upon imitating his great predecessors, and 26,000 men were equipped immediately for this expedition. Fortunately a European event occurred to withdraw this affair from the mind of D. Manuel. The Republic of Venice besought his aid against the Turks, to guarantee all that Greece *had won and possessed.* It was resolved in council to send in aid of the Venetians thirty ships and caravels. But as the nature of this expedition did not demand the actual presence of the King, D. Manuel remained in Portugal.

On 6th of June, 1502, the eldest child of D. Manuel was born, and received the name of John. Meanwhile, the spirit of D. Manuel, ever restless, could not remain idle, and he projected, in a fit of piety, to go on a pilgrimage to Santiago of Compostella, leaving the Queen in Lisbon. But this period of piety was brief, and again rose the idea of proceeding to Africa. Some preparations were already arranged for this expedition, when a most extraordinary wet season destroyed the crops of 1503. As a consequence famine set in throughout the kingdom. Under these circumstances D. Manuel was forced to abandon

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

his project a second time, not only on account of the famine, as because the public money had to be employed in bringing food from abroad.

When the Cortes was held in Lisbon to proclaim the Prince D. John heir and successor to the throne, the King asked for a subsidy to be granted to defray the expenses of the African possessions. The Cortes, in view of the general poverty of the kingdom, only voted 500,000 *cruzados*, and even this on lengthened terms of payment.

Another scourge visited the kingdom. This was a series of earthquakes. Many buildings were wrecked, and the people fled to the open fields or on the mountains for safety. Then followed pestilence. It seemed as though Providence desired to make D. Manuel feel that royal power, however great and extended, was unable to avoid the action of calamities.

In the year 1505 D. Manuel ordered the laws and the ancient ordinances of the kingdom to be reformed, adding to them what he judged needful; and likewise he ordered a rent roll to be taken of all chapels, hospitals, asylums, institutions, &c., of the kingdom, and diligent inquiry be instituted as to the truth of the statements made. These registers to be incorporated in authentic *terriers** of all properties, *foros*, rentals, and obligations due to these establishments and chapels, each of these to have them written in two books, one to be retained by these said houses and chapels, and a second one to be kept in the *Torre do Tombo* of the kingdom. Very few, however, were sent in to the records of the kingdom, either from neglect or through the fault of the persons charged with this affair. Coelho da Rocha says as follows in respect to this reformation:—"Scarcely had sixty years elapsed since the publication of the *Ordenações Affonsinas*, when D. Manuel ordered them to be revised and reduced to a better form; *whether from ambition of adding to his other titles that of Legislator*, or (*as is more natural*) *because he wished to make known, through the medium of printing—which then had commenced to be generalised in Portugal—a more perfect codice.* This reform was entrusted in 1505 to his Head-Chancellor, Ruy Botto; the Licentiate, Ruy da Grã, and to the Bachiler, João Cotrim. It was published in print in 1514, and lastly amended and concluded in 1521. It

* *Terrier.* Originally a collection of acknowledgments of the vassals or tenants of a lordship, containing the rents and services they owed to the lord, &c.: at present a book or roll in which the lands of private persons or corporations are described by their site, boundaries, number of acres, &c.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

is known in history by the name of the king who ordered them to be drawn up."

"The compilers of the new *Ordenações* amended but little from the ancient code. The division of the work, the system, the spirit, and general principles of legislation stand the same, and solely are the new providences and alterations inserted which had been published between the periods of compilation.

"The changes which the affluence of commerce and wealth from India effected in the customs and habits of the nation, and the interests and needs of the people, continually demanded reforms in laws. D. Manuel was, therefore, compelled to publish a great number of providences, in which he altered his ordinances, and these were augmented more largely later on by D. João III."

After Bartholomew Dias doubled the Cape of Good Hope in the reign of D. João II., the King was assiduously preparing a fleet to discover the maritime road to India, when death interrupted his plans. But the expedition was already well arranged, and its commander appointed, although this point is controverted by historians. Damião de Goes asseverates that it was D. Manuel who elected Vasco da Gama, and sent for him to Estremoz, where he was then residing. João de Barros tells us it was D. João II., while Pedro de Mariz, in his *Dialogos de Varia Historia*, relates an anecdote which is rather romantic. This anecdote is likewise mentioned by Gaspar Correia. He assures us that D. Manuel was deeply pondering on the projected expedition to India, and whom to choose as commander, when he saw Vasco da Gama cross the courtyard of the palace. A ray of light illumined his understanding. Vasco da Gama was the chief elected.

It is certain, however, that even during the reign of the "Perfect Prince" Vasco da Gama was already in his mind to take the lead in some of the great undertakings he had projected. This illustrious navigator was born in 1469 at Sines, and was of a high family, his father being Estevão da Gama, Chief Alcaide of Sines and Silves, Commandeur of Seixal; and his mother, D. Isabel Sodré, daughter of João de Rezende. Vasco received, besides the usual military and chivalrous education common to fidalgos, a vast instruction in nautical science.

At the commencement of his reign, as early as December, 1495, D. Manuel seriously thought of furthering the project commenced by his predecessor, and in Montemór-o-Novo, where he was holding the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cortes, he summoned a council to discuss this affair, which met with great opposition. His councillors were of opinion that should this expedition prove successful, it would excite against Portugal envy and wrath from other nations; that the Mussalman princes and the powerful Italian republics would range themselves amid the enemies of Portugal and the other nations of Europe among the envious and the malevolent. D. Manuel had the good sense to reject these faint-hearted advices, and in the following year began his preparations for this glorious expedition.

As it was judged that large ships would not be expedient, four small ships were constructed: two of these, the *Saint Gabriel* and the *Saint Raphael*, were built under the immediate direction of Bartholomew Dias from the timber assigned by the late D. João II. The others were a caravel of 80 tons, and a ship of 200 tons for carrying supplies: these were purchased by D. Manuel. The caravel was bought from a pilot of Lagos called Berrio, for which reason the craft was called the *Berrio*, and the ship for provisions, called the *San Miguel*, was purchased of Ayres Correia. Vasco da Gama had instructions to set fire to this ship on arriving to the creek or bay of S. Braz, after dividing among the three other vessels the supplies and crew.

The first ship, the *Saint Gabriel*, was commanded by the chief of the expedition, the world-renowned Vasco da Gama; and his pilot was Pero d'Alemquer, he who, leading the expedition of Bartholomew Dias, had wrestled against the storm's wrath, he who has been so cast in oblivion by our historians, but to whom is due a portion of the glory which almost exclusively surrounds the two illustrious chiefs, Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama. The scribe of the ship was Diogo Dias, brother of the discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope.

The *Saint Raphael* was commanded by Paulo da Gama, brother to Vasco; its pilot was João de Coimbra, and the scribe João da Sa'.

The *Berrio* was commanded by Nicolão Coelho, the pilot being Pero Escobar, and the scribe Alvaro de Braga.

A servitor of the household of the Gamas, called Gonçalo Nunes, governed the ship *San Miguel*.

This fleet took a chaplain called Pero de Cobillones, of the Order of Trinitarians; and two interpreters, one of Arabic and the other of the native language. The whole of the expedition numbered 160 souls. Among these were ten or twelve convicts who were to be left at the various points discovered. The whole crew were bidden by Vasco da

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Gama, while the construction of the ships and other preparations were going on, to learn as much as they could of the arts of carpentry, metal-work, and other trades, which might prove useful on sea. For this object D. Manuel increased their wages, which were very high for that epoch.

All things being ready, on the 7th July, 1497, Vasco da Gama, his brother Paulo da Gama, and Nicolão Coelho proceeded to the Chapel of Our Lady of Belem on the Rastello, on the site where subsequently was erected the magnificent edifice of Santa Maria de Belem. In this sanctuary they spent the night in prayer and watching. This chapel had been erected by order of the Infante D. Henrique for seamen to invoke the aid of Heaven before commencing their voyages; and this humble hermitage rose up, melancholy and solitary, opposite the Tagus. It was here that Vasco da Gama devoutly prayed that Heaven might be propitious to him, that the Virgin Mary, the patroness of that little sanctuary, should prove, amid the tribulations of the ocean, the "Stella Maris" which Christians invoke in her Litany.

On the following day an immense crowd gathered on the Rastello. The King came with priests to celebrate mass, and after the service the navigators, bearing lighted torches, devoutly wended their way in order of procession along the shore to their ships. The religious ceremony invested the expedition with a more solemn character. The beach was lined with people as the sailors embarked, and many tears were shed as they bade them farewell. How many of these would ever return to their native land? What fate awaited these intrepid men in those far-distant regions and lands hitherto unexplored and unknown? Would that expedition be crowned with success? João de Barros describes this scene with his accustomed eloquence. The King proceeded in a State barge close to the ships to witness the departure. At length the signal was given, and the ships weighed anchor and turned their prows towards the west. A slight breeze filled the sails, and from the multitudes on the beach rose up a tremendous cheer, mingled with cries of anguish and of farewell, to which the sailors responded with a joyous shout of adieu, and the small fleet of Vasco da Gama steadily ploughed the waters of the Tagus, lit up by the brilliant July sun, and bravely proceeded to cross the bar.

Besides these four ships, there was one caravel which bore Bartholomew Dias, who desired to go to the coast of Mina to barter for gold, and not, as some authors assert without foundation, that his object was

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

to lead the fleet on the road to the Cape of Good Hope. This would be unnecessary, because his pilot, Pero d'Alemquer, was also pilot to Vasco da Gama.

On the 15th of July the fleet arrived to the Canary Islands, and soon after they sighted the Rio do Oiro. A kind of dark mist rose up which enveloped them, and the ships became separated. This contingency had been foreseen, and the navigators had assigned Cape Verde as the point of reunion.

On the 23rd all the ships were together, with the exception of the one commanded by Vasco da Gama, which, however, joined them on the 26th, and on the next day arrived to the Island of Santiago, where they took in wood and water.

On the 3rd of August they continued the voyage, and reached a bay, which they called St. Helena, on the 4th of November. Here they anchored, in order to rest from their fatiguing voyage. Four leagues to the south-east of the bay they discovered a river, which they named Santiago, and which is known now as the Berg. The land was peopled by a race allied to the Hottentots, known as Bosjesmans, or Bushmen. Some of the officers landed, in order to measure the altitude of the sun, which they had been unable to do with sufficient precision while on board, owing to their instruments being imperfect, as João de Barros tells us. They found some negroes, and caught one who was collecting honey from the hollow of a tree, and who was said to be Sancho Mexia.

This negro was conducted to the chief commander's ship, and Vasco da Gama received him very kindly, and sat him down at table with him. The negro behaved very quietly, and, after the repast, was decked out with gaudy garments, loaded with presents and common trinkets, and sent back to land. It appears he recounted to his companions some marvellous tales respecting the Portuguese, because on the following day a number of natives made their appearance, and were conducted to the captain, who showed them gold, cinnamon, and other spices, in order to know whether they had such things in their land; but by the manner of the negroes they perceived they had none of these things. On the next day they returned to the number of forty or fifty, and the sailors went on land to purchase various curiosities in exchange for *ceitis*, which they greatly prized, as they appeared to like copper coins; and on the day after this, one of the Portuguese asked permission to go with the natives and see how they lived.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

It appears he very soon returned, running for his life, and shouting at the top of his voice for aid.

At first the Portuguese took no notice, because he was somewhat of a bully, and ever bragging of his bravery; but when they saw the natives following with assegais in their hands, they at once went to his aid.

Whether this gave rise to hostilities, as some authors say, or whether they took the defensive in view of the bellicose attitude assumed by the Portuguese, it is certain that a combat took place in which the Portuguese fared badly, as they had to withdraw to the ships, some of them being wounded, and among them Vasco da Gama. On investigating the case, it was found that Fernão Velloso, the Portuguese who had gone inland, had taken part in a banquet with the negroes, the principal viand being sea-wolf, and that after the repast he wished to follow them to their houses, but this they would not allow, and they attacked him and forced him to fly.

On the 16th of November they weighed anchor, and proceeded on their journey, and on the 19th they sighted the Cape; but it was three days before they could double the Cape, owing to contrary winds; but at length they did so on the 22nd, and vanquished the fabulous giant Adamastor, who was said to stand there to prevent voyagers from proceeding. Our voyagers had now entered that Oriental sea which was to conduct them to India.

On the 25th, the fleet anchored in the bay or creek of S. Braz. For thirteen days they remained at this spot, cruising along the magnificent coast, inhabited by a pastoral people, whom they could see tending their flocks on the mountains. Here Vasco da Gama burnt the ship *St. Miguel*, as he had been instructed to do, and the Portuguese entered into friendly relations with the Hottentots.

The land was full of elephants, and the natives, which appeared to be a tribe of Boschis, exchanged bracelets of ivory they had on their wrists for the toys of the Portuguese. The inhabitants also had cattle of an enormous size, which the navigators took on board. For some days did friendly relations continue, but at length distrust arose, and hostilities threatened to break out, which were averted by the lofty prudence of the chief commander, who, after summoning all the Portuguese back on board, ordered two bombards to be fired with only powder, which so alarmed the natives that they fled in terror.

Vasco da Gama erected a pillar on the shore, and a cross made with

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

a mast, probably from the ship that was burnt, and then prepared to depart, as he judged that a further delay might prove dangerous. As soon as the negroes perceived that the fleet weighed anchor, they came and destroyed the pillar and cross before their very eyes.

On the 7th December, Vasco da Gama quitted the creek of S. Braz, and being overtaken by a calm, was forced to anchor two leagues farther on until the next day, when they sailed up to the 12th, when a terrible tempest arose which separated the ships, and it became necessary to light lanterns in order to distinguish anything in the darkness. After the storm passed they reached the spot five leagues above the island of Cruz, where Bartholomew Dias had planted the last pillar, and fifteen leagues beyond the river Infante, the last point attained by that daring navigator.

The winter was now closing upon that small fleet which carried the hope of the wealth of the nation and the future of civilisation. The days which elapsed from the moment when they lost sight of the last landmark of Bartholomew Dias, and the day when they again beheld an inhabited land, were indeed terrible ones. After losing sight of the last sign of discovered land of their predecessors, they were entering into the unknown, and the bravest amongst them quailed under the thought that they were about to wrestle with new oceans which had terrified even the heroes of Bartholomew Dias. The winter was coming with all its terrors, its fierce storms; the currents were carrying the ships wheresoever they willed, and knew not where the tempest might drive them to. And when our navigators judged they had advanced far beyond the landmark of Dias, they found themselves again close to the island of Cruz, yet far behind that simple monument of the great navigator's daring. Tossed by the currents, the fleet of Vasco da Gama had retroceded after having advanced. But the courage of Vasco da Gama was not broken, and again launching into the ocean, he withdrew so far from the shore that from the constant tossing of the ships some of the pipes containing water were broken, and the crews were exposed to all the horrors of thirst. It was then that the crews, terrified by the indomitable fury of the storms and waves, conspired against Vasco da Gama and his captains, projecting that they should take them back to their native land; but Vasco, being secretly informed of the plot by Nicolão Coelho, acting with that energy which characterised him, placed all the chiefs in irons, and subdued the incipient revolt with astonishing daring. What would have happened

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

if privations had been prolonged further? Fortunately, on the 10th January, 1498, they sighted land, and discovered a river which flowed into the ocean. The joy of the men may be imagined whose heroism had failed in presence of privations superior to human forces, moments of despair which came as it were to bring forward to the light the stoical intrepidity of Vasco da Gama.

This river, supposed to be the Inhambane, was named by Vasco da Gama Rio do Cobre, because the Caffres, who inhabited its margins, appeared to have a strange liking for this metal. These negroes were, unlike the timid Hottentots, daring, robust, and well armed with assegais and bows and arrows. Martim Alfonso, the interpreter of the language of the Congo, conversed with them, and accompanied them back to the village, and was very well treated by the natives. The Portuguese became very friendly with the Caffres, and gave them yellow stuffs, which they liked immensely, in exchange for fowls and copper. Vasco da Gama left them with regret, after naming the place Terra da Boa Gente (the land of good people).

On the 22nd January they arrived to another river, the Quilimane. The inhabitants had almadias, or canoes, in which they came to see the ships. After three days' time two magnates came to visit them in rich robes and coloured satins. They brought with them a youth who, by signs, made them understand that he came from a far-off land, and had seen large ships like theirs, which greatly pleased the Portuguese, because it led them to infer that they were on the right track for the desired land of India. It appears these magnates had some bowers made on the river-side opposite the ships, which they occupied for about seven days, during which they used to send daily to the ships for stuffs to barter with, and after they were tired of being there they took their canoes and went up the river.

After so many trials and lengthened voyage and so much to dishearten them, it was a subject of great joy to all the companions of Vasco da Gama to meet with signs of commerce, the great agent of civilisation. These two magnates, robed in silk and treating commercially with the Portuguese, announced the proximity of civilised lands, even of that India they were seeking, hence to this river Vasco da Gama gave the name of Bons Signaes, and erected a landmark or pillar, which had been brought on board his brother's ship, the *S. Raphael*, and this landmark he called S. Raphael. He little knew that had he followed along the coast from the Rio Cobre he would

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

have landed at Sofala, the opulent, the ancient Ophyr of Solomon, as we are told, and where Pero da Covilhã, the envoy of D. João II., had reached. But on quitting the Inhambane he ventured on the high seas, and descending a sharp angle vertically toward the ocean, he came again to land at the mouth of the Quilimane.

Thirty-two days did the fleet linger in the river of Bons Signaes, repairing the ships and resting from their long voyage. Unfortunately scurvy broke out among the crew—a scourge which in those days often visited voyagers who knew not how to follow the rules of hygiene—and decimated fearfully the seamen.

On the 24th of February, 1498, Vasco da Gama set sail, and on the 2nd reached Mozambique. On sighting the three islands of the canal, Vasco da Gama bade Nicolão Coelho to enter first. Finding it shallow, he turned to advise the others, when from the island sallied forth seven or eight canoes full of people, who shouted to the Portuguese to wait for them. When the ships weighed anchor outside the canal the canoes arrived, and the natives entered the ships, full of curiosity, but not astonishment.

Every indication now pointed to the proximity of India, and our navigators found themselves surrounded by evidences of civilisation. It is true the population were coloured, but they were dressed in linen and stuffs of various colours, and their head-covering was formed of silk entwined with gold thread, and they played on *anafis*, or Moorish trumpets, very similar to European musical instruments. They partook of food very quietly; they made many inquiries, but were not slow in affording information. They said that Moors often came to negotiate with them, and that gold, rubies, topazes, silks, and spices of all kinds were articles of merchandise, and that they had a large traffic with India. It was here that for the first time they gathered information concerning Prester John, who, they said, resided in the interior, but that he possessed many cities on the shore which were peopled by wealthy merchants. They evidently referred to the Negus of Abyssinia. They persisted in asking if the ships were Turkish or Moorish, but Vasco da Gama, with his usual caution, avoided giving them a direct answer.

The Sheik, or rather the Sultan, desired to come in person to visit the ships. Vasco da Gama received him with all pomp and solemnity, and he was conducted to the tent between two rows of armed men, the handsomest and finest of his staff. The commander and staff of officers

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

in full dress awaited him, seated and surrounded by all possible splendour. The Sultan was accompanied by many Moorish merchants, who were curious to find out who the Portuguese were. They inquired of Vasco da Gama whether he brought books of their law, and if so, to show them. Vasco avoided to answer them directly, and besought the Sultan to let him have a pilot to conduct them to India. He acceded to his request, and Vasco engaged two pilots; but the natives soon found out that they were not Moors, but Christians, and they began to plot their ruin, and Vasco da Gama was compelled to bombard them, and weighing anchor, set sail, taking with them one of the pilots as a prisoner. As was natural, this pilot desired to revenge himself on the Portuguese, and intended to take them to Quiloa, in order to deliver them up to the Moors; but the wind drove them to Bombassa, where they arrived on Palm Sunday, 7th of April, 1498.

The aspect of Bombassa, rich and civilised, dazzled the Portuguese. The Sheik here also came to visit them, and perfidiously welcomed them, because he had been instructed by the Sheik of Mozambique.

Vasco da Gama entered the port, confiding in the friendly demonstrations of the natives, who were nevertheless preparing to attack them; but the noise consequent on ships anchoring and uproar made by the sailors frightened the blacks, who, suspecting that their conspiracy had been discovered, threw themselves into the water, the first to do so being the pilot on board. This act of retreat revealed to Vasco da Gama what he had not even suspected, and he at once placed two Moors who remained on board under arrest, and these were forced to reveal the whole conspiracy.

The Portuguese fleet was saved, but left with no pilot. However, a Moor, with his boy, besought to be taken on board, saying he was a pilot of Mecca and desired to return to his land. It was this man who led the Portuguese to the shores of Melinde, where at length they found good faith and a faithful pilot, who conducted the fleet directly to Calicut. They reached Melinde on the 15th of April, and setting sail, sighted Calicut on the 17th of May. At length they had reached India! On sighting the desired land the pilot, whose name was Malemo Canaca, came to ask a reward for the good news from Vasco da Gama. What the joy of this brave navigator must have been may be easily imagined. He saw before him the reward of his many troubles and labours, the immortal glory of the land of his birth and of his name, the satisfaction of his king, and on his return the welcome he would

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

receive, the admiration of Europe and the joy of his own dear ones, the envy of other nations—all these thoughts rushed to his mind as under the Oriental sun he devised the mountains of India.

On the 20th Vasco da Gama anchored in Capocate, two leagues south of Calicut, and he sent a convict to Calicut. At first the Indians thought he was a Moor, but when they spoke Arabic to him and perceived that he did not understand them, they took him to the house of some Moors from Tunis, who spoke Italian and Portuguese. When the Moors saw the convict and learnt that he was a Portuguese they were truly astonished, and asked him how he had come there. The joy of this man was very great on hearing his own language spoken so far from his native land. He returned on board with this Portuguese-speaking Moor, who complimented them upon their voyage, and told them there were many rubies and emeralds, and that they should thank God who had led them to a land of such wealth. The enthusiasm of Vasco da Gama and his people may be imagined on hearing these words spoken in Portuguese after eleven months' voyage, during which they had heard nought but the roar of the storm and the howling of the winds, and the unintelligible lingo of the negroes, or at best the Arabic which was the language of their enemies. But now, in that opulent land, they heard the beloved sound of their native tongue. It was a moment of joy almost painful, and they actually wept for joy.

This Moor later on did them much good service, and returned to Portugal, where he became a Christian, and was called, it appears, Bou-Said.

The King of Calicut, Samoudri-Rajah, or as the Portuguese chroniclers state, Samorim, was not at the time in the capital, but in a city called Panane, and besought the Portuguese to anchor in the port of Panane, or Pandarane, as being safer. The Samorim appointed the interview to take place in Calicut on the 28th. Vasco da Gama, accompanied by twelve of his companions, quittted the ship, and proceeded to land in order to meet the Rajah. The rest were very apprehensive of some danger menacing their admiral, and endeavoured to dissuade him, as there might be treachery; but nothing moved him from his purpose, leaving all necessary instructions in the event of any fatality occurring. The Portuguese admiral and his companions proceeded to land in their richest dress, but well armed and prepared for any eventuality, while their boats carried bombards. On landing they found a palanquin ready for the captain and another for the Catwal.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

These palanquins were carried by six men, the Portuguese staff proceeding on foot and escorted by 200 *naires* of the Catwal's guard, who opened way for them. When the Portuguese reached Capocate they partook of a refection which had been prepared for them, and proceeded up the river, where amid palm-trees they perceived grand residences, and on the river-sides were many ships anchored and others under construction. Everything around bore indications that they were approaching some great city. Thus they journeyed on towards Calicut, surrounded by a crowd of people who came forth to witness this strange spectacle of people unknown to them. At length they approached a large pagoda, and the Catwal informed the Portuguese admiral that it was a temple, and asked whether he would like to perform his devotions. We must here remind our readers that the Portuguese were quite under the impression that the inhabitants of Calicut were Christians. This temple was built so much in the style of a Catholic church that it perfectly deceived Vasco da Gama, who knelt down to pray, but at length they perceived that the images they had judged were of saints were no more than representations of the inhabitants of the Oriental Olympus, although they were sprinkled with holy water, but according to Clavel* holy water is used by the Brahmans in the same way as the Catholics. The statue of the Goddess Mahà Mayá was taken by the Portuguese to be an image of the Virgin Mary, because the Indians kept repeating its name, which sounded to them like "Maria, Maria," imperfectly pronounced.

After this they proceeded to the palace of the Samorim, where the Portuguese were dazzled by the Oriental luxuriousness of his Court. Vasco da Gama solicited a private interview, which was granted, and in which Vasco da Gama laid before the Rajah the wealth and power of the King of Portugal, and in the name of his sovereign proposed friendly relations, promising that on the following day he would deliver up the letters he had brought to that effect.

The Samorim and all his Court were unfavourably impressed by the paltriness of the Portuguese, being accustomed to more wealthy dress among the simplest Arab merchants, and afforded Vasco da Gama very

* F. J. B. Clavel, "Histoire pittoresques des religions, cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde, anciens et modernes," tom. i. (Paris, 1844). The Brahmans have large cisterns or founts for holy water, and the priests of Calicut especially offer water to the faithful in the same manner as amongst Catholics.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

poor hospitality. When the presents sent by D. Manuel to the King of Calicut were landed the Indians burst out into scornful laughter, saying that far better ones were offered by the humblest merchant of Mecca.

The reception accorded on the following day to Vasco da Gama by the Samorim was cold and humiliating; but, after reading the letters, the King bade the admiral embark in Pandarane and send the merchandise he brought, which would be exchanged for spices.

The great humiliations the Portuguese experienced in Pandarane were very galling, and the Catwal obstinately refused to allow them boats or canoes to take them back on board. The perfidious Indian insisted that Vasco da Gama should bring the ships closer to the shore and deliver up to the authorities the sails and the helms. Vasco da Gama behaved with proud mien and heroism, and found means of sending secretly to his brother and Nicolão Coelho word of what had passed, and bade them set sail to Portugal should they perceive the smallest sign of hostility. The Portuguese who were on land were treated like prisoners and guarded by *naires*, but Vasco da Gama did not betray any sign of fear or distrust. They even suffered hunger, yet they always manifested a cheerful countenance. At length this fearless energy and heroism subdued the Indians, and he was able to return to the fleet. He owed his safety to his presence of mind under danger and to his firmness.

Hostilities nevertheless increased daily between the Moors and the Portuguese, and Vasco da Gama, in order to counteract the action of the Moors, used to send his seamen to land in parties of twos and threes, bidding them to behave affably and purchase things, and in every way to leave a good impression. But still the Moors continued to show a deep animadversion.

The season of the monsoon was approaching, and Vasco da Gama desiring to set sail, sent word to that effect to the Samorim by two Portuguese. The Samorim demanded six hundred Xerafins as dues for anchorage.

These Portuguese were returning with the reply of the Samorim when they were suddenly surrounded by a crowd of *naires*, who would not allow them to depart. However, they were able to send a message through a negro, who secretly approached the fleet with his boat. Meanwhile some of the Indians went on board to sound the intentions of the Portuguese, and Vasco da Gama, who clearly understood their

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

mission, treated them most affably, and these visits were continued until he had twenty-five on board, when he took them prisoners, and sent word to the Samorim that he would set sail at once if he did not restore the two Portuguese he had taken prisoners. The Samorim refused, and Vasco da Gama weighed anchor and departed, but after three days' time returned to port, when the Samorim sent the two Portuguese and a letter for D. Manuel. When Vasco da Gama quitted the port he said he was returning to Portugal, but he would come again to India with sufficient forces to give the Rajah a lesson, and teach him that he was not dealing with pirates, as he had supposed. Vasco then sent back six of the Indians, saying that he would send back the rest when he should receive the merchandise.

But whether owing to the merchandise sent being most insignificant, or because he judged best to retain the Indians, we know that Vasco da Gama set sail for Europe, bringing thirteen of the Indians on board and the Moor Bou-Said, who had fled because his co-religionists on land accused him of being a traitor. Vasco departed on 29th August, 1498, after being in Calicut three months. It appears a small fleet of almadias or canoes from Calicut pursued the Portuguese ships, but were put to flight by a discharge of artillery. On the return voyage the Portuguese discovered the Island of Anchediva and the islets of Santa Maria; and on the 20th March, 1499, doubled the Cape of Good Hope. It appears a terrible storm overtook them on the heights of Cape Verde and separated the ships, and that Nicolão Coelho proceeded direct to Lisbon, where he arrived on the 29th of July, 1499, whilst Vasco da Gama proceeded to the Azores, where a sad loss awaited him. His brother, Paulo de Gama, was taken here seriously ill, and died in the Island of Terceira. Deeply affected by this event, Vasco da Gama entrusted his ship to the command of João de Sa', and freighting a caravel, embarked for Lisbon, arriving on the 29th of August, 1499. He had been on his voyage of discovery twenty-five months and twenty-one days, having quitted the kingdom on 18th of July, 1497.

The joy experienced by the Portuguese, and especially by the ambitious and haughty D. Manuel, may be easily imagined. He had at length discovered the so-much-desired land of spices and precious stones. The land had been revealed which illumined with glory his reign, and which was preparing to offer such a golden harvest to the Portuguese. It was then that D. Manuel conceived the idea of erecting a magnificent

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

monument in grateful acknowledgment to the Almighty, called the Monastery of Belem, and another on the majestic rocks of Cintra, the Convent da Pena.

When Vasco da Gama appeared, rewards clustered at his feet. It was the surprise of the moment that impelled these recompenses, which later on were turned into ingratitude. He was nominated Admiral of India, and permission to send a certain sum by each fleet which should be sent out to India, and this sum to be employed in merchandise which would not be subject to any dues; a rental was assigned yearly for him and his successors, the revenues accruing from the fisheries of the towns of Sines and S. Thiago, and other revenues paid by the King. Leave was granted him and his brothers, Ayres and Thereya, and his own descendants, to use the distinctive prefix of Dom.

Nicolão Coelho, who was the first to arrive with the news, was appointed fidalgo of the royal household, and the surviving sailors—some 65—received likewise adequate rewards. But D. Manuel manifested himself most ungrateful to the discoverer of the maritime road to India, as he later on was ungrateful to all who rendered themselves celebrated.

The Infante D. Henrique had erected on the shores of Rastello, in memory of the expeditions he had undertaken, a hermitage under the invocation of Our Lady of Belem. There were then some monk-knights of the Order of Christ, of which he was administrator and governor.

The King, D. Manuel, as follower of this holy and Catholic advocacy, and as successor of the Infante in the charge of administrator and governor of the Order, as well as his successor in prosecuting discoveries, when he beheld in Vasco da Gama the fulfilment of the hope of so many years—the discovery of India—desired to found, as the first-fruits and offering to the mother of God, a sumptuous temple over the humble hermitage of Belem. He selected this spot in preference to any other because it was the spot from whence all fleets of discovery and conquest were to depart. Likewise, because as this discovery of India was valued as the greatest and most notable and marvellous work witnessed by man, it was expedient that the monument commemorative of this deed should be placed on a spot from whence the peoples of all nations of the world should, when entering the waters of Portugal, the first object to meet their sight be the sumptuous edifice erected to proclaim the victories achieved around the globe.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

As the Rastello was the spot most illustrious of Portugal, and a suburb of Lisbon, the head of the Oriental conquest, and the port through which all its triumphs and glory must enter, it was meet that this monument be not an archway of human pomp, nor a Temple of Jupiter, as the Romans of old had in Rome at the time of their empire, and at which they offered the insignias of their victories, but a temple dedicated to the living God under the invocation of Our Lady of Belem, or Bethlehem. The invocation was significative; because, in the same way as by the divine act of being virgin and mother, Mary triumphed over the prince of darkness, thus affording a spiritual victory to the whole human race; so, also, was it meet that the conquerors of temporal victories, which the Portuguese were to gain under the intercession of Mary, over the princes and kings of darkness, of infidelity, throughout paganism and the Moslems of the East, should find, on entering the bar with their ships loaded with wealth, a house to receive them as grand as she had been liberal in obtaining for them the petitions they had addressed to her in their need. This house and church were given by the King to the religious of the Order of Saint Jerome, on account of the singular devotion he had for this saint, and for this reason likewise he selected it as his place of burial. Nevertheless, the vast shores of Belem, which witnessed the departure of the fleet and beheld its triumphant return, still vainly awaits for ages for the statue of this great man to be erected, although Portugal owes him so much, and not only Portugal, but the whole world, because he turned into a reality the most splendid dream of the Middle Ages, and realised the fact, after untold labours, of the discovery of India. These labours are written with golden letters in the immortal book of history, and the discovery of India bequeathed to posterity two monuments—one in stone, worked by the architect Boutaca and João de Castilho, and the other in the harmonious verses of Luis de Camões. The first was the Monastery of Belem, the second the poem of the *Luziadas*, two immortal *epopees* which ever sing to the foreigner, amid the silence of Portuguese decadence, the never-dying hymn of its glory. Providence watches over these two monuments. When the great earthquake of 1755 took place and destroyed Lisbon, the Monastery of Belem remained standing amid the desolation and ruin; and when forgetfulness and the scorn of Europe envelops Portuguese literature, the poem of the Lusiades survives for ever, claiming the respect of the nations.

As we said, Vasco da Gama had been grossly treated and despised

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

in India, especially by the Samorim. The King D. Manuel considered himself affronted in the person of his envoy. Hence he judged it was imperative to take a complete revenge for the vexations endured. On the other hand, it was needful to manifest the power of Portugal to the Moors, who, in the first voyage of Vasco da Gama, had acted in such an inimical spirit, moved by the rivalries which it engendered in their monopoly of Oriental commerce. Therefore, he judged that it was imperative to impress upon them that the hour of their defeat had come.

Such were the motives which urged him to despatch in March, 1500, a powerful fleet of thirteen ships, commanded by Pedro Alvares Cabral. The aim of this expedition was to definitely establish the Portuguese dominion in India, and to restrain once and for all time the power of the Indians and Moors.

In the written instructions the Admiral received of greatest importance, fragments of which have reached our time, Cabral was recommended on reaching the coast of Guinea to withdraw as much as possible from the coast of Africa, in order to avoid the long and unhealthy calms. Following these instructions, which were suggested by Vasco da Gama, Cabral kept withdrawing from Africa, and, assisted by the ocean currents, when he had been forty days on the voyage, on the 22nd of April, he sighted towards the west an unknown land What the keen eyes on board first devised was a high mountain, which they called Paschoal, on account of its being Easter-tide, a name which it still retains, this mountain being well known to mariners.

On the following day the fleet approached its coast, and the commander sent a boat to land, rowing towards a part of the beach where people were seen, in order to hold communication with them. But vain were the efforts of the interpreters to render themselves understood; the natives spoke none of the African or Asiatic languages. Hence the first correspondence with the people became reduced to a few gifts or exchanges made with all customary reserve.

As Cabral judged he was bound to acquire some exact information respecting the land before him, and, moreover, wanted to take in water and, if possible, supplies, he decided to explore the place on the following morning, and commenced at once to seek some bay or creek where the fleet might lay at anchor. He found the desired spot some ten leagues to the north, and it afforded such good shelter that the name was given it of Porto Seguro, a name which it still retains. This

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

was the first time that the land of Brazil rose up before the eyes of the Portuguese, but the spot first discovered was named by Pedro Alvares, Vera Cruz.

The impression caused by the sight of the magnificence of Nature of the Brazils upon the Portuguese may be well imagined. Its vast virgin forests peopled by birds of a hundred hues, the green lovely creepers which bind the trees, the grandeur of its vegetation and enormous trees. On the shore the natives were seen naked, tall and lithe, and of a type perfectly different from the African. The Portuguese took two of the natives on board. Their haughty, scornful manner deeply astonished the Portuguese; their colour was not black but brown, and they wore diadems of feathers of variegated hues. Pedro Alvares Cabral received these natives on board in the same manner as he would have done envoys from an Eastern king. He was seated on an arm-chair surrounded by his staff of officers. Around his neck he wore a massive gold chain over his full dress. The Indians entered into the saloon in perfect silence and dignified bearing, and at once lighted the pipe of hospitality. On perceiving the gold chain of the captain, they indicated by signs that there was gold in their land, and also when they saw a candlestick of silver and a parrot. They were not astonished at a sheep, but were much alarmed at fowls. They manifested repugnance for all the food that was offered them, such as fish, sweets, raisins, and figs, and when they tasted wine, they rinsed their mouths with water, showing their dislike for it. After this, they laid down to sleep in perfect confidence.

On the following Saturday the Portuguese landed, and established friendly relations with the natives. To the honour of the Portuguese, be it said, that none of the sanguinary scenes which took place when the Spaniards arrived to America, stain their first relations with the Brazilians.

The residence of the Portuguese for the time being on this coast, writes Ferdinand Denis, was most pacific, thanks to the moderation and prudence of the admiral. Mass was celebrated on land by the chaplain of the fleet, and witnessed by the natives, who imitated all the ceremonies. Dances were executed by the Indians, and Diogo Dias went with a companion, who played the guitar and joined their dances. The natives followed the time perfectly when playing the guitar, and they were much astonished at the acrobatic performances of the Portuguese.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

But while these merry scenes were going on, a most solemn act was preparing, but one which did not call from the natives any attention. A tree of their forests was cut down and a cross formed, and with the Europeans they proceeded to kiss the holy sign of our salvation, and which announced to them at the same time the loss of their independence. This cross was erected and conducted to the spot selected, and bore on it the royal arms and device of Portugal. At its foot an altar was placed, at which Father Henrique celebrated mass. Over seventy natives knelt down and assisted at this act, rising and kneeling as they saw the Portuguese doing.

On the following day, which was 2nd of May, Cabral set sail to continue his voyage. He sent one of the ships of the fleet, commanded by Gaspar da Lemos, to Lisbon, to inform the King D. Manuel of the new discovery. On the newly discovered land two of the Portuguese convicts were left, in order to learn the language and become friendly with the natives. These hapless ones wept bitterly as they saw the fleet departing, and they themselves forsaken on this unknown land; but when the natives saw them weeping, comprehending their sorrow, they endeavoured to console them.

So completely absorbed was the Portuguese Court in the discovery of India, that at first very little notice was taken of the wealthy continent which Cabral, on his way to India, had discovered and laid at the feet of Portugal. Little did the peers of D. Manuel surmise, at the time, that this marvellous country was to become for the space of two centuries the splendid relic of Portugal's vast colonial empire; that a race, akin to hers, was to found there a monarchy to which were reserved the most prosperous destinies, and that a green branch of her worm-eaten trunk, on being planted there in its fertile soil, would flourish and fructify, and branch out towards eighteen immense provinces, and revive, in a new world and over a more vast area, the old and glorious Portugal of decrepid Europe.

Pedro Alvares Cabral continued his voyage for twenty-two days, when a fierce storm broke over the fleet, wrecking four of the ships. This storm assailed them on the height of the Cape of Good Hope. The other ships became separated from each other, and one commanded by Pero Dias was driven to Magadoxo, from whence it returned to the kingdom, as he was unable to find the other ships, and after many labours six once again met together on the 16th of July, and on the 13th of September Cabral reached Calicut. As we are aware, one

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

of his aims was to dazzle the Rajah with the aspect of the fleet and embassage; but the splendour of the Rajah's court was such that the Portuguese were completely amazed, as Vasco da Gama had been before him. From the interview resulted leave from the Samorim to establish a factory, but the Moors, in their fury of rivalship, fell upon it, killing some seventy Portuguese who were inside.

This was the first sanguinary act of the many which India was the theatre, writes Damião da Goes. It was the first of the Indian bloody scenes of treachery, the first page of our spoliating, brutal policy in competence with the Moors, who strove to monopolise the trade in spices. This conflict arose from the fact that Cabral had captured a ship said to be loaded with rich merchandise belonging to a wealthy Moor of Calicut. The revenge of the Moors was the destruction of the factory.

Pedro Alvares Cabral, indignant at what was done, ordered that ten of the Moorish ships which were in the port be captured and sacked without mercy on their crews, and slew more than 500 Moors. Other ships which were laying-to on the shore were bombarded, as also the city itself. This action greatly terrified the Rajah, who never expected such a terrible ending to the treachery which had been prepared. After this Pedro Cabral weighed anchor, but before sailing he had the ten ships set on fire, and this conflagration illumined the sea and sky for a great distance as though it were a grand torch of vengeance to the mute and terror-stricken city, and as the epilogue of the tremendous exequies performed by Cabral over the slain Portuguese.

This took place on the 16th of December, and Cabral at once departed towards Cochim, a city about thirty leagues to the south of Calicut, where its Rajah received the Portuguese ships with good grace. This Rajah was less powerful than the one of Calicut, and being already informed that the Portuguese were allies not to be despised, endeavoured to conciliate their friendship. The Rajahs of Cochim always continued to be the faithful allies of the Portuguese.

In Cochim Pedro Alvares established a factory or stores, but about this time a fleet arrived from Calicut with the apparent intention of pursuing the Portuguese ships. Cabral set sail and went after this fleet, which at once retired, and Cabral was withdrawn far from Cochim, but as the wind was favourable for the return voyage, he resolved upon not returning to Cochim, but to steer to Portugal. It appears he had on board at the time two of the principal personages of Cochim, and as he

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

well knew that voluntarily none would come with him owing to his ignorance of the rites of the Brahmin castes, which did not permit them to touch any food prepared by Christians, he took the opportunity of setting sail homewards. He desired to leave the factory or stores established, and he well knew that his mind could be at ease, knowing that the lives of the Portuguese left on land were safe so long as he retained these Brahmins as hostages.

On the 15th of January, 1501, he entered Cananor. On the heights of Melinde the ship commanded by Sancho da Toar was lost, but the crew saved. On arriving at Lisbon only three out of thirteen returned on the 31st of July, 1501, which had left on the 9th of March, 1500. Five had become separated, and five been wrecked.

The King D. Manuel received with both joy and sorrow the discoverer of the Brazils and the hero of India—joy at the new discoveries, but sorrow on perceiving how dearly he must pay for the glory and the advantages of Asiatic conquests.

What was the reward and recompense of Cabral?

"Questions of self-respect," writes Pinheiro Chagas, "influenced Pedro Alvares Cabral to decline the command of the fleet which was prepared to proceed to the East in 1502. D. Manuel did not insist upon his accepting the post, and Cabral, put aside as a useless instrument, was never more employed, his petitions were unheeded, and he died an obscure death.

"In truth, D. Manuel was a fortunate monarch who could thus act ungratefully towards all the great men of his reign, yet nature prodigally favoured him, and ever placed before him others to substitute those he despised."

During the year 1500, Gaspar Corte Real departed with two ships from Lisbon with the intention of navigating to India by the Arctic Pole. He ran along the land of Salvador, which was named "Corte Real," and touched at the island of Newfoundland. It is presumed that he saw on that occasion the small island at the entrance of Hudson's Strait, which was called "Caramillo," a corruption of Caramelo, on account of the congealed snow.

On returning to Portugal, Gaspar Corte Real undertook a fresh journey, in 1501, but he did not return. On the following year his brother, Miguel, went out to find him, but no news was ever heard of him. Another brother, called Vasco Eanes, wished to seek his brothers, but D. Manuel would not allow him to do so.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

In 1501, João da Nova went with four ships to India. He was a Galician by birth, and Alcaide of Lisbon.* He discovered the Island of Ascension, about one hundred and twenty leagues to the coast of Brazil, and the Island called João da Nova, to the East of Africa.

He returned to Portugal, and once again, on the following year, went forth on an expedition and discovered the Island of Saint Helena,† which became so memorable in modern history as the place of exile of Bonaparte.

João da Nova, during his expeditionary voyages, captured and sacked all the ships from Calicut that he found. Slaughter or piracy was the means employed by the Portuguese to conquer and enrich themselves. The Rajah sent against him a fleet, which, however, was vanquished by the Portuguese, under the command of the daring Galician admiral.

Some historians place a voyage of Amerigo Vespucio to Brazils to the year 1501, but this voyage has been rejected, on the negative testimony of most patient historic investigations, by the Viscount de Santarem, in 1842.

In 1502 Vasco da Gama departed on his second voyage to India, commanding the largest fleet which as yet had proceeded towards that country. It was composed of twenty ships, and divided into three divisions. The first, and most powerful, was commanded by the admiral-chief himself; the second by his uncle, Vicente Sodré; the third by a cousin, Estevão da Gama, who was instructed to depart later than the two other divisions, in order to avoid the storms. This fleet was meant to put down the pride of the Samorim, and also to leave some guards on the sea, which, up to that time, had been solely occupied by the Moors. Before proceeding with the narrative of this expedition we shall quote what Pinheiro Chagas tells us respecting the disposition in which Vasco da Gama was quitting the kingdom, because, in truth, he practised strange things. "Vasco da Gama," he says, "was a man of extra-

---

* See *Livro em que se contem toda a fazenda e real patrimonio dos reinos de Portugal, India, e ilhas adjacentes*, by Luiz de Figueiredo Falcão. In this curious book may be found, year by year, the progress and maritime movement of the Portuguese in respect to India.

† The Portuguese never peopled this island. A Portuguese convict, who by special favour had been transported to this island, brought to it various domestic animals, such as goats, pigs, rabbits, partridges, &c., and effected some plantations. The animals all bred and filled the island. Respecting this man, called Fernam Lopes, and all the circumstances attached to him, may be found in *Castanheda*, in his *Historia da India*, liv. 3, cap. 69 and 94—*Indice chronologico*.

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ordinary energy. . . . . The man who did not quail in presence of the fierce tempest, nor of a revolt, nor of innumerable hordes of enemies, could likewise view with indifference spectacles which are revolting even to hearts not over-sensitive. Moreover, he had been treated contemptuously by the sovereign of Calicut; he felt that that contempt had been the cause of the death of Ayres Correia, because the Rajah of Calicut never supposed that the Portuguese squadrons would have been able to work so formidable a vengeance as Cabral had effected. The name of the latter produced deep terror, while that of Vasco da Gama only inspired contempt. For this reason the admiral had resolved upon leaving an indelible mark on the spirit of the sovereigns of India."

The division commanded by Vasco and the one led by Vicente Sodré left Lisbon on the 10th of February, 1502, and the third, commanded by Estevão da Gama, on 1st of April, after combining that the place of reunion of all the ships be the Islands of Anchediva.

The fleet doubled the Cape of Good Hope and arrived to Mozambique, where the Sultan received Vasco da Gama with the greatest humility, which disarmed his anger. He had previously touched at Sofala, whose Sheik received him peacefully. On passing by Quiloa he imposed a tribute of 2,000 miticaes of gold annually on the Sheik of that city, in order to punish the treachery intended during his first voyage. Unable to land at Melinde, he proceeded to the Anchedivas to await the squadron of Estevão da Gama.

This fleet followed the same route, and arrived to the islands on 21st August, 1502. The whole fleet of twenty vessels was now together, because, although one ship had been lost near Sofala, a caravel was freighted in Mozambique, the command of which was given to João Serrão.

The fleet remained here for more than a month, awaiting the ships coming from Mecca, and it was here that Vasco da Gama practised an inexcusable atrocity, which will indelibly stain his immense glory, unless extenuating circumstances be found for the crime in the influences of the epoch in which he lived, and the rudeness peculiar to his iron character.

On the 3rd of October, 1502, a ship of Calicut appeared returning from Mecca, having on board Moorish passengers to the number of 240 men, besides a large number of women and children. The ship *S. Gabriel*, chased this vessel, which soon surrendered, because the Moors preferred to ransom themselves than to combat. But the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Portuguese admiral had projected to announce revengefully his arrival to the Moors of Calicut. Hence in vain did the principal passenger offer, in the name of his fellow-travellers, an enormous ransom: the admiral ordered the Moors to deliver up all the precious things they had brought, but he was not very rigorous in the search, his sole intention being to concentrate the whole scene into a veritable melodrama of pirates.

He issued orders for the foreign ship to be withdrawn from the fleet, and then set fire to it, burning all within—passengers and merchandise; but those sent to execute the orders, either through fear or because it was repugnant to them to do so, only cast fire into the ship and retired. Alarmed at this unforeseen treachery, the Moors attempted to stamp out the fire, and the women meanwhile rushed on deck, uttering fearful screams, and holding up their little ones in order to soften the cruelty of the Portuguese by their innocence. Vasco da Gama witnessed the whole scene perfectly unmoved. The Moors then redoubled their efforts and stamped out the fire, yet did not attempt to fly, but cast themselves on the nearest ship and fought the Portuguese like desperate men. The Portuguese had hitherto fought in India under unfavourable conditions, but on this occasion it was the Moors who fought under unequal proportions. The Portuguese dared not approach the Moors, such was the fury they manifested when defending their wives and children. In the centre of the Portuguese fleet of twenty ships this Moorish craft performed prodigies of valour, and nearly captured one of the Portuguese ships. After four or five days she retired triumphantly, and the Portuguese had decided not to further molest her, when a traitor Moor swam to the Portuguese admiral and proposed a way of setting fire to the brave ship. This plan was carried out, and the ignoble burning down of the Moorish ship took place in the midst of the ocean, consuming all on board with the exception of a few children, whom Vasco da Gama ordered should be rescued in order to make Christians of them. In truth, the Admiral was following the example and lessons put before him by his august master.

The task of an historian is a sad one when he has to narrate facts like these, and cast a shadow over glorious lives and deeds of men such as Vasco da Gama. But truth is an historian's severest duty, and we must confess that this infamous, iniquitous act, which opened the lengthened series of piracies and cruelties which the Portuguese were

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

guilty of in India, and in the process of their explorations, was practised by the same hand who so intrepidly had opened the gates of the East to the Portuguese, and we are compelled to acknowledge that this armed and mailed inquisitor was the hero in the Lusiades of Camões. Sad contradictions of our human nature, or rather, let us say, dismal consequences of imperfection!

On the 18th of October, Vasco da Gama reached Cananor, and had an interview with the Rajah. The aged Brahman, who governed Cananor, was very friendly disposed towards the Portuguese, but the irritability of Vasco da Gama and some minor questions respecting the prices of spices which arose induced the admiral to depart from Cananor in an abrupt manner, vowing war and vengeance.

The meek Rajah, who had witnessed the victory obtained by João da Nova with only four ships, trembled in presence of the large fleet of Vasco da Gama, but the kindly intervention of Paio Rodrigues, whom João da Nova had left as head of the factory of Cananor, pacified the admiral, although he never returned to the city. We must, however, observe that he was anxious to arrive at Calicut because the Samorim had sent a proposal of peace under certain conditions.

On his arrival to Calicut, and after the first negotiations had taken place, he perceived that it would be impossible to come to any accord. The Samorim wished to give and receive indemnifications, while Vasco da Gama exacted as a first condition the expulsion of all the Moors from the States of the Rajah. The reply of the Rajah was to the effect that it would be utterly out of the question to expel from his kingdom four or five thousand families of the most wealthy and desirable residents. On hearing the reply, Vasco at once captured some fishermen's boats, which so irritated the Rajah that, losing his habitual irresolution, he positively ordered Vasco da Gama to quit the port, as he did not wish to form any alliance with such perfidious people.

"The reply of the admiral," says Thomé Lopes, who was an eye-witness and chronicler of the events, "was very haughty, for he said that he was only a servant of the powerful King D. Manuel, his master, and that from the mere fact of being in his service he was worth more than the King of Calicut, because his master out of a palm-tree could make a king similar to himself. Hence that he would pay no heed to his orders and would bring the fleet close up to the shore, and give him time until mid-day on the morrow for his reply. That he would send back some of the ships loaded with spices to the King of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Portugal, while the others would remain in order to make war, because his master was so powerful a king that he could send as many ships and people as would be needful to make war by sea and land, and completely destroy him." The reply was truly a fanfarronade, but Vasco da Gama possessed force, resolution, and energy sufficient to turn it into a reality.

In effect, the ships were ranged in battle array along the shore, with the exception of the four largest, which remained out at sea. The admiral then afforded a cruel spectacle to the inhabitants at Calicut. At a given signal the Moors captured from the various boats were hoisted up and hung from the maintop masts of all the Portuguese vessels. The people flocked to the shore to witness this awful execution, and the Portuguese then fired some bombards into the crowds and dispersed them. The admiral furthermore ordered that the heads, hands, and feet of the executed Moors be cut off and placed in a boat and sent on shore. He then ordered the city to be bombarded on the 2nd November, 1502. Sixteen ships were told off for this action, and these swept the city walls. The poor Indians could ill respond, and the fortifications which they had rapidly erected were as quickly destroyed. The sinister glare of the conflagration produced by the continuous bombardment, the fearful roar of artillery prolonged during the whole day, filled the inhabitants of Calicut with terror. In sore distress they rushed about, seeking amid the ruins of the burning city for traces of their friends and relatives, and weepingly clutched the dead bodies of their loved ones. At nightfall the four larger ships came to relieve the first ones. Vasco having satisfied his vengeance departed, leaving Vicente Sodré with six ships and one caravel to blockade the port. To the ruin and desolation caused by the bombardment were added the horrors of famine induced by the blockade. In truth, the Rajah of Calicut bitterly paid for the haughty scorn with which he had treated the three vessels which, driven by the storm, had come from far-away lands and sought a safe port at his shores.

They departed on the 3rd of November for Cochim, where the Portuguese found a friendly reception, and where they received a message from the King of Cananor to load from his realm. An envoy also came from the Rajah of Calicut proposing peace, assuring the Portuguese that the Indian monarch was in a position to restore the merchandise he had of the Portuguese. This proved only an act of treachery, because after delays and vain negotiations a fleet suddenly

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

appeared at night, consisting of more than eighty ships or barks, which Portuguese chroniclers call sabusamos, to surprise the Portuguese. The Portuguese saw them, but when too late to attack them with their artillery, and Vasco da Gama committed the imprudence of returning to Calicut with only one ship, but sending for Vicente Sodré, who was then in Cananor, he came in time with two caravels to aid him. But the king did not await for punishment, and at once sent the hostages to land.

On the 10th of February, 1503, the squadron of Vasco da Gama departed from Cochim, proceeding to Cananor in order to return to Portugal. On again passing before Calicut the Rajah sent out a fleet to meet the Portuguese, where he had another lesson given him, losing some of his ships. After touching at Cananor, Vasco set sail for Portugal, leaving in India the squadron of Vicente Sodré, composed of three ships and two caravels.

On traversing the gulph to take the road of Eastern Africa the fleet came upon many small islands in the Indian Ocean. These were the Lacadives, discovered by Estevão da Gama. They encountered many storms, and suffered from hunger and want of water after reaching the Island of Saint Helena, which they took possession of, because at the time they were not aware that João da Nova had discovered it, as he arrived to Portugal after the departure of the expedition of Vasco da Gama.

On the 1st of September, 1503, Vasco da Gama entered Lisbon, and was received with great solemnity by the King, to whom he delivered up, among other things, the 2,000 miticaes of gold, the tribute money received from Quiloa. From this gold, the first received from pariahs, was worked the beautiful Monstrance of Belem, which even in our day is the admiration of all nations.

In our opinion this second voyage of Vasco da Gama is a stain on his life—a page written in blood after one of gold, an ignoble melodrama after a brilliant poem.

During this year three expeditions left the kingdom. Of these, two were commanded by the renowned Alfonso de Albuquerque and his cousin, Francisco de Albuquerque, and were instructed to proceed directly to India. The third, commanded by Antonio de Saldanha, was especially directed to cross the entrance of the Red Sea and capture ships coming from India.

Alfonso de Albuquerque restored to the King of Cochim the

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

States from which the Rajah of Calicut had expelled him, and founded the stronghold of Cochim, the first which the Portuguese held in India. On his return to Portugal he left at Cochim Duarte Pacheco, surnamed the "Achilles of Lusitania." He was left with only a few soldiers to protect the rising commerce and factory. In 1505 Duarte Pacheco was called upon to aid the Rajah of Cochim against a formidable attack from the Rajah of Calicut.

Pinheiro Chagas tells us that in truth the deeds performed by this Portuguese hero are worthy of the Homeric poems. Valiant, yet more successful than the dreaded Leonidas, he was able in the passes of Cambalam, the Indian Thermophydos, to rout the new Xerxes. These prodigious combats greatly served to increase and strengthen the prestige of the Portuguese, who were now considered in the light of superhuman heroes.

The proverbial ingratitude of the King D. Manuel later on wounded more than all else this man, who so brilliantly illustrated his country. It is true that at first he recompensed him by giving him the governorship of S. Jorge da Mina and greatly honouring him, but he heeded mean intrigues which rose up against him, and actually loaded him with irons. If, later on, he acknowledged his innocence, he forgot to reward him. Duarte Pacheco died obscurely, forgotten and in penury.

By the Homeric combat of Cambalam, the Portuguese predominance was established in India. This was due to Duarte Pacheco. He was not cruel as Vasco da Gama, nor ambitious like Sodré; he was a hero in the full acceptation of the word. On his return to the kingdom in 1505, he was humbled by the King, who resided in a Lilliputian Court, and did not like men around him who cast a shadow over him. We must give here in a few short words the story of Duarte Pacheco, as narrated by the quaint chronicler of D. Manuel, Damiano de Goes: "On his arrival (Duarte Pacheco) to Lisbon after his brave deeds, the King went on board to welcome him, and proceeded in procession to the Church da Sé, and from thence to that of S. Domingos. Pacheco sat by the side of the King D. Manuel.

"The Bishop of Vizeu, D. Diogo Ortiz, preached an eloquent sermon, in which he praised the deeds of this great captain; and for some length of time he was the hero of the day, the Lusitanian Achilles.

"But the reward of all these honours, the recompense of these and many other services which Duarte Pacheco rendered to the King,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

should be put before the world as an example for men to guard against the fickleness of kings and princes, who hold in such small account those who have faithfully served them. The highest reward Pacheco obtained for his services was the governorship of S. Jorge da Mina, from whence, owing to evil accusations brought against him, the King ordered him to be put in irons and imprisoned for a great length of time, until it was discovered that the accusations were false, when he was released, but left penniless.

"He lived in such extreme poverty the remainder of his life that his only son, João Fernandes Pacheco, and his mother were compelled to receive alms from the people. Such was the reward Duarte Pacheco received for the great and memorable services he had rendered the Crown of Portugal."

No words of ours could substitute this eloquent page of the chronicler.

The Republic of Venice and the Sultan of Egypt on beholding the Mediterranean closed against the commerce of India to all nations but the Portuguese, who had opened a new road through the Atlantic from Lisbon to the Indian Peninsula, conspired against them, especially in Calicut and Cambaya. As it was necessary to combat their machinations, D. Manuel nominated Francisco de Almeida the first Viceroy of India.

Let us follow the sketch given us by Rebello da Silva respecting the principal aims of the mission of Francisco de Almeida, wherein we find condensed his whole system of administration.

"We note that the origin of the corruption which hastened the ruin of our power in the East began to manifest itself from the earliest times. The Viceroy D. Francisco de Almeida, when writing to the King D. Manuel, traced the lineaments of the physiognomy of Portuguese India with so severe a pencil, that it is a subject of marvel to us that its dissolution should have been worked out so slowly as it really was. The evil counsels of the Court greatly concurred to effect this. The seamen and the soldiers were compelled to fight in an almost nude state. The pay and rewards promised were always in arrears, while distrust of never being paid, or their services remunerated, was very general. The King of Portugal appointed young men to the highest offices, and left unrewarded those who had received wounds in the service of their country, and who were justly entitled to some consideration and honourable repose. These relative

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

injustices embittered the spirits of the masses and crushed the intrepid hearts of some, while it excited in others a desire and purpose of indemnifying themselves at any price. Many officers entered into mercantile business, buying and selling with such cupidity that they abandoned their vessels and neglected their duties. The army, small and discontented and poorly armed, complained because they saw the fresh comers to the kingdom receiving what they had won at the point of their lances. There were many sick, and the healthy ones were weak from privation, age, weariness of life, and, more than all, depressed at the ungrateful manner they were being treated."

Such was, in 1508, the true state of things and of men as described by the first viceroy, a chivalrous, honest character, who was greatly grieved at the errors of his King, and at the growing depravity of his subjects. Had D. Francisco de Almeida risen up from his grave fifty years later, and beheld with his own eyes the terrible ravages caused by the social cancer, it is probable his pen would have run more bitterly than did that of D. João de Castro, the censor, equally honourable, and who was as little heeded.

In various councils held in Lisbon was discussed at some length the best system of conquest to be followed and most adapted to the forces of the kingdom, and better calculated for maintaining and spreading commerce. It appears that the system preferred was that of founding penal settlements in all places in India, which might serve as keys to navigation or as mercantile emporiums.

This is what may be deduced from the instructions forwarded by D. Manuel to D. Francisco de Almeida in 1505, when he appointed him Viceroy. He orders him to endeavour as diligently as possible to construct fortresses in Cochim, Cananor, Quiloa, and Anchediva, and nominates the captains, their garrisons, and the pay to be allowed each, these to form permanent garrisons for the new dominions. The King desired that with the soldiers sent should proceed 400 lay individuals to establish themselves as residents, to be registered as such in their books. The pay offered was large for that epoch, viz., three cruzados in money and three hundredweight of pepper annually free of duty, and to each lance a cruzado per month for rations. The captains were not to draw their pay until the fortresses were concluded and enclosed. The expedition took with them foremen, *almoxarifes*, and clerks charged by the Royal Commissioners with the fiscalisation of merchandise.

But D. Francisco de Almeida, instructed by experience, reprobated

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the system which was so highly recommended by the King. When negotiating respecting the fortresses which D. Manuel desired to be at once erected in Caulão, in 1508, he openly declared that the greater the number of penal settlements he had the weaker he would become, because the whole force of the Crown in these places ought to consist in fleets and naval armies. "If we are not powerful on the water," he said, "all things will go against us, and if the King of Cochim should manifest himself in a disloyal manner he would be destroyed, because former wars were against savages, but now they are against Venetians and Turks." Alfonso de Albuquerque followed a diverse policy and a contrary opinion. His idea was to found a great empire and establish its foundations on pillars which at the same time would serve as a barrier to enemies, a safe landing for ships, and emporiums for commerce. The choice of the city of Goa as the head of the new State, and the taking of Ormuz and Malacca, essential points for the strength of the mercantile and military seigniority, prove his elevated capacity as a captain and conqueror. His successors, however, exaggerated the initial idea, and multiplied without advantage fortresses, which, being badly provided for and exposed, became veritable sinks, with no further advantage than a great outlay, and loss of fame and honour when they had to be surrendered. The outlay required to keep these fortresses was so great, and to no advantage, that the highest authorities voted for the greater number to be razed to the ground, concentrating the garrisons in the places which from their position justified the outlay, such as Mombassa, Mascate, Mozambique, Sofala, Ormuz, Diu, Malacca, and some others."

D. Francisco de Almeida was right. It was only by victorious fleets that the Portuguese dominion could be firmly established. The good distribution of our naval forces was due to the greater progress of the conquest, and to the superiority of our seamen the repeated victories which widened it. During the government of Nuno da Cunha a large squadron still continued to cruise in the waters of the coast of Malabar, and other no less powerful fleets annually visited the strait. The Portuguese ships never ceased to make war on the waters of Cambaya. At that epoch the revenues of the whole State (calculated by Diogo de Couto at over 240 contos in the year 1611) did not then exceed 128 contos, and, nevertheless, all expenses were duly paid. After this the expenses of the fleet rose to a high figure, yet despite this the ships rarely were ready to time, because the dockyards and arsenals were

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

empty, and all things came from abroad—supplies, sails, seamen, and operatives. The ships lay rotting for months and years awaiting builders, yet meanwhile the officers drew their pay as though they were employed in active service. Other officers out of the service asked and obtained the command of galleys, and if they spent a summer in the stations of the North they must needs go the next to the coasts of Malabar.

Obedience and discipline were held as vain words, and each one followed with impunity what interest counselled him. Meanwhile the Malabar pirates flourished, capturing yearly twenty or thirty ships. The military life of former times was totally different. Soldiers and seamen rested only during the three months of winter, and even during these they wrestled with hunger. On board, their daintiest viand was a dish of rice and some salted fish. They slept on bare boards at the mercy of the rain and sun, and drank water from putrid tanks. During the days of Portuguese decadence, the lowest knight covered himself with gold and velvet, and was surrounded and waited on by pages. The humblest yeoman aspired to be treated almost on a level with the nobility; all fled from work, and one and all complained of the slightest contradiction as though it were an atrocious vexation.

The heads of illustrious families sent their sons and brothers to the Indian service, but these fidalgos gave themselves up to the pleasures of tilts and tournaments rather than to military exercises. They were careful to show off their silken robes, their cloaks and scarlet *mersacotas*, but took very little care about the choice of arms, defensive and offensive. Each on leaving home received for his expenses 300 or 400 cruzados, a help which in other times was paid only to noble knights and those grown grey in the service. These examples disheartened some, and engendered daring hopes in others. Scarcely any one cared to embark as a soldier, and the few that were compelled to do so strove in every way to remain on land.*

Among the individuals who accompanied D. Francisco de Almeida to India in 1505 was Fernão de Magalhães, who was to become later on so renowned as navigator and discoverer.

In this expedition D. Francisco de Almeida was to construct four strongholds, viz., in Quiloa, Cananor, Cochim, and on the islands of Anchediva. In effect, he conquered Quiloa, and gave the city a new king, which he himself crowned with great solemnity. The conquest

* See Rebello da Silva, "Historia de Portugal," tom. v., pp. 135–140.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

of Bombassa proved very difficult to the Portuguese, and revealed in Francisco de Almeida that he had superior military qualities. After the taking of Bombassa the Viceroy went to anchor at Anchediva where he manifested a disposition to follow a dignified and generous policy. Sailing towards Calicut, he met a powerful fleet of 400 sail, which the Samorim, by the advice of the Mussalman merchants, had equipped against the Portuguese. The naval combat which ensued was one of heroic grandeur. D. Lourenço de Almeida, the son of the Viceroy, a valiant soldier, played an important part, but a sad fate awaited him. It is certain that this glorious combat invested the Portuguese name on the Indian seas with a prestige which she required in order to consolidate the conquest.

In Cochim, D. Francisco de Almeida was able to raise a fortress, due to his cunning. He used to set fire at midnight to the houses of Portuguese residents, attributing the fires to the Moors. As a satisfaction given to the Viceroy, the Rajah permitted the construction of the fortress, thus crowning innocently the wishes of D. Francisco.

Another fortress, that of Cananor, was constructed later on, after a long and stormy siege, laid by the Moors around the Portuguese, who had been charged with the commission. The Portuguese were rescued by the unexpected arrival of a squadron which had left Portugal, commanded by Tristão da Cunha, and which, by mere chance, ported in Cananor.

The Viceroy in person proceeded to Cananor, where he dictated his conditions to the Rajah.

D. Lourenço de Almeida perished in a naval combat with a powerful fleet of the Sultan of Egypt, aided by the Venetians. This blow deeply shattered the spirit of the Viceroy, and cast a sad gloom over him, which tended to diminish, if not altogether lose, the fame of his heroism.

In order to avenge the death of his son, D. Francisco prepared a fleet of twenty-one sail. This fleet was instructed to realise a terrible work of destruction and vengeance.

The fleet departed from Anchediva and entered into Dabul. At the latter place the cruelties practised by the Portuguese exceeded all limits. Damião de Goes gives a description of their horrible acts. From Dabul D. Francisco proceeded towards Diu Here a naval combat took place with the soldiers of the Sultan of Egypt. The

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

combat proved a terrible one, and was like the last flare-up of the heroism of Francisco de Almeida. When the victorious Portuguese captains leaped on board the Viceroy's ship in order to congratulate him, they said, "Senhor, we are hapless indeed who have survived, and not perished with your good son, who is in glory." Burning tears burst from his eyes, and flowed like a stream. He endeavoured to disguise his feelings, and replied, "My sons, that loss has pierced through and through my soul; now let us rejoice at the vengeance which our Lord in his mercy has afforded us." But all his efforts to disguise his feelings were of no avail, and he sat down weeping bitterly. The term of his glory was ended, as well as that of his Viceroyship.

In 1506, Alfonso de Albuquerque had returned to India in the squadron of Tristão da Cunha, bringing secret instructions from D. Manuel to supersede D. Francisco de Almeida as Viceroy. In 1507, while Albuquerque was at Ormuz, some of the officers who accompanied him commenced to have misunderstandings with him because he did not wish to quit Ormuz without first establishing the Portuguese dominion, and they wanted to commit piracies on the ships from Mecca, and in the trade for spices. This spirit of revolt against Albuquerque assumed such grave proportions that he was forced one day to draw the sword in order to put down the rising wave which threatened him.

The captains being thus reduced to silence by the heroism of Albuquerque, began to counsel D. Francisco de Almeida not to resign his governorship.

Albuquerque arrived to Cananor when Almeida was preparing to avenge the death of his son. He was requested to deliver up the Viceroyship, but Almeida urged that he must be avenged. Albuquerque consented, and even offered to accompany him voluntarily, but this D. Francisco gently but firmly refused.

In Cochim, Albuquerque newly demanded the governorship. The camps were divided. Some were on the side of D. Francisco de Almeida, and maintained that he ought not to deliver up his viceroyship before receiving fresh orders from Portugal, as the Portuguese dominion over India would be lost; others were all for Alfonso de Albuquerque. The two parties even came to blows, and between them the Rajah knew not to which side to turn. At length D. Francisco arrested Alfonso de Albuquerque, and sent him to Cananor.

A squadron from Lisbon, commanded by D. Alfonso Coutinho, a

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

relative of Albuquerque, arrived on the scene, and put an end to this shameful contention. Almeida did not offer any resistance, as the newly arrived squadron aided Albuquerque, but delivered up his governorship, and departed to Cananor, accompanied by all the enemies of Albuquerque, who judged proper to follow him. D. Francisco then departed for Europe, but was slain at the Cape of Good Hope during an encounter with the Caffres on 1st March, 1510. Perchance fate was merciful to him, and saved him from the great sorrow he would have had entering the Tagus alone, and from whence he had departed with his gallant son. The Portuguese were unable to save his body, and it was left forsaken on the sands of Africa. Such was the end and fate of the man who had made Asia tremble.

As usually happens, it was then that the rulers of Portugal comprehended the immense worth of the man the nation had lost. When the news of his death reached Portugal, the windows of the palace were closed, in sign of mourning, and D. Manuel bitterly bewailed the death of his esteemed servant.

India had two great men, two august oaks which towered above the grand and flourishing forest of heroes, viz., D. Francisco de Almeida and Alfonso de Albuquerque. Both these heroes died far from their country, and both had their lives embittered by the ungrateful King whom posterity called the "Fortunate." How could Portuguese glory be long-lived when those who placed in the diadem of Portugal its most brilliant jewels only received in recompense the crown of thorns and the palm of martyrs?

The history of Portugal during the reign of the King D. Manuel and his successors becomes so widened and dispersed throughout the globe that we must needs rush from north to south and from east to west in order to follow its events.

We must now turn to Northern Africa and witness the brilliant actions of the knights who in so signal a manner illustrated their country.

In 1505, the King D. Manuel ordered the construction of a castle close to the African stronghold of Mogador, which was to be called Real, and the same which later on became the celebrated Mazagão. Its construction and government were entrusted to Diogo de Azambuja, the same who in Western Africa had founded the Castle of Mina and laid the foundations of the town of Santa Cruz, called by the Moors Agadir, the ruins of which are still standing at the present day.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Portuguese continued likewise their conquests in Morocco, and not satisfied with the strongholds they already held, took every opportunity to further establish themselves. About the year 1505, serious discords arose among the Moors of the city of Azaali, and the various contending bands resolved upon calling in Diogo de Azambuja to intervene in their contentions. The result of this was its conquest. Being informed by Diogo de Azambuja of what had passed, D. Manuel sent reinforcements, and the Arab chiefs, who were scarcely prepared or disposed to acknowledge themselves vassals of the King of Portugal were compelled to yield up the city to the Portuguese, after some sanguinary combats. Three years later, in 1508, the Moors were definitely dispossessed of the city, and a new stronghold was added to the four already founded. The Portuguese possessions of Morocco were at the time Ceuta, Arzilla, Alcacer-Ceguer, Tangiers, and Zafim. In the combats which took place in the latter city, and others which followed when the Moors attempted to reconquer it, an individual began to distinguish himself for his almost superhuman valour. This was the renowned Lopo Barriga, the intrepid leader, endowed with great power, valour, and daring, whose name became the terror of the Moors, and it even became an imprecation, *May the lance-thrusts of Lopo Barriga hit you!*

Desirous of continuing his African conquests, and seduced by the promises of a discontented Moorish sheik, Zeyam, who wished to take possession of Azamor, the King D. Manuel sent a squadron against this city, commanded by D. João de Menezes, former captain of Arzilla. Although this squadron was not a large one, it carried on board 400 lances and 2,000 archers and other soldiers, a force too small for the undertaking projected, because Azamor, as was afterwards known, was defended by 8,000 armed men and some 16,000 commanded by the Sheik in person, who had counselled the expedition, and was thus betraying them.

In the Portuguese fleet were many fidalgos and knights of distinction, among them Pero Mascarenhas and Henrique de Menezes, who subsequently became Governors of India. This fleet arrived on the 12th of August, 1508, and the captain at once attempted to land and assault the city, but in view of the superior forces of the enemy was compelled to retire, as he perceived that it would be only a vain undertaking to attempt to take it, hence he retreated, taking the road towards the Strait of Gibraltar.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

But D. João de Menezes, not wishing to return to Portugal without at least bringing a trophy, proceeded to Tangiers, whose governor was D. Duarte de Menezes, and summoned the Count de Borba, governor of Arzilla, to hold a council in order to combine upon the best means to take Larache, or El-Araish, a city to the south of Arzilla. The Count at once proceeded to Arzilla, when sinister news arrived that the King of Fez had gathered together a formidable army and was marching against Arzilla.

The Count de Borba returned to the city where he was governor in the month of October, 1508, and arrived in time to repulse vigorously some attacks, but as the forces of the King of Fez were very numerous, the Count was compelled to take refuge within his own castle and await succour from D. João de Menezes. The latter was not long coming, with the whole of his fleet, which had been dispersed, a portion in Tangiers, another in Alcacer-Ceguer. The fleet remained outside the reef of rocks which closes the entrance, because the batteries of the besiegers prevented them from approaching the shore, and they knew not whether the castle was still held by the Portuguese. However, they resolved to enter, and succeeded in doing so after great perils.

The Moors were somewhat dispirited at the daring of the Portuguese and at the coming of D. João de Menezes, who enjoyed a high reputation for valour. The Portuguese admiral not only apprised the King of Portugal of the danger which the city was in, but likewise the Spanish admiral D. Pedro Navarro, whose fleet was crossing the Straits of Gibraltar, and to the governors of the strongholds of Andalusia. In effect, this was a common cause, not only because, following the idea of the epoch, it was the cause of Christianity against infidelity, but also because the Spaniards, taking example from the Portuguese, were establishing themselves in Africa, and their strongholds were likewise imperilled. The Spaniards hastened to their aid, and the *corregidor* of Xeres came with a caravel which did great service, and D. Pedro Navarro with a fleet.

The state of Arzilla caused a deep impression in Portugal, and D. Manuel, who was in Evora, at once proceeded to the Algarve in order to direct prompt aid for Africa. The call to war was sounded, and he quickly collected together some 20,000 men. But this proved unnecessary, because as soon as the fleet of the Spanish admiral, with 3,500 men on board, arrived, the King of Fez perceived that the project was frustrated, and he raised the siege.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

On the 18th of May, 1508, a squadron of six ships, commanded by Pero d'Arraya, departed for Sofala to found a fortress. After many troubles they reached Sofala, and obtained the consent of the lord of the territory to erect a fortress. However, the Caffres soon perceived the error they had committed in allowing a guest to plant himself in their territory who was to become the master. They attempted to expel him, but Pero d'Arraya used his artillery, and soon destroyed the ruler and appointed another, who, acknowledging the superiority of the Portuguese, banded with them. But the climate soon worked fearful ravages, and the garrison was reduced to less than forty men, and these were fever-stricken and weak. Pero d'Arraya died, and a successor was appointed. Such were the ill-fated beginnings of the disastrous colony of Mozambique, from which nought has been derived up to the present day but ruin and opprobrium.

It was unbounded ambition which never wearied of extending conquests, and that after affording a period of glory and immense prosperity, conducted the Portuguese to the low state in which they are plunged, and from which it will be very difficult for them to rise.

In the year 1506, the fleet of Tristão da Cunha started for India, as we said, and reached Malabar in time to release the Portuguese besieged in Cananor.

In 1507, the King sent to India fourteen ships under four leaderships, commanded by Jorge de Mello Pereira, Philippe de Castro, Fernão Soares, and Vasco Gomes de Abreu. The latter was to supersede Pero d'Arraya as governor of Sofala, and was instructed to found a fortress in Mozambique.

In 1508, sixteen ships left Lisbon, four were commanded by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, with express orders to proceed to Malacca, a wealthy city whose fame had reached Portugal; the rest of the fleet were commanded by Jorge de Aguiar, and were instructed to cross Eastern Africa and the Cape Guardafui, where they suffered many disasters.

Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, on reaching Malacca, was well received by the natives, but this goodwill was later on changed into hostilities, due to the influence of Arab merchants. He was very nearly falling a victim to their treachery, but fortunately escaped from the plots of the Moors and natives of Malacca, and returned to Lisbon in 1510.

In this expedition appears for the first time the name of Fernão de Magalhães, who became so renowned, but whose glory was subsequently stained by treachery. He was one of the companions of Sequeira.

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

It became manifest that from the Arabs proceeded all the opposition to the Portuguese becoming established in India. When the natives received and welcomed them, these foreign merchants at once showed hostilities, which brought on enmities. Hence it was acknowledged in council that it was needful to put down these persistent enemies by attacking them in their own lairs, that is to say, the ports of Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and thus neutralise their efforts. It was to follow this idea that the King sent out the expedition of Tristão da Cunha, and that Alfonso de Albuquerque was secretly appointed successor of Francisco d'Almeida in the Governorship of India.

In our history we are about to evoke in all the grandeur of his gigantic stature the form of Alfonso de Albuquerque—the "great Albuquerque," as he is universally called by natives and foreigners, who are unanimous in acknowledging the glory of this man, the greatest which the East has beheld since the remote and almost legendary times of Alexander the Great.

In the month of April, 1506, Tristão da Cunha departed for India at the head of sixteen vessels, eleven of which were under his immediate command, and five under Alfonso de Albuquerque. The fleet were instructed to sail together as far as Socotora, where a fortress was to be erected, and then Tristão da Cunha to proceed on to India, while Alfonso de Albuquerque should remain in Cape Guardafui to chase the ships from Mecca, and also establish relations with wealthy Ormuz, which was the centre of Eastern commerce. It appears that discords arose between Albuquerque and Da Cunha soon after leaving Lisbon. The immortal founder of the Lusitanian Indian Empire could ill brook the command of others, and although an inflexible disciplinarian himself, Alfonso de Albuquerque was not equally a respecter of discipline. Conscious of the genius within him, and of his own superiority above those around him, Albuquerque was born to wield supreme command, and feeling this power within him, could not resign himself to obey.

Hence with bad grace did he follow Tristão da Cunha and sail to Mozambique, having during this voyage discovered the islands called Tristão da Cunha, and known under that name even to the present day. The misunderstandings between the two commanders increased on reaching Mozambique, owing chiefly to Da Cunha insisting on awaiting a ship with supplies which had become separated from the fleet. It appears that after crossing the Cape of Good Hope the vessels became separated, and were successively arriving to Mozambique. A caravel

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

whose captain was Ruy Pereira was driven to the immense island of Madagascar, and entered one of its southern ports. This island was known to the Portuguese as the island of Lua, as stated before, but they had not visited it. Ruy Pereira, on arriving to Mozambique, informed Tristão what he had discovered, which so gratified him that he resolved to proceed at once to Madagascar. Albuquerque, who was impatient to proceed to Arabia and shake off his subjection, did not approve of the determination of Tristão, and on reaching the island, finding that Tristão was about to examine it all round at his leisure, he rather sharply observed that he was only losing valuable time, as it was already January, 1507, and at this rate would never reach India. He further declared that if he persisted in discovering the whole island, he ought at least to permit him to depart with his squadron to fulfil his instructions at the Cape Guardafui. Tristão gave the desired permission, no doubt irritated at the insubordination of his subaltern, as the latter was equally with his superior officer at his caprices. Tristão, however, gathered together his fleet and returned to Mozambique, as he was disappointed with his voyage of discovery, not only on account of the hostile attitude of the natives, but because he lost some of the ships on that unknown coast. The natives of Madagascar were at that epoch what they are at the present day—intrepid, ferocious, and decidedly rebellious against any foreign dominion. Every nation of Europe has endeavoured to effect an establishment on that fertile and opulent island and been unsuccessful to any extent, even the French, who persevered most obstinately.

On returning to Mozambique they were joined by João da Nova, who had returned from India, and was cruising on the Eastern Coast of Africa, awaiting some fleet or other to pass from Portugal and relieve him, as his ship was too disabled to make the home voyage. Thus together they sailed on to Melinde, where the Portuguese were as usual well received. From Melinde Tristão da Cunha, in virtue of the Portuguese being considered lords of the East by right of conquest, began to level to the ground and burn down all the cities on the African coast. The first city attacked was Oja, which did not offer the smallest resistance, and the natives fled inland.

The next was Brava. The sheik refused to pay the tribute imposed by Cunha, but the fame of Portuguese power was daily increasing, and he attempted to temporise under various pleas, but without giving any definite reply. Tristão da Cunha, however, sus-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

pected some treachery of the Africans, and therefore captured one of the envoys, and compelled him to confess the true reason for the delay. The true reason was that the sheik awaited a violent wind-storm which generally took place in that part at a certain time of the year, and which they called Vara do Coromandel. When these storms overtake vessels unprepared they are literally wrecked.

The resistance met in Brava was very great, and the combat a fierce one, in which the Portuguese committed atrocities which in vain Tristão attempted to repress. After the combat it was set on fire. He was proceeding to attack Mogadoxo, when the pilots observed that it was late in the year for navigating to Socotora, therefore he desisted, and proceeded to the island, where he had to erect a fortress. After the taking of Brava, Tristão da Cunha besought Alfonso de Albuquerque to knight him and his little son Nuno.

The Island of Socotora, the Dioscorides of the ancients, is situated close to the Cape Guardafui, and is a splendid site for watching the entrance of the Red Sea. Hence it was well selected for a fortress; but this idea of D. Manuel, however, had been already realised long before by the Arabs, who had erected one, and Tristão resolved to take it. This was a difficult matter, because it was defended by most valiant Arabs from the south, an intrepid race, rebels under any yoke. By clever stratagem the Portuguese entered after some hours of fierce resistance, but they did not succeed in taking the fortress until the whole garrison was slain. The resistance offered by the fortress of Socotora was the most daring which the Portuguese experienced in the East, and proved that they were not enemies to be despised who thus preferred to die rather than yield, and whose blood stained the walls they were unable to protect.

After taking the fortress, Tristão further strengthened it, and gave it the name of S. Miguel. He left a garrison, and named D. Alfonso de Noronha, a nephew of Albuquerque, governor. He then thought of proceeding to India and leave Albuquerque at his post. He delivered up to him six ships as his portion of the squadron, with their respective officers, and they separated on the 1st August, 1507. The project of Albuquerque was to take possession of Ormuz with his squadron, manned by 450 men.

Ormuz, which in our day is completely annihilated and belongs to Persia, was at that time a flourishing kingdom. The sovereign of this small island, a nominal vassal of the Shah of Persia, dominated then

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the islands of the Persian Gulf and the whole coast of Oman. It was defended by Calayate, Curiate, Mascate, Orfacate, Soar (Sohhar), which then obeyed the sovereign of Ormuz. To reduce to obedience to the King of Portugal all these cities well defended and garrisoned was no easy task, and he dared not apprise his captains of what he projected. The ill-will of Tristão da Cunha had manifested itself when they separated by leaving Albuquerque with supplies sufficient for only a fortnight. This fact served as a plea for carrying out his project, because it was only natural that he should proceed for supplies along the coast of Arabia, and as the Arabs would most likely refuse, there would be at once a pretext for war.

On the 10th August Alfonso de Albuquerque quitted Socotora, and sailed towards the coast of the Persian Gulf, with the ostensible object of procuring provisions. In Melinde he took the precaution of taking Arab pilots on board who knew every inch of that coast. The first city he came to was Calayate, and the governors behaved with such prudence that he was unable to find any pretext for war. They gave him all supplies asked, and on demanding that they should acknowledge their vassalage to Portugal, replied that he must settle that at Ormuz, as Calayate was under its orders. He proceeded on to Curiate, where he met with resistance, but was able to take the first fortification, and from thence directed the artillery against the city and quickly dispersed the defenders. He then set fire to the city, after providing himself with all provisions.

From Curiate Alfonso de Albuquerque went on towards Mascate, a city yet more powerful, and which, even to this day, dominates the coast and is an important place. Here the Arabs attempted to parley with the Portuguese and illude them with promises until a reinforcement arrived, when they threw off the mask and fired upon a boat which approached to land. Albuquerque wished to punish them, but his captains judged the attempt an imprudent one, and began to dread these successive combats, yet dared not openly rebel.

They obeyed when he gave the orders for assault and behaved bravely. The city was taken, sacked, burnt down, and all Arabs slain that were found. Then commenced a strife with his captain on perceiving that he intended to proceed to Ormuz, following the same system. João da Nova, tacitly backed by his comrades, asked leave to depart for India. Alfonso de Albuquerque held a council and proposed the demand. The captains replied that if he intended to conquer all

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the cities of the Persian Gulf, including Ormuz, it would be needful to have twenty more ships besides the one commanded by João da Nova. Albuquerque, perceiving that this nobleman was discontented when he ordered him positively to accompany him, placed him under arrest, and continued quietly his voyage to Ormuz. On passing Sohhar, the natives failed to offer resistance, and acknowledged themselves vassals of the King of Portugal. From Sohhar he went on to Orfacate, literally dragging the captains, pilots, and crews, who were all discontented. Here a combat was entered into without even a parley with the natives. The news of the conflagrations of the other cities had announced the approach of Albuquerque and had spread terror. Orfacate was quickly taken and burnt down, and the captives had their ears and noses mutilated. These were set free and dispersed along the Arabian coasts, carrying terrifying accounts of the arrival of the invincible fleet, which signalised its passage by destroying and razing to the ground the most powerful cities.

In Orfacate Albuquerque took a fresh pilot, who informed him that it was already known at Ormuz that he was approaching, and that great preparations were being made for the defence of the city. Albuquerque imperiously bade him keep this information secret from the captains, and tranquilly continued his journey. Two days later, after doubling the Cape of Mocendon, at daydawn they found themselves close to three islands, which form an angle, one of them being Ormuz. The morning mists concealed the outlines of the panorama, but when the sun rose and the clouds dispersed, its golden beams bathed the dazzling splendour of the Persian city, the emporium of the Eastern commerce rising amid the waves and night like one of the cities of the Arabian tales which had been erected marvellously by the hands of genii and fairies.

The large number of fine houses, the minarets which rose above them, the many ships which lay near the shore, and the hordes of brilliantly robed knights which filled the streets dazzled the Portuguese captains, and filled their hearts with terror. In truth, the idea of Albuquerque, that at the head of some 400 men and six ships he could, after the three former combats, be in a position to attack a city such as Ormuz was, produced a feeling of fear and terror at the consequences. But all the representations of the captains and subalterns were unable to influence Alfonso de Albuquerque, who only replied by bidding them be ready to obey his orders, as was their duty, and that only to the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

King would he account for his actions. Hence, despite every opinion, this great general exacted, in the presence of sixty ships and two hundred galleys ranged against him, that the King of Ormuz should acknowledge himself a vassal of the King of Portugal. In truth, the reply to such a proposition ought to have been a volley from the whole round of the fleet of Ormuz, and annihilate the six Portuguese ships. But the Orientals are not given to such prompt decisions, temporisation is the element of Asiatic policy. The King of Ormuz was Seif-ed-Din, but being still too young to govern, Khodja-Atar ruled the kingdom in his name. But this ruler judged that his enormous fleet was insufficient, and wished to protract negotiations until the arrival by land of an expected reinforcement. Albuquerque clearly perceived that the delay was only to gain time, and therefore sent in again his demand, in a more haughty and imperious tone. At length the Moorish ships began to move away and to anchor further from the shore, in order to prepare by degrees the plan of battle arranged on land. But Albuquerque likewise weighed anchor, and proceeded to anchor near the Moorish ones. He then instructed his captains to be ready, and at a given signal they suddenly opened fire on the Moorish fleet. It was a daring act, and the Moors, taken by surprise, did not immediately reply, thus two of their largest ships were sunk, and a great number of galliots destroyed. The surprise and terror of this sudden attack produced disorder among the Moorish captains, and although after a time they fired into the Portuguese, they caused but little damage. To avoid the combination of the squadron taking place after the first encounter, which would certainly involve them, Albuquerque and his captains entered the barges (*escaleres*), and thus multiplied the means of attack. It would be impossible in our limited space to afford our readers a full description, such as the chroniclers give us, of this strategic action. Suffice it to say that the Portuguese fought with such good results that the ships led by Khodja-Atar in person were put to flight, and Albuquerque and his captains following the city coast, set fire to all shipping and edifices they found, meanwhile that their artillery played sad havoc on the dispersed relics of the formidable Mahomedan squadron.

Khodja-Atar, perfectly thunderstruck at the sudden explosion of daring and strategic tactics of Albuquerque, sent in proposals of peace in the name of Seif-ed-Din. After several conferences, in which Albuquerque had to wrestle against the cunning of Khodja-Atar, and the impatience of his own people, who longed to get away, peace was

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

definitely established; the King of Ormuz engaging to pay annually to the King, D. Manuel, 15,000 xerofins in gold, and a further sum of 5,000 for defraying the expenses of the fleet; also to allow a fortress to be erected on any spot selected by Albuquerque. On attempting to proceed to take the city itself, the captains and crews refused to obey Albuquerque, and great dissensions arose, headed by João da Nova, when he ordered them to proceed to land for an exploration. About this time a report was spread that a Persian squadron was secretly coming to succour Ormuz. Albuquerque sent three of his ships to watch the coming fleet, but their respective captains took advantage of this order to escape to India.

Finding that he could not continue the siege of Ormuz, Albuquerque set sail for Socotora, and from thence took the road to India, arriving to Cananor in November, 1508. We have already mentioned his arrival to India, and the misunderstandings which ensued between him and the former Viceroy, Francisco de Almeida. We said before that the aid of the fleet of Fernando Coutinho had arrived at an opportune moment to end the discords between the two Viceroys. Coutinho had conceived the great project of the destruction of Calicut, and for this object had reckoned with the aid of the Rajah of Cochim. Alfonso de Albuquerque, urged by Coutinho, agreed, and the fleet departed, reaching Calicut in January, 1510. The assault was irregular, due to the imprudence of Coutinho. The Portuguese soldiers dispersed about the city, sacking the houses of the Indians. D. Fernando Coutinho might have saved his own life by retreating by the advice of Albuquerque, had he not insisted on returning to set fire to the palace of the Samorim. He was surrounded by the Naires and killed. The rest actually were able to save themselves and embark after setting fire to a great number of houses in the city.

Albuquerque was greatly annoyed at this *contretemps*, but in order to redress the failure, set about effecting a plan to capture Ormuz. He prepared a fleet of twenty-three sail, and proceeded to the Islands of Anchediva, where an Indian, by name Timoia, a powerful lord—who either became attached to the Portuguese or feared them, or, what is more probable, desired to have a part in the conquest—informed the Portuguese that the *rumes*, fugitives from Diu, had gone to Canton in Goa, in order to prepare a fleet against the Portuguese, while it was certain that Goa was unprepared against any attack, because the Sobah was at war with the King of Narcinga.

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Albuquerque took his advice and sailed to Goa. The governor, in the absence of the Sobah, did not offer any resistance and capitulated. As a reward for his services Timoia asked for the direct sovereignty of Goa, paying a great tribute to Portugal, but Albuquerque only made him governor (catwal).

The Viceroy followed a gentle system in order to win the sympathies of the Indians. He forbade widows to throw themselves on the pile after their husbands' death, and he ordered Portuguese money to be coined equivalent in value to Indian coinage; by this means he familiarised the Indians with Portuguese coinage.

But the Sobah rebelled against the invasion of the Portuguese, and, assisted by the Turks, cast himself upon Goa. Albuquerque, who was always prepared, had nearly concluded the fortress in course of construction, but within the city walls there were the elements of rebellion. The Mussalmans were conspiring in favour of the Sobah, and the Portuguese who strove to depart for Cochim. Despite all the precautions taken by Albuquerque, and keeping the Moslem women and children as hostages, Hidal-Kahn, the Sobah, succeeded in forcing the city. Alfonso de Albuquerque would have entrenched himself within the fortress, but the majority of his captains, ever insubordinate, insisted that he should forsake it. Such was the pressure brought to bear on Albuquerque that they compelled him to embark within sight of the fortress of Pangim and await, amid the horrors of famine, for the monsoon in order to weigh anchor.

But these very captains who were so insolent and always insubordinate, driven to the last extremity, behaved like veritable heroes in the taking of the fortress of Pangim.

Hidal-Khan had then an opportunity of knowing the worth of the Portuguese. Their heroism in obstinately remaining at the bar as a constant threat, and the repeated triumphs of the King of Narcinga, who was conquering city after city, induced him to propose the surrender of Goa in exchange for the person of Timoia, upon whom he wished to wreak his vengeance, but Albuquerque refused.

The captains continued insubordinate, and forced Albuquerque to leave the bar on 10th August. Nevertheless, in his heart Albuquerque fanned the plan of conquest, despite all contrarities. He wished to return to Goa to take it, but the captains resisted, while he endeavoured by sharp punishments to overcome them. At length, breaking through all opposition, Albuquerque once more proceeded towards Goa, and after

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

much strategy and heroism, succeeded in taking it. The city was sacked, and all Moors found were murdered. It was the beginning of his vengeance, and likewise the realisation of his plans. Goa was to be the capital of the Portuguese Empire in India. After effecting the conquest of Goa, Albuquerque turned his attention towards Malacca. Similar difficulties rose up in that expedition, but he was not disheartened. He sailed towards Malacca, and the first assault took place on the 1st May, 1511. This assault would have been crowned with a happier result, owing to the Portuguese having taken a good position on the bridge which divided the city, had not the fatigue under which they laboured forced them to retire to the ships. A second attack was therefore needed, and successfully carried by the Portuguese, who captured the city and sacked it. Following the wise plan formulated, Albuquerque followed in Malacca, as in Goa, a conciliatory policy towards the conquered.

On the construction of the fortress being concluded, Albuquerque retired to India, where, owing to his absence, a certain disorganisation had commenced, which he, with his now established influence, succeeded to repress, and ordered all Portuguese traitors to be mutilated of their ears and noses. The prestige of D. Albuquerque being now fully acknowledged, embassies arrived from all parts to greet him, including one from Prester John, by which D. Manuel sent orders for him to abandon Goa: this he did, urged by the enemies of Albuquerque. Fortunately the great captain did not follow the silly orders of the King, but on the contrary deeply considered how to crown his vast plan of Asiatic conquest by taking Ormuz.

At the commencement of 1513 Albuquerque was reaching Aden, to follow out its important conquest, but the Arabs powerfully defended themselves, and Albuquerque was fain to be content with spreading terror amid the Moors. He sent through Egypt an emissary to D. Manuel to acquaint him of the position he was in. In the following year, 1514, Albuquerque resolved upon conquering Ormuz.

The King, who was reigning at the time of the first expedition of Albuquerque against Ormuz, had died from poison, and the Regent, Khodja-Atar, was also dead. A brother of the deceased King had succeeded him on the throne, but when Albuquerque arrived at Mascate, a revolt took place, in which a nephew of Bas-Nour-ed Din had deposed his uncle and arrested him. Alfonso de Albuquerque resolved upon taking advantage of these internal discords, and through his influence

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Bas-Ahmed was forced to restore his uncle to comparative liberty. Albuquerque demanded the surrender of the fortress, which was granted after much hesitation, and only because both parties wished to win him over to their favour.

Bas-Nour-ed-Din and Torun-Schah allowed themselves to be influenced by hope of vengeance of their dominator, with the aid of this foreign captain; while Albuquerque, who desired to rid himself of Bas-Ahmed, endeavoured to induce him to enter the fortress. Bas-Ahmed fostered the same project against Albuquerque, and desired to have an interview with him, accompanied only by the King and his uncle. The two were in a secret accord with the Governor of India to arrest and banish the wily minister. The interview took place, in which Bas-Ahmed was treacherously murdered by orders of Albuquerque. The assassination of Bas-Ahmed delivered Albuquerque from the only intelligent and energetic man who could oppose his plans, and he began to follow a cunning policy, and transform Ormuz into a city eminently Portuguese. The King, irresolute and aged, knew not what to do, and gave himself up to Albuquerque, who at once promulgated a decree prohibiting Persians and Arabs, and all else but the Portuguese, to use arms. He then banished the relatives and partisans of Bas-Ahmed, and under the plea that news had come of the approach of a fleet from Egypt, he demanded and obtained all armaments. He sent to Goa fifteen princes of the royal family of Ormuz, and following the barbarous custom of the East, ordered their eyes to be plucked out, so that they should not aspire to the crown. In a word, by degrees he despoiled from the miserable, submissive King, Torun-Schah, all his royal power, leaving him only with the shadow of authority and the empty title of a King. Indeed, he was no more than an instrument completely under the authority of the Portuguese captain.

The audacious plan of Albuquerque had been realised, but his life was wearing away. His health, undermined by such great and lengthened labours, was visibly declining. Nevertheless he embarked in Ormuz for Goa, wishing to die in the capital of the Indian Empire which he had founded.

Gaspar Corrêa, in his beautiful "Lendas da India," gives us a striking narrative of the last days of the great captain and governor of India, Alfonso de Albuquerque.

On reaching the bar of Goa he arose from his bed to gaze on the house of Our Lady of Dinar, and lifted up his hands in prayer. He

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

then withdrew to his cabin, and taking a crucifix and a candle, recited the psalm *Miserere mei Deus*, his voice growing weaker at each verse, until the end, when he said *Credo*, and he ceased to exist. He died on the 27th December, 1515.

He was succeeded in the governorship of India by Lopo Soares, who arrived in a fleet to Goa in September, 1515. He was a noble fidalgo, who had been in India as captain of a fleet in 1504, and returned with much wealth.

The conquests and navigation of the Portuguese in the East had so far increased that the map of her maritime discoveries was widening day by day. In 1506 João Homen discovered before reaching the Cape of Good Hope three islands, separated from each other by ten leagues, and which he named Santa Maria da Graça, St. Jorge, and St. João. In that same year Tristão da Cunha discovered the islands of his name, while Ruy Pereira Coutinho, in following the channel of Mozambique, touched at the island of Madagascar, and Fernam Soares, returning home, touched at the same island on the eastern side, and called it St. Lourenço. In 1508 Tristão da Cunha, on his return voyage discovered the Island of Ascension, which must not be confounded with the one of the same name discovered in 1501 by João da Nova.

It appears that the islands of Mascarenhas, called at the present day Bourbon, to the east of Mozambique, were discovered about the years 1512 and 1513 by Pedro de Mascarenhas. We have given a sketch of the conquests and victories of the great captain, Alfonso de Albuquerque. After his death India began to fall, notwithstanding that Lopo Soares had taken full possession of Ceylon and the Moluccas. Around the governors who succeeded Alfonso de Albuquerque there arose an atmosphere of crime and intrigue. Many governors, owing to the accusations brought against them, were sent back to Portugal under arrest.

In a curious manuscript existing in the Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa * there is a narrative of the discoverers of India, captains and leaders, viceroys and governors.

---

* *Noticia abreviada dos descobridores da India, capitães-mores, viso-reis e governadores. Gab* 5, *Est* 24, *No.* 34. Duarte Menezes, 1521. Governed 3 years and sent back under arrest. Also Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, in 1526, after governing 3 years and 10 months. Nuno da Cunha, after 9 months and 10 months. He died at sea on his return as a prisoner. Martim Alfonso de Souza, 1541, having

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

A year after the demise of Albuquerque, Duarte Coelho discovered the kingdom of Cochin-China, and placed a pillar with his name and date of the discovery. About this time Duarte Barbosa completed his book of the Portuguese discoveries, which extended from the Cape Saint Vincent to the Sequios.

We must now speak of Fernam de Magalhães, who departed from Portugal in 1504 with Francisco de Almeida, and who subsequently went to Africa and took part in various undertakings. In the year 1508 he returned to Portugal, and proceeded to India under the command of Diogo Lopos de Sequeira. He was wrecked near the Lacadives with his companions, and was rescued by Alfonso de Albuquerque in Cananor, and rendered signal services to him in India until his return to Portugal in 1512.

Magalhães was employed in the royal palace, and was later on promoted to Fidalgo Escudeiro, but discontented with such mean honours, solicited permission to proceed to Africa, where the Portuguese soldiers were pursuing a war full of gain and perils, and where they advanced their conquests with less advantage than in India, but far more glory. In 1513 the King equipped a fleet of 400 ships from all ports, and an army of 19,000 men-at-arms, the whole of which he placed under the command of his nephew, D. Jayme de Braganza.

It is supposed that Magalhães proceeded in this expedition and served in the war against the Barbary tribes, and when the important stronghold of Azamor was occupied by the Portuguese, he distinguished himself in the subsequent defence of the stronghold against the troops of the King of Fez, and later on of the one of Mequinez (1514). Here he performed certain sorties against the Moors, wherein he proved his valour and attained military posts. It was natural that he should expect some recompense for his services. He returned to Portugal, and solicited from the King D. Manuel an increase to his pension, but this was denied him under pretext of some accusations brought against him in the distribution of prizes taken in Azamor.

---

governed 3 years and 4 months. He capitulated and was sent home a prisoner. Antonio Moniz Barrete, in 1573, after 3 years' government. The Count de Vidigueira, in 1596. Ayres de Saldanha, in 1600. D. Jeronymo de Azevedo, in 1612. He died in prison. The Count de Vidigueira, a second time viceroy, was sent back in 1622 under arrest.——There exists another MS. in the Academia relating the history of all fleets to India from the year 1496 to 1653, with their conquests, and successes of all governors, viceroys, &c.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

He then besought leave from D. Manuel to reside elsewhere. This permission was granted.

This was the second time in the history of Portugal that its monarchs, incited by mean courtiers, had repulsed from them with scornful indifference men whom Providence sends but once in centuries to the human race. The first repulsed was Christopher Columbus, and the second Fernão de Magalhães.

In both cases Castille profited by the errors of the Portuguese monarchs and their governments. Such has always been the case. Magalhães quitted Portugal and proceeded to Castille to naturalise himself a Spanish citizen. "Castille," says Latino Coelho, "was at that time what she was before and subsequently—the enemy of Portugal, even when she disguised by appearances of concord the hereditary hostilities of the two Peninsularian crowns. Castille was a rival with Portugal in transatlantic conquests. Hence he denaturalised himself a Portuguese, and proceeded to Castille to offer his sword.

Fernam Magalhães paid the Portuguese for their affront and odium by turning a renegade. He served Castille when circumnavigating the globe. But nevertheless the name of Magalhães was and ever remained Portuguese, and the glory of his navigations will ever remain a glory to Portugal.

Although the history of his discoveries, and the fact of being the first who circumnavigated the globe, belongs to Spanish history, nevertheless we feel it due to Portugal to mention his name and glorious deeds.

The fleet sent by Spain, under the command of Magalhães, was composed of five ships, and departed from Seville on its voyage of circumnavigation on the 1st of August, 1519. The crews numbered 237 men. On the 4th September, 1522, the Castillians sighted the coast of Spain, and two days later entered the Bay of San Lucar de Barrameda. Of the five ships which had left, only one returned; and out of 265 individuals, only eighteen returned, and these in the greatest misery and distress. Their brave commander was no more; he had been slain, shot by arrows in Matan. This was the recompense of his lengthened labours, his daring, and his genius. Such is the compendium of the most audacious page, and certainly the most heroic in the history of the navigation of the sixteenth century. At the end of the year 1522 the round of the globe had been effected. "No grander act was ever performed," says Michelet, "than this voyage

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Since then the globe was known, and proved to be round. This physical marvel of water being extended over a ball to which it adheres without being displaced, had been demonstrated. The Pacific had been finally recognised—that grand and mysterious laboratory where, far from our view, nature deeply works our life, elaborates new continents and worlds."

It matters little to our impartiality as historians whether Magalhães was a renegade Portuguese, or a Portuguese in truth, though not a loyal one, as Camões sings. He carried out in the sixteenth century an act, and paid for it with his life—the most brilliant in the history of the maritime discoveries of that epoch. Moreover, as Latino Coelho observes, the name of Magalhães always remained a Portuguese one, and the glory of his navigations will ever be a glory to Portugal.

But the fortunate star which followed the King D. Manuel impelled him to undertake a fresh geographical project, which, however, was not successful. This was the scheme of crossing Africa from the Congo to Abyssinia.

It appears a Portuguese knight called Gregorio de Quadra, of the suite of the Marquis de Villa Real, and captain of a brigantine in the fleet of Duarte Lemos, which was on the oriental coast of Africa about the years 1508 and 1509, being anchored opposite Magadaxo, one night broke the cable and drifted at the mercy of the waves as far as the Cape Guardafui, and from thence to Zeila, where he was captured with the people on board, and passed into the power of the King of Aden, who kept him a prisoner for some years.

When he was at length released, he had meantime thoroughly acquired the Arabic and simulated a devout Mahommedan. The King took him with him to Medina, from whence he passed on to Persia. After enduring many hardships he visited Babylon, Baçorá, Ormuz, and India, and subsequently returned to Portugal in 1520.

This captain brought such good reports to the King D. Manuel of all he had seen and observed, and all he had acquired respecting Arabia and Ethiopia, and of the great lake reputed to be the source of the Nile and the Zaire and other great rivers of Africa, that the King judged he would be competent to follow out the idea which for a length of time had engrossed his thoughts. This was a scheme to discover the road from Congo to Ethiopia by land, a scheme from which he hoped to derive great profit by opening communication between his allies,

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the two Christian princes, whose States possessed maritime ports on the Eastern and Western Coasts of Africa. Hence he sent Quadra, bearing letters of credit, to the King of Congo with instructions as to the manner of treating Abexi respecting the war with the Turks and the fortresses which the King desired to erect on the coasts of Arabia and Ethiopia.

In effect Quadra departed, and on reaching to the Congo, delivered up his letters to the King; but so many difficulties arose, due to envy and the malevolence of the natives, that in order to remove them he was forced to return to Portugal, where he found that D. Manuel had died. This fact so disheartened him that he resolved to enter religion, and finished his days in the exercise of piety.

We must now return to Portugal, and narrate what was taking place. D. Manuel was at the height of his royal grandeur. Honours, wealth, all things seemed to vie in laying their offerings at his feet. Henry VIII. of England—who was his brother-in-law by his marriage with the Infanta D. Catherina, sister to the Queen of Portugal D. Maria—had sent him the order of Jarreteira, an order bestowed on and ennobling intrepid knights, such as D. Pedro and Alvaro Vaz de Almada. By this distinction the Fortunate King was equalled to the glorious men of the first period of the dynasty of Aviz. The East was pouring in a sea of wealth. D Manuel, wishing to afford Europe the grand spectacle of Asiatic opulence, resolved (1513–1514) upon sending to Pope Leo X. an embassage bearing the first-fruits of India.

The presents sent to the Holy Father consisted of Pontifical vestments, embroidered and fringed with pearls and precious stones, said to be the richest ever made; also jewels of great value; an elephant, Persian horses sent to him by the King of Ormuz, and an ounce for the chace with a hunter from the same province. The gentlemen composing the embassage were twenty, at whose head was Tristão da Cunha. On the road to Rome the elephant caused universal admiration.

The Pope received the embassage with all the splendour and pomp possible. The foreign ambassadors at the time in the Court of Rome, from England, Poland, France, Castille, Venice, and other places, proceeded to congratulate Tristão da Cunha, praising the magnificence and greatness of D. Manuel. The highest dignitaries of the Holy See came in procession to receive the Portuguese embassy at the gate of Rome. The Pope, surrounded by the Cardinals, awaited them

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

in the Castle of Saint Angelo. The elephant, it is said, knelt down before the Pope. The whole of Rome spoke of nothing else but wondrous stories of the foreign king who possessed so much wealth. Feasts took place for several days, and during which the Pope received in audience the embassy to deliver up the presents. But there were other reasons for this embassy besides the exhibition of all this Eastern splendour. The principal reasons were continuance of the Council, the reformation of the Church, and the war against the Turks.

We may at once state that none of these schemes took place. Other minor affairs were discussed, such as payments of tithes, &c.

In the year 1514 D. Manuel received an embassy from the King of Abyssinia, a fact which would be of slight importance but as demonstrating a far-away echo of the greatness of the King of Portugal, and as a simple act of homage to the powerful monarch of the West, yet it assumes a high interest when we remember that Abyssinia was the kingdom of Prester John, that kingdom so eagerly desired and sought for from the time of the Infante D. Henrique down to that of King D. João II. The monarch of this distant African land where Christianity flourished was now seeking friendly relations with D. Manuel, and sent him a small cross made from the "wood of the cross upon which Jesus Christ had died in Jerusalem." Prince David, the successor to the throne of Abyssinia, was a minor, and the throne was occupied by his grandmother, Queen Helena, as regent. This embassy had proceeded to India through great perils and labour, and Alfonso de Albuquerque had sent it on to Lisbon.

In the letters sent by Queen Helena to the King of Portugal, she styles him "Knight of the Seas," a picturesque phrase through which shines the admiration for this kingdom of the West, whose caravels had with brilliant light dispelled the darkness of the vast solitude of the dark oceans. In this letter Queen Helena proposes to D. Manuel an alliance against the Moors. She offers gold, much gold which she had not dared to send, fearing the Moors would take it from the envoys. She proposed marriages between the princes of both countries, and concluded by declaring that should D. Manuel desire to equip a thousand ships against the enemies of the faith, Abyssinia would provision the whole number.

The heart of D. Manuel must have swelled with satisfaction at the homage offered him on all sides. Born of a noble family, yet not

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

of a kingly one, the crown was causing a species of vertigo of greatness. He resided in the palace of the Ribeira, which he had erected in truly Oriental luxuriousness and decorations. From all parts of Europe came singers and players to amuse the King, and who performed in his bedchamber to lull him to sleep. Horse races, rides along the Tagus, sumptuous banquets, bull-fights, tilts, and tournaments completed the palace life. His bedchamber was guarded by four-and-twenty knights. It would occupy some pages of our history were we to describe, even in a cursory manner, all the splendour and wealth which surrounded the Portuguese King.

But in the midst of all this dangerous prosperity, and this great inundation of Oriental riches, one only head firmly set occupied itself with the administration of public affairs. Providence had placed by the side of D. Manuel an able minister. Antonio Carneiro dedicated his whole life to attending to the affairs, difficult and varied, of the Court. The splendour of the Court of D. Manuel and world-wide renown may be principally attributed to the great men who governed India, and no less to the modest minister who always lived in the shadow of the Court, but whose administrative talents were incontestable. Antonio Carneiro had succeeded in truly comprehending the character of D. Manuel, deeply egotistical. He was both ostentatious and avaricious. The minister of D. Manuel deserves to be known by readers of the history of Portugal. It is just that the form of the King should not altogether obscure that of his minister, who was a consummate diplomatist.

The Queen D. Maria, who had been for some time in delicate health, now grew rapidly worse, and died on the 10th March, 1517. She bore the King D. Manuel the following children.

On the 6th June, 1502, was born in Lisbon the Prince D. João, heir to the throne of Portugal. His birth was signalised by a fearful tempest.

On the 24th October, 1503, was born in Lisbon the Infanta D. Isabel, the beautiful princess who wedded the Emperor Charles V. in 1526, and had issue Philip II. The reason for the Emperor choosing a Portuguese princess when his hand was disputed by the noblest princesses of Europe was no doubt due to the enormous marriage portion assigned to her, although her beauty and noble qualities of mind rendered her exceedingly beloved by her husband, and who, even after her death and when he retired to the Monastery of Yuste, used to spend hours gazing

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

enraptured on the portrait taken by Titian of this gentle Portuguese princess.

On the 31st December, 1504, a year which was rendered memorable in Portugal by great earthquakes, and in Spain by the death of Isabella I., was born the Infanta D. Beatriz, the beauteous Infanta who became Duchess of Savoy, mother of the renowned general, Manuel Felisbert, Duke of Savoy.

On the 3rd March, 1506, was born in Abrantes the Infante D. Luiz. This prince had a bastard son, D. Antonio, who became the Prior of Crato and the luckless rival of Philip II.

In Abrantes also, on the 5th June, 1507, was born the Infante D. Fernando, who married D. Guiomar Coutinho, daughter of the Count de Marialva. To this marriage is linked a story highly romantic and dramatic, which afforded the subject for dramas and novels. D. Fernando was a great lover and student of arts and letters.

In Evora, on 23rd April, 1509, D. Maria gave birth to the Infante D. Alfonso, who, at the age of seven, was created a cardinal by Pope Leo X. He became Bishop of Evora and Archbishop of Lisbon, and his name figures later on in the questions relative to the Inquisition.

On 31st January, 1512, was born in Lisbon the Infante D. Henrique, who was created a cardinal, and later on became King of Portugal.

On 7th September, 1515, in Lisbon, was born the Infante D. Duarte, who did not become in any way notable in history. He was a good musician and a great hunter. He married a sister of the Duke Theodosio of Braganza, and by her had two daughters, D. Maria and D. Catherina, and a son, D. Duarte. D. Catherina was the same who, in 1580, appeared as the pretender to the Crown, and whose rights, the most legitimate of all, were frustrated by the wiles and power of Philip II.

On the 9th September, 1516, was born in Lisbon the Infante D. Antonio, who died soon after his birth.

After the death of the Queen D. Maria, the King had serious thoughts of abdicating in favour of his eldest son, and follow his favourite project of making war to the infidels in Africa. But the incapacity of the Infante D. João, who allowed himself to be led by unworthy men, prevented him from so doing.

He then resolved to marry a third time. It appears that his son D. João was projecting a marriage with the sister of the celebrated Emperor Charles V., who was then King of Castille. This princess was very beautiful, and when D. Manuel beheld her portrait he fell in

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

love with it, and secretly charged D. Alvaro da Costa, who was entrusted with negotiating the marriage for D. João, to arrange it instead for himself. This base act was further increased by spreading a report in the Castillian Court that the prince was an idiot. When this scandal became known in the Portuguese capital, public opinion rose up against him. Besides the treachery practised on the prince-heir, all saw in this marriage a freak of old age, since he was marrying a young woman. But the marriage was effected, notwithstanding.

The new Queen entered Portugal through Crato, where D. Manuel and his son D. João went to receive her. From this marriage proceeded two children—D. Carlos, born in Evora on 18th February, 1520, who died in the following year, and the Infanta D. Maria, born in Lisbon on 8th June, 1521, of whom we shall have occasion to speak, especially when writing on the literary movement of this epoch.

The year 1521, which had commenced so auspiciously, marked by the marriage of D. Beatriz with the Duke of Savoy, and the birth of D. Maria, was ended in sorrow.

During the month of December a hunting party was arranged to proceed to Almeirim. This party was composed of the Infantes D. João, D. Luiz, and D. Fernando. During their absence the King fell ill from fever, which was then lurking around Lisbon. The Infantes were at once summoned, and when they arrived D. Manuel was under a fearful prostration, although fully conscious. He rapidly grew worse, and on the 13th, towards midnight, D. Manuel, the fortunate and magnificent King, had ceased to live, and had entered the portals of history wherein he should be judged as king. All human vanities, all earthly grandeur had finished in the tomb, wherein on that same night were laid in the temple of Our Lady of Belem all that remained of he who in this world was called the mighty lord and king, D. Manuel. Behind the coffin followed the entire Court and over 2,000 horsemen. Over six hundred torches lit up the way, and with their sinister glare seemed to announce the dismal daydawn of a reign in which the fires of the Inquisition were to be enkindled. On reaching the threshold of Belem the fidalgos delivered up the body to the monks, who conducted it to the sepulchre, from whence it was removed to where it now rests in 1551, when the monastery was concluded. He was in the fifty-third year of his age, and had reigned twenty-six years.

The death of the King D. Manuel did not excite a universal sorrow. He was a mediocre spirit, dowered, nevertheless, with a natural good

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

common-sense, which kept him from committing grave errors, excepting when passion dimmed his reason. On the other hand, he was not one to take a daring initiative, or of comprehending the thoughts of the great men who served him. He found all things prepared for the grand works which were undertaken during his reign; it is true he placed no obstacles for their realisation, but neither did he prepare anything for the future.

He possessed the rare gift of knowing and choosing men, although it was João II. who had left to D. Manuel the men selected from among his courtiers whom he could safely entrust great undertakings. But D. Manuel knew how to profit from the choice made. Vasco da Gama, Cabral, Pacheco, Francisco de Almeida, Alfonso de Albuquerque, who were successively sent to India, prove that D. Manuel could appreciate true talents, but he nevertheless judged that he owed these men no consideration for their talents or gratitude for their services. It sufficed that his courtiers should pander to his vanity or jealousy of power, in order that the sight of India conquered and pacified should be of no avail to Francisco de Almeida, or when beholding the East prostrate at the feet of Portugal at the mention of Portuguese power, in the person of Alfonso de Albuquerque, should save him from royal wrath wounding him in the midst of his glories.

This not only proves the egotism of the sovereign, it also proves the narrowness of his views. He who could send to Alfonso de Albuquerque his demision in the midst of his herculean labours, certainly does not comprehend the grand work which his great general had attempted, and which would be the only possible basis for the permanent dominion of the East.

We have endeavoured in this history to give a clear idea, although a rapid one, of all the elements which rendered the age truly memorable. We have not attempted to disguise the stains which shadowed this epoch, in which the form of the King becomes dimmed by the splendour of events.

Recapitulating what we have written, we hold that D. Manuel was a king in no way identified with the grandeur of his epoch. His commonplace form always comes forward in the majestic pictures of the historic events of his time as inferior to them and in no way bringing them out in relief. There did not exist in his spirit that grand and wide conception of the aggrandisement of the nation, which chooses the men and prepares the facts. There was no mental elaboration, no

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

enlightened prevision of the future. He was only the simple instrument of circumstances, and nearly always moved by weak impulses.

His first duty as King, and under the circumstances in which he was placed, should have been to take advantage of these very circumstances to work out on solid bases the happiness of the nation. He did nothing of this. The splendour of his time was ephemeral, and endured only his natural life. The material span of life of individuals is ever an insignificant portion of time in the history of nations. Had he solidly established the events which followed, and laid firm foundations for the future, who knows what the fate of the Spanish Peninsula might have been!

END OF SECOND BOOK.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE THIRD.

1521—1557.

REIGN OF D. JOÃO III.

D. João III.—Sketch of his life—Departure of the Queen-mother to Castille—Marriage of D. João III. with D. Catherina—Religious movement—The Governors of India—Vasco da Gama nominated Viceroy—His viceroyship and death—Defence of Diu—Estevão da Gama—Expedition to the Red Sea—Taking of the fortress of Diu—Departure of Martim Affonso de Sousa—Saint Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies—D. João de Castro is appointed Governor of India—Second defence of Diu—First establishment of the Portuguese in China—Missions to Japan—The services rendered by the Portuguese Jesuits in the cause of religion and science—Lourenço Marques—Colonisation of the Brazils—Defence of the coast of Portugal—The corsairs of Argel and France—The internal and foreign policy of D. João III.—The decadence of the kingdom of Portugal—Its causes—Death of D. João III.—The state of the country at that epoch.

The actual state of the country at the commencement of the reign of D. João III. may naturally be deduced from the narrative of the historical facts recorded in the last reign, and serves as a preface to the one now under consideration.

We therefore at once place before our readers the youthful King, who ascends the throne at the early age of twenty. He was not an enlightened spirit, and, moreover, his mind had been shadowed by an event of sufficient importance to influence his life. We refer to the impression caused on his heart by the marriage of his father, D. Manuel, with the lady chosen for himself. That the life of D. João III. was embittered by this sorrow is undoubted. We find by historic documents that from that event father and son were alienated from each other to the point of D. Manuel showing a preference for the Infante D. Luiz and favouring him. Indeed, this went so far that he dismissed from the Court the Count Luiz da Silveira, Councillor to the Prince D. João, because in the question at issue he had taken the part of the Prince.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

But the chronicler, Father Luiz de Sousa, when describing this episode, adds that, notwithstanding the dire wrong done to him by taking his intended bride to himself, and his secret machinations, he praises the conduct of the Prince in this matter, because never in word or action did he show his father resentment or odium.

It seems to us that from this incident dates the reserve and concentration of character manifested by D. João III. Beneath this cold, respectful appearance may be perceived his passionate love for his step-mother. After the death of D. Manuel, and when the nation had been crushed by various calamities, such as the famine of 1521 and 1522, the whole nation urged him, under pretext of political economy, to take the widow of his father for his own consort and Queen. But the prince had steeled his heart sufficiently to combat his own weakness, and the King refused to accede to their counsels. Similar solicitations were urged upon D. Leonor, who, weaker than D. João III., replied with evasive words which covered an affirmative.

D. João III. was wrestling fiercely with his heart. On the one hand rose up his offended pride, on the other his inextinguished love. He endeavoured to wreak a cruel vengeance on his step-mother by refusing permission to withdraw her daughter, the Infanta D. Maria, to Castille, thus rejecting the pleadings of Charles V., who besought him to allow the mother and child to quit the kingdom, while at the same time he yielded to the impulses of his heart by frequently visiting her.

At length, in May, 1523, he compelled the widowed Queen to depart for Castille, leaving, however, in Portugal the Infanta D. Maria. As a further act of revenge, D. João III. gave himself up to a sensual life, in order that D. Leonor should believe that he had forgotten her and loved others. For two years he continued this life with a perseverance which was quite his own. And in truth, if the love of D. Leonor for the King D. João, far from declining, had grown stronger after the death of D. Manuel, she must have been deeply wounded at the reports which reached her ears.

But the vengeance of D. João III. went further still. His counsellors were constantly urging him to take a wealthy princess to wife, because the restitution of the marriage portion of D. Leonor had exhausted the royal treasury. Then did D. João III. conceive a thought in harmony with his dark, tempestuous heart. His cup of vengeance was not yet full, and he wished to level another blow at the heart of the widowed Queen. He desired at once to do this and reimburse the country of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the large marriage dowry. The Emperor Charles V. had four sisters, who all became queens. D. João III. besought in marriage the hand of D. Catherina, a sister of the Emperor. By this act he not only renewed the international bonds which had become relaxed on both sides, but he completed his revenge by selecting for his own wife the sister of his step-mother.

The secretary of the King, Antonio Cordeiro, and the council applauded the decision of the King, because it was highly advantageous under the economic point of view. The marriage with D. Catherina took place by procuration towards the end of 1524.

It was only in 1530 that D. Leonor placed on her shapely head the crown of France which Francis I. had offered her. Was it likewise vengeance which subjected the widow of D. Manuel to the diplomatic conveniences of her brother, the Emperor Charles V., and which plucked from her head the weeds of widowhood, to be substituted by the nuptial veil of the bride of a king who held the sex in small esteem?

Let us contemplate this prince, wounded to the core by the deep sorrow which poisoned his youth, placed in the centre of an epoch so darkly agitated by religious strifes; let us evoke from the dust of ages and of history the forms of Luther and Calvin, Leo X. and Charles V. Let us open the Confession of Augsburgh and the decrees of the Council of Trent, and study the origin of the grave events which worked in France the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and in Holland the Tribunal of Blood, and the darksome drama of the Thirty Years' War, and then shall we comprehend, in view of the orthodox traditions of his family and of his country, D. João III., the Inquisitor, whose figure, sinister and bent, appears illuminated by the red gleams of the *Autos de Fé*.

The movement produced by the Renaissance flung into the Catholic world the germs of the Reformation, while the disorganisation of the clergy and its corruption fanned its growth. The tendency towards emancipation of spirits found in the irregularities of the Pontifical Courts of Julius II. and of Leo X. a justification for the religious revolution which immortalised the names of Luther and Calvin. At first Catholicism attached but small importance to the Lutheran reaction; but at length she had to come forward on the battle-field and take energetic measures of repression, which induced the erection of the tribunal of the Inquisition, the congregation of the "Index,"

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and the establishment of the Order of Jesus. The Council of Trent was held, and the Church strengthened its theocracy, which prevails to this day, despite the realisation of Italian unity and the loss of the temporal power.

The religious world became divided into two camps, and the dilemma was which side to take. The peoples of the Iberian Peninsula followed the cause of Rome as natural to them from their education and traditions. After Charles V. had freed himself of Francis I., he comes forth in defence of the Papacy, involving himself in its strife, and extends his sanguinary and revengeful action as far as Holland. Later on the son of Charles V., Philip II., declares a war of extermination to the Reformation, and the Catholic influence of the Spanish peninsula extends and passes the Pyrenees, and spreads through France. In Portugal D. João III. follows Charles V. in the religious point of view, although the Inquisition, as a protest to the Reformation, only enters into Portugal some fifty-five years after it had been established in Spain. The two neighbouring countries are linked together by religious traditions similarly as their kings were bound by family ties.

Later on D. Sebastian prepared the hapless fleet of Alcacerkibir to combat for the Catholic faith. In 1588, when Spain and Portugal were joined under the same crown, Philip II. prepares the invincible and unfortunate Armada to combat the Reformation in England. We shall, therefore, better comprehend by this sketch why the Inquisition became instituted in Portugal by bull dated 23rd May, 1536, and understand the ardour with which D. João III. expressed to his Ambassador at Rome his great wish to be Inquisitor-General, were that charge entrusted to a secular prince. In 1539 the Cardinal D. Henrique, brother to the King, was nominated Inquisitor-General in Portugal, and in 1540 commenced the *autos de fé*, to which the royal family assisted as representatives of the Spanish Peninsula, because the Queen D. Catherina of Austria was sister to Charles V.

The marriage of D. João III. gave rise to the treaty of Burgos, by which the Emperor Charles V. and D. João III. pledged themselves to a league of mutual aid, defensive and offensive.

D. João III. reformed the studies of the University, which he transferred to Coimbra. Whether he gave to it statutes is still an obscure point. According to Pedro Mariz, he sent to Paris for a whole college to teach Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. We must here note that Pedro Mariz refers to the college of Saint Barbara of Paris, where

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

D. João III. had sent for instruction many men of talent, who in effect returned when he desired to reform the statutes. The history of Catholicism, says Dr. Lopes Praça, irrefutably demonstrates that the spirit of the Christian religion is favourable to the intellectual culture and progress of science. It is not right to say that to the Reformation is attributed the glory of having produced the Renaissance of letters. Letters had revived before the appearance of the Reformation. The discovery of printing and the new road to India, the revelation of the New World, the taking of Constantinople by the Mahometans, the favourable reception which the Greek philosopher obtained in Rome, the natural growing aspirations of human intelligence, suffice to explain the new literary movement. The highest illustrations of the Reformation proceeded from the Catholic Schools, independent of the vigorous athletes who combated it. It devolved, then, on Catholicism the obligation of preventing the formidable progress of Protestantism. By opposing its development it withdrew from the people the fatal consequences resulting from such a religious system. It was, therefore, not without a motive that the Jesuits proposed, amongst other aims, to defend the Catholic faith against the heretics who maintained dangerous doctrines, and which were far from being preferable to those sustained by the Roman Church.

The Company of Jesus, approved by Paul III. on 27th September, 1540, was from its commencement well received in Portugal. It was not long before the education of childhood was intrusted to the Jesuits. The foundation of the College of Coimbra of the Society of Jesus commenced in 1547. Father Simeon Rodrigues, companion of Saint Ignatius, who had come from Rome with Saint Francis Xavier to carry the voice of the gospels to the Indies, had remained in the capital, and was the founder of this Province of the new Society. The preponderance of this Society rapidly increased, and in October, 1555, was aggregated to that Society the College of the minor schools of the University; the Provincial, Diogo Mirão, receiving its possession from the hands of the Rector, Diogo de Teyve. Constituted under such auspices, it was undeniable that its future grandeur would be worked out in a few years.

That the Reformation impelled letters, emancipating them from ecclesiastical tutorship, we do not impugn. But that they came out free and unregenerated from the strife entered into between Lutherans, Calvinists, Socinians, and Anglicans—all contradictory, and even

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ridiculous, with their exclusive profession of divine inspirations—we refute. The boast made by the Reformation, that it was the cradle of the Renaissance of letters, is an unsustainable pretension. Without Luther and Calvin the intelligence of the wise followers of the traditions of the great luminaries of Catholicism would have progressively continued to widen the ever-flowing streams honoured by such men as Bossuet and Lacordaire. Civilisation does not march by being pushed by men, but, on the contrary, carries them before it, and when urged by, or driven by the masses to premature efforts, it becomes crushed, and advances wildly.

The defence of the Company of Jesus in a literary point of view requires more ample space than we can give, and a vigorous hand. In the cycle of letters, the intelligent critic would find much to glorify their memory. It is true there would be much to censure, but praise would likewise raise its voice, placing on the balance of criticism the fine gold of lasting joys against their passing errors, and would forgive the guilt in compensation for the martyrs who with their blood wrote the word *Charity* over the nations who persecuted and slew them.

The governors of India, especially Alfonso de Albuquerque, had worked with more or less cruelty to consolidate the Portuguese dominion in those regions; but the subsequent governors, commencing with D. Duarte de Menezes, the last appointed by the late King D. Manuel, had altered that system, and rather worked for their own profit than for the good of the nation. Then commenced that deep and wide relaxation of customs, that torrent of mean and dishones ambitions which represents the greater portion of the history of the Portuguese dominion in India, so eloquently narrated by Diogo do Couto.

At times a gleam of the former Portuguese heroism would flash, such as in the naval combat sustained by D. Sancho Henriques against the Malays, until the men were reduced to thirty, and these fell one by one until the galleon was completely abandoned. But in every case these deeds were but flashes, and although brilliant, ephemeral.

The grave reports which came from India respecting the loss o prestige of the Portuguese predominance, suggested the idea of sendin D. Vasco da Gama as Viceroy, believing that the prestige of his name and glorious traditions would impose respect. And, in truth, we find that during his remaining short span of life he manifested tha he was the same inflexible character of former days, and the proper

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

one which, despite its harshness, was needed for the regeneration of India.

When the fleet which conducted him reached the coasts of Malabar a terrible submarine convulsion agitated the whole squadron, and cast their respective crews into a fearful terror. Vasco da Gama rose up equal to the occasion, and with a thundering voice cried out to the terrified sailors, "Be not afraid, it is the ocean which trembles at our approach!" It was but a bravado, but this speech, coming from his intrepid lips, and from the one who had worked almost superhuman things, sufficed to calm the spirit of the seamen.

Vasco da Gama still preserved the courage of his youthful days, and the same blind impetuosity, the same recklessness of character which made him so feared by his adversaries and subordinates. As soon as he reached Chaul, whose captain was Simão de Andrade, at once perceived that he came with intentions to reform, and determined to cauterise and cure India of the ulcers which gnawed it. He assigned the captaincy of Chaul to Christovão de Sousa, and ordered him that should D. Duarte de Menezes appear, who was in Ormuz, not to recognise him governor or obey his orders.

In Gôa he nominated Captain D. Henrique de Menezes, and compelled Francisco Pereira Pestaña, its former captain, and who practised many extortions, to compensate the aggrieved ones for what he had made them suffer. Pestaña was a fierce character and much feared, a hero on the battle-field, and an indomitable lion to deal with; but he had to bend down, always growling, but obedient in the presence of the severity of the Viceroy. It was in Gôa that Vasco da Gama ordered three women, who had come in the fleet unknown to him and against his expressed orders, to be flogged, and this sentence was carried out despite all the petitions addressed to him from the people and the clergy. Indeed, these petitions only rendered him more obstinate. The punishment was too severe, and he tacitly admitted it, because at the hour of his death he bequeathed to each of the women 100,000 reis. But Vasco da Gama had an obstinate, terrible disposition, which the smallest contrariety irritated. Nevertheless he was the man India required at the period of dissolution which it had reached. Unfortunately death came to arrest his series of energetic reforms. His last acts were the arrest of D. Duarte de Menezes and the intimation made to merchants to deliver up under pain of death the guns they sold to the Moors, in order that these should be employed

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

against the Portuguese dominion. To such a state had corruption reached!

But unfortunately the physical forces of Vasco da Gama were failing to aid his energetic character. After only three months' governorship Vasco da Gama expired on the 25th December, 1524, in Cochim.

Thus died in India Vasco da Gama, he who had bestowed that possession on Portugal.

By a singular coincidence, in the same year that his death occurred, was born in Lisbon the singer of the discoveries of India, of that adventuresome spirit, that undertook to decipher before the astonished world the terrible enigma of Eastern navigation, and who at length succeeded to discover the golden cradle of the sun, the treasure of the great, and, alas! the so badly profited Asiatic wealth. This singer was the immortal poet Camões.

The governorship of India was then given to D. Henrique de Menezes, Captain of Gôa. He was only twenty-nine years of age. He saw that it was necessary to be haughty and firm, like Vasco da Gama, and he manifested himself brave and disinterested. He chased the Corsairs, and rejected the rich present which Melek Faz, Lord of Diu, offered the Viceroy, believing it was still held by Vasco da Gama.

The war with the Samorim, who besieged Calicut, took up all his attention and energy. D. Henrique de Menezes took a personal part in the siege of Calicut, and the Samorim was compelled to sign a humiliating peace treaty. But it was written in the book of fate that the existence of the Viceroy should be a short one, and he died in Cananor on the 2nd of February, 1526. After his death dissensions arose, and the history of India and of the Portuguese domination becomes truly repugnant, and would fill pages had we the space at command.

We must now record the first siege of the fortress of Diu against the Turks. D. João had selected D. Garcia de Noronha as Viceroy on account of the prowess and prudence, manifested on all occasions when with the great Alfonso de Albuquerque, his uncle. On the 27th September, 1539, the Turkish squadron passed before the fortress and anchored close to the bulwark. They commenced discharging their artillery, and despite a most heroic resistance, owing to their numerical forces the Portuguese were compelled to capitulate. On the following day the Turks took possession of the bulwark, but when they hoisted the Turkish standard and lowered the Portuguese royal flag, wrath impelled some of the Portuguese soldiers to tear it down. Again

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

it was raised and again torn down. This continued for some time, indeed, until the conquerors slew every one who yielded to their patriotic instincts. The Turks then continued their bombardment until the 12th of October. The Portuguese bravely resisted, and continued to defend the other fortifications. A reinforcement arrived, and after much fighting and acts of bravery the Turks were compelled to retire. The narrative of the siege is most thrilling, had we the room to describe it. The fame of the heroic resistance of the Portuguese and this signal victory, gained not against the timid Indians, but against the Turks, soon spread throughout Asia and Europe, and in India rendered the Portuguese name doubly feared, because their efforts were directed against the Janizars, that formidable militia which made all Europe tremble, and which invested Soliman the Magnificent with that prestige which rendered his alliance besought by Christian monarchs. This Sultan had only a short time before cut down on the fields of Mohacz the flower of the Hungarian nobility, commanded by their king, Louis II., brother-in-law to Charles V. He had also taken Rhodes from the Hospitallers, and had wrested Greece from the Venetians; had terrified Italy, and repressed on the North the barbarian hordes of Russia. Hence for this reason the defence of Diu obtained a fame for the Portuguese what none other had afforded.

The next Viceroy of India was D. Estevam da Gama, son of Vasco da Gama. This individual deserves special mention on account of his expedition to the Red Sea in 1541, with the object of breaking up the new fleet which the Pasha of Egypt was preparing in Suez. This expedition was composed of twelve ships and sixty rowing craft, and departed on the 1st of January, 1541. He was accompanied by João de Castro, who was not only a seaman, but a natural philosopher, and to him could be applied what the Romans so eloquently ascribe to Cæsar, that he could as wisely wield the pen as he bravely wielded the sword. On devising Mount Sinai, where it is said the angels brought the relics of St. Catherine, Estevão da Gama knighted Castro, who, in memory of this celebrated sanctuary, took for his device the wheel, which is still adhered to by his successors and descendants.

He wrote on this occasion the "Roteiro do Mar Roxo." This manuscript was found by Dr. Nunes de Carvalho in London among the Cottonian collection, in the library of the British Museum, and in the archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris he found the maritime charts of Castro, which are the complement to the "Roteiro."

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

A copy of the "Roteiro" existed in the library of the University of Evora, and likewise in the library of Evora existed copies of his other works, the "Roteiro de Lisboa a Gôa" and the "Roteiro da Costa da India de Gôa a Diu," presented to the College of the Jesuits by Cardinal D. Henrique.

This last work was published by Diogo Kopke, Professor of the Academia Polytechnica of Oporto. The "Roteiro de Lisboa a Gôa" has lately been published by Sr. Andrade Corvo, under the auspices of the Real Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa. It is an important work.

Estevam da Gama, who had left the bulk of his expedition in Massuah, on the coast of Abyssinia, after spreading terror on the coast of Suez, returned to Massuah, from whence he sent his brother, Christovam da Gama, with 400 Portuguese to aid the Negus of Abyssinia against the Sheik of Zeilah.

A cruel period was sweeping over Abyssinia at that time, because the Sheik of Zeilah was on the point of substituting Islamism for Christianity. It may well be said that the Portuguese saved Abyssinia from a most deplorable invasion.

Had the Infante Prince D. Henrique the Navigator come to life at that epoch, he would have beheld the problem which had so engaged his spirit realised and solved beyond his most sanguine expectations. The legend of Prester John had been years before converted into a reality. But more than this, Prester John, the Christian Emperor of Abyssinia, was now beseeching the aid of Portugal against the enemy of Christianity. The expedition of Christopher da Gama not only proved the legend which so long had occupied the faith and imagination of the princes of the West, but also the existence of a counter Ethiopian tradition, which prophesied that white people should come from very distant lands to release the whole of Ethiopia from captivity. The white people announced by this prophecy were the Portuguese, who, during many years, had made repeated attempts to find the Christian capital of Prester John.

These four hundred Portuguese, although they fought gloriously, were at length destroyed by the Sheik of Zeilah, and their leader fell into the hands of the enemy, who slew him. But one hundred and thirty of the Portuguese reorganised an army with the soldiers of the Negus, and were able to save the Abyssinian dynasty and the predominance of the Christian religion in those regions. These Portuguese

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

never more returned to their native land, for the Negus gave them lands and a large benefaction.

Estevam da Gama was succeeded by Martim Affonso de Sousa as Viceroy of India. It was Sousa who founded the first regular colony in Brazils, encouraged agriculture, and introduced the cultivation of the sugar-cane. In 1529 he sailed from the Tagus as chief captain or admiral of India. On arriving to India the Governor, Nuno da Cunha, places at his orders a fleet of forty ships.

The Sultan Bahdur besought his aid against the Monguls in exchange for the concession of raising a fortress in Diu. Martim Affonso granted the desired aid. After this war of intervention, he took the island of Repelim from the Malabars, lessened the power of the Rajah of Calicut, and afforded an important succour to the King of Cota, a vassal of the Portuguese. On the coast of Malabar Pachi-Marca provoked him. The victory gained by Sousa over this enemy was complete. He returned to Ceylon to assist the King of Colombo. The pirates he met with he routed, notwithstanding that he was himself one of the greatest pirates. He was called to Gôa, which was threatened by the Turks, but as its governor was changed and a peaceful policy adopted, he returned to Lisbon, where he was received by the King with much distinction.

In 1541 he returned anew to India with a small fleet of five vessels, as he had been chosen governor.

It was on this occasion that the King received the four missionaries of the Society of Jesus, which he had asked for to evangelise the East. One of these was Saint Francis Xavier. He and two companions embarked with Martim Affonso de Sousa; the fourth, Simeon Rodrigues, remained in Portugal, and became the head and founder of the houses and colleges which the Jesuits established in Portugal.

Coelho da Rocha, speaking of the Society of Jesus, says as follows: "Scarcely had this Order been confirmed than from Rome, in the year 1540, the first Jesuits arrived to Portugal, at the invitation of the King, D. João III. Their austere rule, apostolic manner of proceeding, and exemplary lives obtained for the Order such credit that the King styled them his 'Benjamins.' The courtiers imitated their prince, as always happens, and the people esteemed them as saints."

Saint Francis Xavier was the beloved Apostle of the Indies. Even to this day he is ever venerated with an ardent, fervent devotion.

During the three months which the voyage occupied, Francis Xavier

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

gave brilliant proofs of that evangelical zeal and charity which so eminently distinguished him. On board he was preacher, consoler, and infirmarian of the crew. In Mozambique, Melinde, and Socotora, his charity extended to the natives, who were greatly astonished at his conduct, because hitherto they had only beheld in the Europeans tyrants and executioners. He arrived to Gôa on the 5th May, 1542. Here he was most zealous in spreading Christian instruction and morality among a corrupted population. Later on he went to the coast of Pescaria, comprehending the distance between the Cape Comorim and the island of Manar, and preached Christianity with a success which justified not only his zeal, the meekness of his doctrine, the sweetness of his teaching, but the acts of charity which accompanied his preaching, and strengthened by the holiness of his example the sanctity of his theories. Whether on the coast of Pescaria, or in Travancor and Meliapor, converting and preaching, or in Gôa, where he founded the seminary for Indian youth, Francis Xavier spent the three years of the governorship of Martim Affonso de Sousa healing with the balsam of his words and charity the sad effects produced on the spirit of the Indians by the piracies of the governor. He proceeded to Malacca and to the Moluccas, where he made many conversions, and his example worked a great success in repressing the cupidity and immorality of the Portuguese. And, in truth, his virtue and example must have been great indeed, and his charity truly brilliant to be able to gain neophytes in places signalised by the cruelties practised by the Portuguese, and where the natives considered him as such, which he was by adoption, if not by birth.

He returned to Gôa, where his reputation for sanctity had preceded him. Carried away by a holy ambition to teach the faith and the name of Christ in the most remote regions, he visited the coast of Malabar and Bengal, he traversed the splendid empires of Malasia, and founded the seminary of St. Paul in Gôa, where Portuguese and natives, inflamed by his own enthusiasm, formed a sacred militia ready to follow his footsteps and substitute him in those places where his form was held with almost superstitious respect. But it devolved on him as a daring general to carry further still the standard of the faith. He entered into Japan, accompanied solely by the renown of his word, and conquered it for science and Christianity, and he was about to enter China, when death cut short his labours.

He was beatified by Pope Paul V., canonised by Gregory XV., and

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Benedict XIV. proclaimed him Patron of all the East. And, in truth, the whole of the East venerates him, while his relics transform, as it were, Gôa into the sacred city of the Indies for all the Christian populations of Malabar, Ceylon, the Moluccas, China, and Indu-China. In effect, his noble figure deserves the veneration of the Christian and the pagan, for his renown and noble deeds. In the fading twilight of Portuguese glory—a glory greatly stained with blood—the form of Francis Xavier rises up pure and stainless, as though he had sped through the world without touching it even with the hem of his habit. For this reason, while in the East, of all the glorious names which amazed the tribes, scarcely two are kept in memory—that of Albuquerque and De Castro, never is the form of the humble missionary forgotten who illumined the world by the gentle light of charity and not by the sanguinary flashing of the sword. It is because the name of the saint, who so well knew how to console, is perpetually echoing the hearts of the generations, while to the great of the world occurs what Lucena, the biographer of Francis Xavier, expresses in his own elegant, chaste, classical style. They sound because they mount high, the great of the world, and are of value while living; but when they end, the memories that remain of them the prophet compares to the signal or the trace left by the sound which passes away.

The government of India, which had been entrusted to Martim Affonso de Sousa, was a disastrous one. The new governor only sought to enrich himself, and became on a large scale an official pirate. He followed the whole course of the coast of Malabar, destroying and sacking the pagodas. The example of the governor, who kept for himself the greatest and best part of the rapine, increased the corruption and want of discipline of the soldiers. India was fast decaying in the heat of depravity. The history of this epoch is a shameful one for the Portuguese, the dominators of the East. Sousa can only be viewed as a veritable pirate who bravely brandished the sword, which, if the legend be true, he received from the great Spanish captain, Gonçalo de Cordova.

Happily a man rose up who, for a length of time, opposed a strong barrier to the corruption which was undermining India. This individual was D. João de Castro, a descendant of Ignez de Castro. At the age of eighteen, impelled by the narrative of the deeds performed in Africa, he secretly embarked for Tangiers. D. Duarte de Menezes, the governor

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

of this possession, recommended him to the King on account of his services. D. João III. summoned him to the Court, and bestowed on him the commandry of Salvaterra. He distinguished himself in the raid made by Charles V. on the pirates of Tunis, and on the return of the Portuguese fleet to Lisbon he resolved to proceed to India with the governor, D. Garcia de Noronha. During this voyage he pursued grave and varied studies.

On reaching India he was not idle, and embarked in the fleet of D. Estevam da Gama, in 1541. On his return to the country he was charged to escort the ships expected from India.

On sailing out he routed a strong French corsair, but a greater corsair, Barba Roxa (Red Beard), made him come out. It appears, this corsair had allied himself with Soliman, the Emperor of the Turks, to attack Ceuta. Spain and Portugal prepared fleets, and the command of the Portuguese squadron was given to D. João de Castro. This was in 1543. The Castillian general, D. Alvaro Bazan, lost heart in presence of the enemy, but D. João de Castro remained firm. Red Beard, however, withdrew for some cause or another, and Castro proceeded to Ceuta to arrange with the governor upon the best means of defending the stronghold, and returned to Portugal.

He was then appointed to govern India, and departed with his two sons, Ferdinand and Alvaro, on the 17th March, 1545.

When D. João de Castro arrived to Gôa he found Meale, the Sultan of one of the Moluccas, under arrest, being claimed by his enemy, Hidal-Khan. These reclamations were always accompanied by promises of large gains. The governor, Martim Sousa, was on the point of delivering up Meale to the enemy, but D. João de Castro alleged to Hidal-Khan that he would not betray the trust and confidence reposed by Meale in Portuguese hospitality, and refused to deliver him up. Indignant at this reply, Hidal-Khan declared war to the governor, who routed him two leagues from the city; meanwhile that Castro sent his son, Alvaro, to scour the coast. D. Alvaro took the city of Combré and razed it to the ground, thus compelling Hidal-Khan to seek peace.

In 1546 Khodja-Safar judged it was an opportune occasion to take his revenge for the capture of Diu. The governor of the fortress, D. João de Mascarenhas, apprised D. João de Castro. The garrison of the fortress had well-nigh deserted; the soldiers were weary of serving without pay, because the governors only thought of themselves.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Mascarenhas had barely 250 men, and therefore De Castro, in answer to his advice, sent a reinforcement of 200 men. The situation became complicated, because at this time the Castillians were seeking to take the Moluccas, and De Castro had to combat them. Khodja-Safar laid siege to the fortress of Diu with an army of 8,000 soldiers, including 1,000 Turks, with 60 pieces of artillery. Later on he received a reinforcement of 2,000 men, commanded by the Mongol chiefs. The besieged defended themselves, awaiting aid from Gôa, which arrived, led by D. Fernando de Castro. The enemy attacked the fortress fiercely, and a great combat ensued. D. João de Mascarenhas superintended the defence within the ramparts. The soldiers, slaves, young and old fought, while children and women supplied the combatants with lances, bowls of powder, stones, and every description of missiles. A ball from the Portuguese killed Khodja-Safar, but his son, Rume-Khan, took the command, and the combat continued as fiercely as ever. The women of Diu played an important part in the defence of the fortress, as we are told by Jacintho Freire. They brought courageously on the rampart walls all required by the men; many of the women put on armour, and bravely fought. Among them was distinguished Isabel Fernandes, whose deeds are celebrated in the annals of the East. In truth, all available aid was needed, because the Indians resorted to every means of destruction, raising up towers and springing mines. Moreover, they received a reinforcement of 3,000 men, led by Djezzar. With all these elements in their favour, they grew daring. It was during the explosion of one of the mines that D. Fernando, the youngest son of D. João de Castro, was killed, at the age of nineteen. Many were slain by the explosion and conflagration, and the Turks effected an entrance, but were held back by the intrepid courage of a few Portuguese, aided by Mascarenhas and by the women, who supplied them with powder and projectiles. It was then that Isabel Fernandes assisted the soldiers to form earthworks, and encouraged them by crying out, "Fight for your God and your King, ye knights of Christ, because He is with you." The fortress was several times lost, because the enemy was more numerous and less fatigued than the defenders, who were fairly worn out by so disproportionate a resistance. At the moment of greatest helplessness the Vicar, João Coelho, held up a crucifix, and bade them remember that the God whose cause they defended was the author of victories, and these words and action so

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

instilled energy and vigour that they redoubled their efforts to an almost superhuman extent.

The day was fast waning, and the Turks were still fiercely combating, but at the close of day the signal was given to end the battle. As soon as the fighting ceased, Mascarenhas ordered the slain to be buried.

In Gôa, D. João de Castro had prepared a fleet to reinforce Diu. The command was given to D. Alvaro, his eldest son. We must here mention that the ladies of Chaul sent their jewels and precious things to the Governor, for him to defray the expenses of the war. After sending out this armada, he prepared another. Although the fleet commanded by D. Alvaro consisted of forty ships, the Portuguese gained no advantage in Diu. The number of slain was very great on the Portuguese side, while the boldness of the enemy increased to such a degree that they actually constructed a city opposite the fortress, in the same manner as the Catholic kings during the siege of Granada.

A fleet of twenty-two caravels, under the command of Vasco da Cunha, was sent, and D. João de Castro prepared another one, which he commanded in person. This fleet departed on 17th October, 1546, and reached Diu in the month of November. In truth, the situation was a critical one, and D. João de Castro was employing his last resources. This alone fired the Portuguese to fresh exertions. They practised veritable acts of heroism and prowess, and despite the enormous disproportion of the two armies, the Portuguese at length forced the enemy to raise the siege, taking 600 prisoners, among them Djezzar-Khan. They also carried away all that in the hurry of their flight the enemy had left on the battlefield, and in the city they had constructed. There remains to this day a glorious remembrance of the spoils in the renowned *Peça de Diu*, which is preserved in the military arsenal.

On his return to Gôa, D. João de Castro was received with the greatest pomp and triumph. It was truly a Roman feast. In his governing acts it was clearly seen that his ideal was Rome, and on his return from Diu this idea was realised, because he was received in Gôa like a Roman conqueror. Jacintho Freire gives a long description of these feasts, which were the most magnificent ever witnessed in India under the dominion of the Portuguese Crown.

Nevertheless, India was not in a peaceful state, and the Governor could not rest upon the conquered laurels. Bardey and Salsete were restless. Hidal-Khan was preparing himself because Meale continued

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

protected by the Portuguese flag. The Sultan of Cambaya was bent upon revenging the routing of Diu. Therefore Castro was forced to again don his coat of mail.

In order to secure the peace of Gôa, he combated Hidal-Khan, whom he defeated. He then proceeded to Diu with an important fleet. But the Sultan desisted from his intention of reconquering Diu, and D. João de Castro limited himself to bombarding the coast. He was, however, forced to return to Gôa, as it was threatened anew by Hidal-Khan. On this occasion the lesson was a severe one, and Castro destroyed the port, and employed every means he judged needful to secure a definite peace.

Meanwhile the King of Aden and the King of Caxem, threatened by the Turks, were demanding succour from D. João de Castro. The Governor sent aid, but the Portuguese were routed in Aden. Aid was also sent to the King of Caxem, who had likewise asked for it. They took a fortress, and returned to Gôa.

The King, D. João III., was not ungrateful towards D. João de Castro. He granted him the title of Viceroy, and prorogued his viceroyship for three years longer, and assigned him a further rental. His son Alvaro was favoured with the post of Admiral of India. The King, Queen, and the Infante D. Luiz all wrote letters of congratulation to the Viceroy.

But D. João de Castro did not live to enjoy the concessions made by the King of Portugal. He died on the 6th of June, 1548, assisted on his death-bed by Saint Francis Xavier. Jacintho Freire tells us that during his illness the Viceroy had not the common necessaries afforded to the humblest soldier in a hospital, and that he had not even sufficient money to buy a fowl to make a little broth in his last days.

India was deficient of honest men, but D. João de Castro was truly one. Other governors succeeded him in the governorship of India until the death of D. João III. But corruption was working deeply into the core of India. Notwithstanding the victory of the Portuguese arms, of her conquests and triumphs, nearly always stained with blood, the preface of the history of our ruin was ended. The drama was about to commence which was to have its crowning act in Alcacer Kibir.

"How could it be otherwise," writes Anthero de Quental, "when with blood-stained hands, and hearts full of pride, it was sought to introduce civilisation in those peoples so far behind the nations, and unite the interests and sentiments of conquered and conquerors, mingle

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the races, and establish after the momentary dominion of violence the lasting dominion of moral superiority and progress? The conquests effected over benighted nations as a rule are neither just or unjust. Their results justify or condemn these conquests by the use made of the dominion established by force. The Roman conquests are in our day justified by the philosophy of history, because they produced a civilisation superior to that existing in the conquered people. The conquest of India by the English is just, because it is a civilising one. The conquest of India by the Portuguese, and of America by the Spaniards, was unjust, because it did not civilise. Even had Portuguese arms always proved victorious, India must needs have slipped their hands, because they systematically alienated their spirits, because they terrified the people, and because with the spirit of religion and aristocratic ideas they opened an abyss between the conquerors and the greater number of the conquered. One of the first so-called *benefits* taken to them was the Inquisition; the Spaniards did likewise in America. The native religions were not only scorned and vilified, but were fiercely persecuted. The moral effect of the work of the missionaries, of so many heroic and saintly ones, was completely annulled by the constant threat of religious terror. The ferocity of the Spaniards in America is simply nameless, and unparalleled in the annals of human crime. Two flourishing empires disappear within sixty years, and during that time over ten millions of men are destroyed! These statistics are sufficiently tragic, and need no commentation. Yet these races were mild, docile, and ingenuous, and were ready with open heart to receive the civilisation imposed upon them by force of arms. The Bishop of Chiapa, the saintly Bartholomew de las Casas, protested in vain against those atrocities; he dedicated the whole of his evangelical life to the cause of thousands of these hapless ones. Twice he came over to Europe in order to solemnly advocate their cause before Charles V. But all in vain. The work of destruction was fated, and it must be consummated."

Towards the year 1542 the Portuguese commenced to establish themselves in China, but the first establishments made by the Portuguese merchants were not crowned with good results, and the wealthy and flourishing city of Liampa, or Ningpo, was reduced to ashes in less than three hours, when a great many Portuguese perished. In 1549 they attempted again to establish themselves in Chincheo, and lastly in 1557 they founded Macao, with the authorisation of the Chinese Government.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

When Alfonso de Albuquerque took Malaca, he at once endeavoured to enter into relations with China, and finding in the port of Malaca some Chinese junks, he treated the crew very well, and prepared to send an embassy to China, a project which was realised by his successor, Lopo Soares de Alberguria, who sent as ambassador Thomé Pires in a fleet commanded by Fernão Peres de Andrade. Thomé Pires was well received in Pekin, but the brother of the commander, Simão Peres de Andrade, practised such atrocities and robberies that the Chinese Government never more allowed the envoy Thomé Pires to quit the territory, in revenge for the proceedings of this pirate, who, on the China seas, dishonoured the Portuguese name. Nevertheless the Portuguese succeeded in establishing themselves in various points of China, such as Ta-maú, Lan-taú, Lam-pa-caú, and San-chaun, where Saint Francis Xavier died. However, as none of these places had a good harbour, the Portuguese desired to establish themselves in the Peninsula of Macao. This they effected in 1557, and in 1583 it received, at the request of the inhabitants, charters similar to those of Evora, and in 1595 it was erected a city under the name of City of the Holy Name of God of Macao.

It was from Malacca that commercial expeditions departed for China, and the ships which left from this emporium of the extreme East to carry the Portuguese flag to the most remote parts of Asia. At the end of the reign of D. João III. Japan as well as China was opened to Portuguese commerce. Fernão Mendes Pinto had already ported in that empire considered half fabulous, and Francis Xavier had gone to it to carry on his missionary labours.

The flourishing colony of Macao was founded, not by violence and perfidy, but by the grateful assent of the lords of the territory, and these auspices were of value because, amid the consequent ruin of the empire, Macao always continued progressing and flourishing. It has survived calamitous times, especially during the century under consideration, when several times it was subject to the perfidious attacks of the Chinese. It was also the ambitious aim of the English; but it survived all these threats—it even resisted the evil influences of Portuguese colonial administration, and stands at the present day as the handsomest relic of our ruined empire beyond seas. The other cities of Canara and Bidjapur and of Guzarate, which were then subject to the Portuguese dominion, are now fallen into decadence. Calicut fell the victim to our hostility. Vasco da Gama, at the end of the fifteenth

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

century, found her prosperous, flourishing, and wealthy; yet in 1509 it had fallen to such a state of humiliation and misery that even the native dynasty had lost the crown, for it had fallen into the hands of the Mussalmans, and these were unable to establish the former power of the great city of Hindustan. Calicut fell to such a depth that in 1514 its Mussalman Rajah wrote to D. Manuel that he was reduced to such straits that he even suffered hunger.

Cochim or Kutchin did not derive much benefit from the Portuguese alliance. So long as this city was the principal centre of Portuguese administration it prospered, but in proportion as the Governors began to prefer the delights of Gôa and forsake Cochim, so did it rapidly decline in Portuguese as well as in English hands. Coulam or Quilon still maintains a relative prosperity.

Guzarate, whose former importance had been absorbed by Kambayah, now passed on to Ahmedabad; while Diu, or rather Dyval or Dywal, having remained under Portuguese dominion, fell like the rest. Ormuz likewise lost all its ancient opulence. Ceylon, the ancient Colombo, continues the centre of the administration and prosperity of the island, but Ternate in the Moluccas, the focus of Portuguese dominion, is in our day a secondary power. Malacca, the most opulent city of Indu-China, beheld its commerce, wealth, and population carried away to Singapore by the English, and in the midst of the now ruined city, founded by Albuquerque, may be seen, as we are told by a French traveller, the descendants of the Portuguese clustering together, with their guitars, singing the Peninsularian songs, because, forgotten by their country and isolated in this mass of ruins, these poor descendants of the conquerors of India still retain the tradition, the remembrances, and the characteristics of the people they belonged to.

Hence the three great cities which during the sixteenth century were the great emporiums of Oriental wealth, fell with the Empire which supported them. Ormuz at the present day is a poor, humble city, where the Persian sadly contemplates the waters which bathe the wrecked fortress of Albuquerque. Malacca is a cluster of small houses amid the fallen ruins, where the descendants of the Portuguese, on moonlit nights, sing to the accompaniment of their guitars the sad plaints of their decadence, and lastly Gôa, the Ancient, hides amid a mass of verdure the broken walls of its convents and palaces, of the bold, graceful Arch of the Viceroys. In the midst of its ruin and of the empire

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

rises the melancholy cathedral, from whence vibrates the golden bell, tolling amid the silence of ruin and desolation the funereal hymn of the nation's decadence.

Japan at the time had been scarcely opened, like China, to the commerce of the Portuguese. It appears that in 1542, three Portuguese merchants, who had started from Siam for China, were driven by fierce storms to the Japanese Archipelago. By a providential chance a noble of Japan was brought to Malacca, and St. Francis Xavier, by his magic eloquence and the prestige of his exalted virtues, effected on his spirit a veritable fascination. This youth followed Francis Xavier to Cochim, entered the seminary, and took the name of Paulo de Santa Fé, and inspired in Francis Xavier the desire to carry the light of Christianity to his native land. Francis Xavier's first landing in Japan was effected in the city of Cangoxima, the birthplace of his disciple, Paulo de Santa Fé. Japan professed the Buddhist religion, and its priests greatly opposed the preaching of Xavier, but the Japanese, being an intelligent people, allowed themselves to be convinced by his good doctrines, which were accompanied by example. As Xavier gave proof of such exalted virtue, many natives became converted, and the Daimio of Satzuma, respecting the noble character of this virtuous foreigner, allowed him to preach in his province. The Daimio of Nagato and Firandó likewise allowed him to preach, but in the Miako capital of Japan, where the Mikado resided, his preaching was resisted as well as his proselytism. After establishing Christianity in Japan, he left Bungo, whose Daimio had most hospitably received him, on the 20th November, 1551, and returned to Gôa, in order to carry his missionary labours further East. From Gôa he departed to Malacca, and from thence ported in the Island of Sancian, which is the frontier to Canton, but like the Hebrew patriarch, it was not given him to see the promised land. Here he died on 2nd December, 1552.

Thus we find Portuguese missionaries, like a mighty army, traversing all parts, and carrying their civilising action into the farthest lands. The most powerful contingent—let us say it in all truth—was the Society of Jesus. The sons of Saint Ignatius of Loyola went to Japan, following the footsteps of Francis Xavier, but when the celebrated Schiogun Taiko-Sama assumed the power in 1590, the Portuguese were expelled from Japan, and this example was followed by his successors, many Christians being martyred.

The expulsion of the Portuguese was not due to any excesses

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

practised by them—it was simply the result of the political system inaugurated by Taiko-Sama. "Three great facts characterised his reign," says M. Boussin, "the submission of the princes, the wars on the continent of Correa, and the proscription *en masse* of the Christians, whether Japanese or foreigners."

But it was the Portuguese who gave the first step, and opened one of the doors of the mysterious empire, and brought in the light, and it is to the missionaries and their venturesome followers that the first notions of that interesting archipelago was made known in Europe. China, which Francis Xavier had not lived to enter, was soon after explored by other Jesuit missionaries. It is to Portugal that the honour is due of the first positive notions being known in Europe respecting this vast empire, which Marco Polo designated by the name of Cathay, the name of "China" being given by the Portuguese; and the word *mandarin*, which in all European languages designates Chinese authorities, is derived from the Portuguese verb *mandar*.

Twenty-eight years after the hapless expedition of Francis Xavier, two other Jesuit missionaries from Portugal succeeded in penetrating into the interior of China, and as far as Pekin, where one of these Matheus Ricci, who was an able musician and geographer, captivated the goodwill of the Emperor, and establishing himself in the capital of China, opened the road to other missions to conquer this vast empire in the interests of science and religion.

At that epoch it was not known positively whether China, where first in 1516 the Portuguese ship of Raphael Perestrello had ported, and where the Portuguese had established themselves, was or was not the Cathay of Marco Polo, and whether Pekin, where the Jesuit Matheus Ricci had established himself, was the Kanbalik of the Venetian traveller.

Impelled by a love of science, as well as for Christian proselytism, the Jesuits desired to solve the problem. An expedition of missionaries departed from Hindustan, crossed Afghanistan, and proceeded to follow the road formerly taken by Marco Polo and the Roman missionaries, nd continued as faithfully as possible the ancient itinerary. When y reached Cathay, all doubts vanished; they were truly in the China the Portuguese. Nevertheless, not satisfied, Father Goes, the only survived the expedition, sent an emissary by road to Kanbalik, hed Pekin and brought back an enthusiastic reply from Ricci. The problem had been solved, and now he could die

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

in peace, and in truth he soon after succumbed to the fatigues of the journey.

"One is filled with admiration," says D. Sinibaldo de Mas, "on beholding the daring and the perseverance of these missionaries, and it is incontestable that besides the results to religion, they aided science and civilisation by immense services."

It was not only fatigue of the journey and the baneful influence of the various climates they travelled through that the missionaries feared, it was also the odium of the natives, the distrust and persecutions of the Imperial Government, who believed that the religious and scientific aims of the missionaries were no more than pretexts for concealing political ends. "From the first," says L'Abbé Huc, "the mandarins were fully convinced that the positive aim of the Europeans in visiting China was to take possession of the country."

Father Goes, whom we mentioned above, was renowned in the history of geography, not only for having solved the problem of Cathay being the China of the Portuguese, but likewise for having visited and explored Chinese Tartary, an ungrateful country, which drives away travellers. From Marco Polo down to the time of the Jesuit Goes, only one traveller had ventured into the inhospitable land to the east of Turkestan: this traveller was the unfortunate Adolphe Schlagintweit, who paid with life for his daring undertaking. In Indo-China, besides Siam, Pegu, Arakan, kingdoms where constant relations had been established, even to Cambodge had the Portuguese explorations and influence extended. At the middle of the sixteenth century Portuguese came to settle in this country, where even to this day may be found among the population characteristic traces of the Portuguese race, where they left memories which would have afforded in the history of this epoch a precious fountain of information had not the Siamese destroyed them.

When the Portuguese arrived to this country, they besought the King for a small space of land. They were permitted to select the space required. They humbly declared they desired only the space which the skin of a buffalo would cover. This was accorded them, and this stratagem served them to appropriate a considerable territory. Since then the Cambodgians are in the habit, when speaking of the Christians, to say that he comes from the village of the extended skin.

Three hundred years previous to the French expedition sent out in

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

1866, the Portuguese had visited the unknown region of Cochin-China when expelled from Japan the missionaries had taken refuge there, and one of these, Christovão Jaques, afforded some curious information respecting this unknown region, and drew attention to the magnificent relics of ancient Oriental art.

In 1544 and 1546 Lourenço Marques went to explore the bay which took his name, yet he was not the discoverer as many suppose, but the one who leisurely explored it scientifically,* although these explorations had up to a certain point a commercial aim.

This scientific movement, this ardour for the propagation of the faith, and for the development of civilisation, produced fruits not only in geographical knowledge, but in other sciences. We shall briefly sketch the great services which the Portuguese rendered philological and ethnographical sciences, and among the natural sciences we must not forget Garcia da Horta. This illustrious Portuguese physician was born in Elvas at the end of the fifteenth century, studied medicine in the Universities of Alcala and Salamanca, became professor of philosophy in the University of Lisbon, and departed for India in 1534.

In India he made the Flora of that region his study, especially medicinal plants, and as the result of his researches, wrote a book which was published in Gôa. This book was translated into various languages, and was greatly appreciated. It was he who was the first to study the Asiatic cholera. He lived to an advanced age.

It was principally to the Portuguese missionaries that science owes its greatest services.

In their ardour for converting, their first endeavours were to become thoroughly acquainted with the languages, customs, and usages of the East. From this study resulted the acquisition of knowledge which was perfectly new to Europe. Religious orders abounded in Góa, and a new province was founded of the Order of Saint Francis. In all convents founded there was a course of advanced studies, to enable the missionaries to preach with fruit the word of God, while affording to the sons of India a perfectly European instruction. Numbers of Easterns entered the monastic ranks. The Jesuits strove to bring under the banner of St. Ignatius of Loyola representatives of all the Eastern countries. In the College of Saint Paul of Gôa, founded by Saint Francis Xavier, were to be found Chinese, Japanese,

* See "Memoria sobre Lourenço Marques," by Visconde de Paiva Manso. Lisbon, 1871.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Malays, natives of Malabar, Singhalese, many of them wearing the habit of the Order. In Cranganor there was another seminary, founded by the first Bishop of Gôa, D. João de Albuquerque, under the invocation of Saint James. The first professor of this college was Father Vincent of Lagos, the renowned Capuchin who converted the King of Tanor. Various religious orders indefatigably pursued their labours of catechizing, but the greatest workers among the Portuguese missionaries were the Jesuits. No other Order was so well prepared as theirs for this spiritual conquest.

They were men instructed not only in letters, but also in all the sciences which might be useful, and a great part of their influence was due to the practical knowledge they placed at the service of the Oriental monarchs. Hence we find the Jesuits in Abyssinia constructing bridges, which still exist, and are the amazement of modern travellers, who are reminded on beholding them of the proud erections of the Romans. In the kingdom of Siam the Jesuits proposed to the monarch the carrying out of such hydraulic labours as would render the river Mekong perfectly navigable; and in China the Jesuit Ricci, as we have said, owed the importance he acquired to his talent for music and cosmography.

It is really a subject of astonishment to the modern reader to follow the extraordinary daring, the ardent activity of these Jesuit missionaries who traversed the East, studying, investigating, preaching, founding churches and convents, colleges and seminaries, acquiring the languages and dialects of these remote lands, and who were the first to teach these languages and dialects in Europe. What matters if their aims were not exclusively scientific, if science profited by its results? How many are the missionaries of pure science in our day, when scientific lore possesses so great an interest? The explorers who run through Africa, what do they principally seek? Perchance to establish a mercantile firm in the same way as the Jesuits did a novitiate house; to extend commercial relations similarly as the Jesuits endeavoured to extend the spiritual dominion of their Order; to raise a factory where the Jesuits raised a church; and thus in the same way as science profits by the commercial journeys of the African explorers, so did science gain by the religious voyages of the Jesuits. China was revealed to Europe and deeply studied by the Portuguese Jesuits. Matheus Ricci and Antonio de Almeida penetrate into it and become favourites of the Emperor. When Almeida died in the Celestial Empire

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the Emperor ordered the most pompous obsequies to be celebrated. The letters of this Father to Duarte de Saude, in 1585, are a precious compilation of exact and valuable information respecting China.* Later on, the Jesuit Father Thomaz Pereira received an extraordinary welcome in China, due to his musical talent. He composed in Chinese a "Method of Practical and Speculative Music," which the Emperor ordered to be translated into Tartar; he composed sacred hymns in Chinese, and actually constructed the organ which existed in the College of the Jesuits in Pekin.

Alvaro de Sernedo, another Jesuit, who suffered martyrdom in China, applied himself to the study of this vast empire with a zeal equal to his ardour for the propagation of the faith. He wrote the History of China and of Catholic Missions. This work was translated into Spanish, English, French, and Italian. He was the first European who composed the "Diccionario Sinico-Lusitano and Lusitano-Sinico." Father Gabriel de Magalhães was greatly esteemed by the Emperor of China, and wrote a book on the "Twelve Excellencies of China," which was immediately translated into French. Father João Monteiro wrote various works in Chinese.

Japan was no less considered than China. The first Japanese grammar is due to the Jesuit Father Rodrigues, and is the one used in Europe.

In Abyssinia their studies were more complete. The primitive narrative of Francisco Alvares, which was translated into all languages; the works of the successive patriarchs of Ethiopia, D. Affonso Mendes, D. Apollinario de Almeida, and of the missionaries of that region, are generally read in Europe. The itinerary of Father Jeronymo Lobo was translated into English, Italian, and French. The list would be too long to give of the Portuguese who have made known scientifically to Europeans the geography, cosmography, and state of those far-away countries. The Carmelite Order, as well as the Jesuits, were not behindhand in their work of evangelisation. They established a convent in Ispahan, and another in Bassora, and were thus enabled, by establishing themselves in regions little explored, to obtain reliable information. It was due to their courage that the Portuguese name was heard on all sides. The belfries of Portuguese churches sounded their peals in Nagasaki and in Pekin, in the depths of Thibet and close to the fountains of the Nile, in Ispahan and in Delhi, in

* See "Bibliotheca Lusitana," tom. 1, *voc.* "Antonio de Almeida."

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambodge and in Cochin-China, in Ava and in Pegu. There were no lands too remote or too dangerous or hidden away to keep the brave missionaries from penetrating. And where the sword of Albuquerque could never have reached, the cross of Saint Francis Xavier succeeded in being planted. Father Nicolau de Mello, traversing Persia, penetrated into Russia, and was martyred in Astrakan. But they did not forget, in their lengthened explorations, the accurate study of the regions of India, wherein stood the centre of Portuguese power. They studied the languages of Malabar, and the first grammar and dictionary in that language was written by the Jesuit Henrique Henriques.

The knowledge of Sanskrit did not escape the course of study of the Portuguese missionaries, and one of them, Francis Rodrigues, elected by Saint Ignatius of Loyola to evangelise in the East, translated into Portuguese their "Bhagavat-Ghita," which became known in Europe through its version in English and the translation of Eugene Burnouf.

The discoveries which the Spaniards were making in the Mexican Gulf, and along the coast of the Pacific Ocean, were commencing to attract the attention of Europe towards the New World, which had hitherto been concentrated on the splendour of the East. Nearly half a century had elapsed since the discovery of Brazils by Pedro Alvares Cabral, and the Portuguese began to think more seriously of the portion of America which belonged to them. A squadron was sent out, commanded by Christovão Jacques, which ported in a vast and sheltered bay, which they called Todos os Santos. It was not he who discovered this bay, because he found there two French vessels belonging to the daring corsairs of the Normans and the Bretons, which would have been worthy rivals of the navigators of the Iberic Peninsula, had the French Government been less absorbed in its European ambitions, and far behind the discoveries and conquests beyond seas.

D. João III. was seriously thinking of cultivating the fertile lands of his vast possessions, and dividing them among his most favoured and heroic noblemen. As we have seen, his father, D. Manuel, did not pay much attention to the Brazils, and the first Portuguese establishments were certainly formed by the wrecked seamen of the caravels of Gonçalo Coelho. Among these wrecked ones were two French priests, who evidently were the first to afford their countrymen any news of this enchanting region.

The fleets which proceeded to India often passed along the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Brazilian coasts, and began to explore from north to south the magnificent ports of the Brazils. In this way Martim Affonso de Sousa discovered the Rio do Janeiro; Vicente Yanez Pinzon reached Pará; while on the other side Orellana was exploring the Amazons, and Solis discovering the Rio da Prata. The Spaniards were hemming in the Portuguese as the French were also on their side, hence D. João III. perceived that it was expedient not to delay to take an account of his Brazilian territory ere it fell into the hands of the adventurers of Pizarro, or into those of the corsairs of St. Malo.

Hence the country was divided, or rather the known coast, into nine captaincies. The first portion, embracing the actual province of Maranhão, was given to João de Barros, the great historian; the next, that of Pernambuco, to Duarte Coelho de Albuquerque; the bay of Todos os Santos to Francisco Pereira Coutinho, and so on.

The indigenous races of the Brazils were divided into Tapuyas and Tupis, both savage, but sufficiently energetic to fight against the possession taken by the Portuguese. The Tapuyas were the primitive inhabitants of Brazils, who were driven to the interior by the invading race of the Tupis, which had become subdivided into innumerable tribes, and dominated the coast when Cabral ported there. In Bahia, Pernambuco, and other captaincies the native tribes offered the conquerors a brave resistance. The Portuguese, like in Africa and India, took advantage of their military superiority to exterminate the indigenous tribes, while these in their turn visited on the Portuguese their cruellest vengeance. This enmity was taken advantage of by the French corsairs, who entered into friendly relations with the natives, in order to combat against the Portuguese, and place obstacles to their colonisation.

This war, which threatened to become a dangerous one, decided D. João III. upon establishing in Brazils a regular government, and turn his serious attention to the country which was daily manifesting such considerable wealth. It was decided to choose Bahia de Todos os Santos as the seat of the central government, and Thomé de Sousa was charged to lay the first foundations. Mem da Sá later on expelled the French, and peopled the Rio de Janeiro and other districts, and by his enlightened administration assisted the religious missions in their civilising labours.

With the squadron which took Thomé de Sousa from Lisbon to the Brazils, went Father Manuel de Nobrega and five Jesuits, among

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

them the renowned João d'Aspilcueta. These priests took upon themselves to protect the Indians against the violences of the Portuguese, who endeavoured to make slaves of them, and despite their religious spirit, murmured against the evangelical zeal of the Fathers. They succeeded in their task, and induced the nomade tribes to settle down in the villages, and give up the horrible custom of cannibalism.

In truth, the Jesuits were in Brazils the missionaries of Christ and of civilisation. We must confess that it was due to their beneficent influence that the conquest of Brazils by the Portuguese was not stained by the horrors which the Spaniards practised in their conquest of Mexico and Peru.

The report of the good influence exercised by the Jesuits in regard to the natives of Bahia, was carried to the rest of Brazil, and on all sides they were besought to aid the rulers with their zeal and preaching. The most notable figure among these Brazilian missions was Father José d'Anchieta. He was styled the Apostle of Brazil, and to this day Brazils honours him, although his name is not in the Calendar of Saints, as it ought to be, side by side with that of Saint Francis Xavier.

Colonisation began to prosper after D. João III. sent a delegate, and cities began to rise, not only on the coast, but in the interior. From Bahia de Todos os Santos to the south, the coast was studded with rising towns, from whose fortresses waved the Portuguese flag. The Indians, terrified by this foreign colonisation, fled to the interior of their forests, and from thence gazed with startled countenances upon the white walls of the houses rising on all sides. Towards the north the Portuguese expeditions were not so successful. Olinda, the beautiful city which Albuquerque established as the capital of Pernambuco, is the extreme limit of our possessions. Pará is still nearly all enveloped in mystery, and its magnificent Amazon was once visited by Orellana, a daring Spanish expeditionary, a companion of Pizarro, who, in seeking the chimeras of Eldorado, was the first among Europeans who ventured to plough the majestic waters of the great American river. In Maranhão, bestowed by D. João III. upon the great historian João de Barros, the ships sent by him were wrecked and the crews assassinated by the savages. The chronicler of the Indies, ruined by this disaster, was unable to send a fresh expedition to colonise his captaincy.

The conquests and spiritual supremacy of the Jesuits over the savage tribes was on a par with the development of Portuguese colonisation. The Indians, engaged in a constant strife with European

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

warriors, grouped themselves beneath the standard of Saint Ignatius. The villages of the Jesuits were the nucleus of these tribes, and the humble cross raised over a church or a college was the signal which summoned from all the districts the American tribes to cluster around it. The Jesuits, the vanguard of the colonisers, fled from the sea-shores, and went alone and unarmed to explore the secrets of the virgin forests. They raised an advance post, and settled there, and the colonists, attracted by the peace and tranquillity around them, began to join them and form new colonies, and these again went forward and founded others, and even abandoned their former ones, as occurred with the city of St. Vicente. A college of Jesuits was erected by Father Nobreja in the fields of Piratininga. Around this college flocked the Indian tribes, and the colonists of the capital one by one forsook it for the new town. St. Vicente remained nearly deserted, and even the captaincy lost its name to assume the one of the city founded under the auspices of the Jesuits, which was called San Paulo. It was, in effect, from the modest foundations of the College of Piratininga that the city of San Paulo rose up, and which is at the present time one of the most important of Brazils.

Independent of the herculean efforts of the Portuguese in supporting their new dominions in Asia, Africa, and America, Portugal was compelled to reserve a portion of her forces for the defence of her coasts, and to protect the merchant ships. Around the rich city of Lisbon there hovered a flock of birds of prey, in the shape of Argentine and French corsairs. And, in truth, the strife was a serious one. The French, principally from Normandy, not only endeavoured to crush out the Portuguese from the monopoly of commerce with the lands of Africa, Asia, and America, and strove to establish themselves in the Brazils, but also attacked the Portuguese possessions which were nearest, and laid in wait for the ships which returned from India laden with spices, or those conveying Asiatic merchandise from Lisbon to Flanders, and took possession of them, unless they showed a rough resistance. In all narratives of that period do we find the evils of these piratical hordes mentioned. The Island of Madeira was made one of their worst victims. This plague of French corsairs not only affected the Portuguese traders, but the Spaniards, whose galleons were frequently the prey of the filibusters on returning from Peru or Mexico, until it hindered commerce to such a degree that D. João III. ...dered, in 1531, D. Alvaro de Athayde to represent to the King of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

France that since the commencement of commerce with India the French corsairs had captured over 300 vessels. It is true that the reprisals were no less cruel, and that the French ships taken or destroyed by the Portuguese were not much less. But these repeated reprisals did not scare the French corsairs, who found their trade a lucrative one despite the dangers it brought, for they attained to render piracy an especial branch of commerce, and organised associations to form actual fleets, with which they worked out on a large scale their depredations.

We are approaching the end of the reign of D. João III., in which slowly but surely the ruin of Portugal was being prepared. To this contributed the growing indolence of the Portuguese, enervated by the wealth and consequent prosperity which accrued from the colonial possessions; the demoralisation of the people, the cruelty and cupidity of the Portuguese in foreign lands, religious fanaticism, the enormous strain on the public treasury, the extreme widening of conquests. Let us now glance at the internal and external policy of D. João III., and see how far it contributed to the decadence of the kingdom.

The internal policy of D. João III. consisted in completely transforming the Government into a veritable unrestricted absolutism. The nobility, exercising their activity in the conquests, had no forces left in the kingdom to oppose the invasions of the Crown, which, moreover, held in its hand the distribution of power, favours, and wealth, because it disposed at its good pleasure of the captaincies of India and Africa, and the prodigiously fertile lands of Brazil.

The Cortes, which no longer exercised any influence in public affairs, and which limited itself to a timid appeal from the people and to voting obedience to imposts, no longer were assembled, because they were practically useless. During the reign of D. João III., which lasted thirty-six years, only three times were the Cortes convoked. Of what use to evoke this empty phantom of the ancient national representatives?

This concentration of power in one individual, this system of despotism inaugurated by the energetic hand of D. João II., skilfully continued by D. Manuel, had reached its height in the reign of D. João III. Hence when the foreigner threatened the kingdom, instead of finding energetic, brave people, met a dispirited race, bent beneath the iron yoke of absolutism. There was no longer between the king and the people that robust union which had constituted the strength of the Master of Aviz.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The sovereign found himself isolated in the midst of a listless crowd, to whom it was a matter of indifference what name the monarch bore who oppressed them, as the word "Crown" was no longer to them synonymous with "country."

The external or foreign policy followed out was, in our opinion, no less fatal, because it consisted simply in preserving an indifferent neutrality in the midst of the great questions which were debated in Europe—an attitude, however, which leant towards the side of Spain, with which Portugal was constantly making family alliances, and towards which Portugal always manifested an exclusive sympathy, thus withdrawing herself voluntarily from the rest of Europe, which repaid its indifference with perfect contempt when later on Philip II., through the Duke de Alba, quietly perpetrated the assassination of a whole people, the elimination of a nationality.

Hence, at the beginning of his reign, the King of France, Francis I., sent a proposal of marriage between his daughter Charlotte and the King of Portugal. This proposal was rejected by him because he desired to marry in Castille. It is true that later on he refused to enter into an alliance with Charles V. against the King of France, but in this it was the European opinion that the King of Portugal was no more than the humble satellite of his powerful neighbour.

The multiplied alliances between the royal families of Spain and Portugal prepared the pretexts for a fusion between the two Crowns. Hence, while the Infanta D. Isabel, sister of D. João III., was becoming an empress through her marriage with Charles V., a sister of Charles V., Catherine, was becoming Queen of Portugal; and a daughter of D. João III., D. Maria, married D. Philip (the future Philip II.). A Spanish princess, D. Joanna, daughter of Charles V., married the heir to the Portuguese Crown, and became the mother of the ill-fated D. Sebastian;

What was the object gained by this multiplicity of family alliances? Portugal desired to link herself strongly with the powerful emperor who was at the time dominating Europe; but the wily politician only saw in these alliances a means for restoring the exhausted treasury Portugal, although its financial state was in a deplorable condition, was considered the most prosperous country of Europe, and Robertson*

* See "History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.," by W. Robertson. Abridged edition, p. 379. Halifax, 1857.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

positively calls the King of Portugal "the most opulent prince in Europe."

How else could the nations judge the state of Portugal when they saw the enormous marriage dowries voted for the princesses?

When, in 1524, the Portuguese ambassadors proceeded to Castille to arrange the marriage of the King with D. Catherina, it was then agreed that the dowry of the future Queen of Portugal should be 200,000 doubles, Castillian money.

In October, 1525, Spanish envoys came to negotiate the marriage of the Emperor with the Portuguese Infanta, D. Isabel, and it was stipulated that the dowry of the new empress should be 900,000 Castillian doubles.

Meanwhile Portugal groaned beneath the weight of this enormous debt, and the Count da Castanheira could see no possible solution to these evils in the public finances.

As may be well imagined, Charles V. was not loth to renew similar contracts. Hence in 1543 he again resorted to this manner of raising money. The unsuccessful expedition against Algiers had exhausted his resources. Francis I. took advantage of this to renew a vigorous war, and placed on the battlefield five armies, commanded by the Dauphin, the Duke of Orleans, the Duke de Vendôme, the Marshal de Gueldres, and the Admiral Annebaut; the two first of these armies numbering respectively 30,000 and 40,000 men.

The Emperor was forced to gather together every possible means to fill the coffers of the State, and he yielded up his supposed rights of the Moluccas to Portugal in exchange for a large sum in hard cash. He besought large subsidies from the Cortes of Castille and Aragon, and arranged with Portugal the marriage of the Prince D. Philip with the Infanta D. Maria, who received from Portugal a large dowry.

In compensation a marriage was effected in 1552 between the Prince D. João of Portugal with the Princess D. Joanna, daughter of Charles V., but her dowry was not commensurate with what D. Maria had taken.

France viewed these complicated alliances between Spain and Portugal with indignation and envy, and endeavoured to prevent them Francis I. was so irritated at the marriage of D. Maria with Philip that it needed all the diplomatic skill of the Portuguese ambassador, D. Francisco de Noronha, to prevent war being declared to Portugal.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Never was the royal house of France able to contract a matrimonial alliance with Portugal.

When Charles V. undertook the expedition to Tunis, D. Luiz, brother to the King of Portugal, took part in it as well as a Portuguese squadron under the command of the celebrated Admiral André Doria, who had been entrusted with the general command of the whole fleet. The Portuguese gained signal glory, and in a great measure the victory was due to them. Portugal had gained a fresh claim to acknowledgment from the Emperor. But gratitude was not the predilect virtue of Charles V., and the only testimony he afforded was to favour the pretensions of D. João III., relative to the establishment of the Holy Office. In this he had a selfish motive, because he well knew that the Jews who fled from Portugal would proceed to enrich his hereditary states in Flanders. He even went further, and in 1546 sent him the Collar of the Toison d'Ore. But when graver questions arose the Emperor skilfully declined to serve his brother-in-law. An example occurred in 1549, when Pope Paul III. died. D. João III. desired that his brother, the Cardinal D. Henrique, should be elected Pope, and for this object besought the Emperor Charles V. and Henry II. of France to use their influence. But neither of these monarchs employed any zeal to further his wishes, and therefore Cardinal John Maria del Monte was elected Pope under the name of Julius III., and D. Henrique was fain to be satisfied with the Cardinal's hat.

We have endeavoured briefly to sketch the principal events of the long reign of D. João III. The sun of Portuguese greatness, which a conjunction of circumstances had brought about to shine so gloriously over the nation, was rapidly setting, and the death of D. João III. on the 11th of June, 1557, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, left the crown to his grandchild, D. Sebastian, a child of three years of age.

D. João III. was unhappy in his private life, and Providence seemed to chastise him in this way for the crimes which stained his long reign.

By his marriage with D. Catherina, sister of the Emperor Charles V., he had the following children, none of which survived him :—

D. Alfonso, born on 24th February, 1526, died in infancy.

D. Maria, born in Coimbra on 15th October, 1527. Married D. Philip, son of Charles V., in 1543. Died in childbed in June, 1545, in her seventeenth year. She was the first of the four wives of Philip II. The child which cost its mother's life became the hapless

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Prince D. Carlos, whose terrible fate is rather mysterious, and weighs like a cloud of blood upon the memory of Philip II.

D. Isabel, born in Lisbon on 28th April, 1529. Died in childhood.

D. Beatriz, born in Lisbon on 15th February, 1530. Died in infancy.

D. Manuel, born in Alvite on 1st November, 1531. Died in 1534.

D. Philip, born in Evora on 25th March, 1533. Died in 1539.

D. Diniz, born in Evora on 20th April, 1535. Died in childhood.

D. João, born in Evora on 3rd June, 1537. In November, 1552, married the Princess D. Joanna, daughter of Charles V. Died on 2nd January, 1554. On the 20th January of the same year his widow gave birth to a posthumous child, D. Sebastian.

D. Antonio, born in Lisbon on 9th March, 1539. Died on 20th January, 1540.

Besides these nine children, D. João III. had an illegitimate son born in 1521, called D. Duarte, who became Archbishop of Braga. He died in 1543.

Of ten children which had surrounded the throne, none survived the death of D. João III., and the hopes of the Portuguese crown rested solely on a child of three years of age, who was subsequently to be lost in the sandy plains of Alcacer Kibir.

It seemed as though fate was weaving the fall of Portugal. All things were tending towards decadence, and various and multiplied causes concurred to that end—the ruin of the monarchy of Alfonso Henriques.

The race of the brave, daring men of the sixteenth century was degenerating. Alfonso de Albuquerque, for example, had disappeared from the face of the earth to govern the *angels in heaven*, according to the Hindu legend, and he died thinking of the grand project of turning the course of the Nile to reduce Egypt to misery—a project of a magnitude comparable to the breaking of the Isthmus of Panama, dreamed of by the Spaniard Alvaro Saavedra. The great writers of the golden cycle of Portuguese literature were disappearing from the scene of the world, and all the nation's poetical inspiration had, like the dying eagle, gone to nestle in the soul of Camões, whose poem represents at once the last word of its literary glory and political greatness.

On reaching the end of the long reign of D. João III., of what use is it for us to look back on the picture it represents so full of dark shadows, where we see slowly fading away all greatness?

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

It is true that during this reign Lusitanian greatness reached its height. The most remote parts of the East were opened to commerce, and the Portuguese flag and the missionaries marched in. Brazil began to be populated, and the Portuguese dominion was established in Oceania, and from numberless fortresses in India waved the standard of Portugal.

But all this was only the result of former impulses, the effects of anterior causes, while the germs which developed during this reign were the germs of ruin and disaster. In truth, the history of this period possesses, like Janus, two faces—one turned to the past, smiling and radiant; and the other lowering and threatening, looking into the future. On one side is seen India conquered, Abyssinia explored, Japan and China discovered, Turkey humbled, the Brazils populated, heroic deeds, wondrous actions, fabulous victories. On the other side we behold the demoralisation of the soldiers, the luxurious poverty of the kingdom, the Inquisition established, Jesuitism admitted, the kingdom exhausted and deficient of leaders, and captains, and strong arms. Spain preponderating in its policy, Europe learning to view Portugal with indifference, absolutism deeply rooted, and as a culmination of misadventures and evils, the throne sustained by the weak, feverish arms of an enthusiastic child.

END OF THIRD BOOK.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

1557—1578.

D. SEBASTIAN.

Birth and infancy of D. Sebastian—His minority—Regency of D. Catherina—Nomination of D. Constantino de Braganza Governor of India—His acts and victories—Brazil—Foundation of the city of Rio de Janeiro—D. Catherina abdicates in favour of D. Henrique—Meeting of the Cortes—The Regency of the Cardinal Infante—The state of the Portuguese possessions during the Regency of D. Henrique—D. Henrique delivers up the Regency to D. Sebastian—Character of D. Sebastian—Influence of his education—His tutor and preceptor—Choice of ministers—Sumptuary laws issued—Reduction in value of copper money—Projects of alliance and marriage with D. Sebastian and a Princess of France—Conduct of Philip II. of Spain—Pestilence—Palace intrigues—Attempted departure of the Queen D. Catherina for Castille—Projects of a Holy War—Arrival of a legate from Rome—New Viceroy appointed for India—Triumphs achieved by D. Luiz de Athayde—Indian Princes ally together to expel the Portuguese—Successes of the Portuguese against the Indians in Gôa, Chaul, and other places—Disastrous expedition to the Brazils—First expedition of D. Sebastian to Africa—Ceuta and Tangiers—He returns to Portugal—Fall of the Camaras—New council of ministers—D. Sebastian seeks aid from Philip II. of Spain—The State of Barbary—Intestine wars, which afforded a pretext for an African war—D. Sebastian prepares a second expedition to Africa—Refusal of Philip II. to send the promised aid—Tributes are levied—Opinions of the Portuguese respecting the projected expedition—Proposals of peace from the Moors—Secret projects of D. Philip II.—State of India—Beheading of the Governor of Chale, D. João de Castro—Intrigues at the Court, and with the new Governor—Preparations for the second expedition to Africa—Blessing of the royal standard—D. Sebastian embarks in the royal galley—Departure of the fleet from Lisbon—Arrival to Cueta—Fresh proposals of peace rejected—Battle of Alcacer Kibir—D. Sebastian is lost.

In the annals of Portugal no birth of a king has been the cause of such general rejoicing, and celebrated with so much joy, as was that of D. Sebastian. Over his cradle were showered the blessings of a whole country: it was a national festivity.

It was because the cradle was empty, and the crown of Portugal was about to encircle, by the demise of D. João III., the head of the

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

hapless prince D. Carlos of Spain, it was because the want of foresight and prudence of the late King, surnamed the Pious, had allowed a clause to be inserted in the contract of marriage between the princess D. Maria and the prince Philip of Castille, which would be the ruin of Portuguese independence—a clause which conferred on the children of that princess the succession of the Portuguese crown, in the event of the reigning King, D. João III., leaving no legitimate issue. Hence that child, who drew its first breath on the 20th January, 1554, inspired hopes that Portugal would not pass over to the dominion of Spain because D. João III. was losing all his own children and leaving no heir to the throne.

Therefore there was a strong feeling of national independence in the anxiety felt by the whole of Portugal as it awaited the birth of a prince which would secure the autonomy of the nation; and this feeling impelled the people to bestow on the grandchild of D. João III., when he ascended the throne, the surname of the Desired.

It was in the midst of mourning that D. Sebastian was born. His father, D. João, the heir to the throne, who had given hopes of a wise reign, esteemed for his virtues and lofty intelligence, had been cut off from the number of the living only eighteen days before, and at an early age. Processions and public prayers were made throughout the kingdom that God would spare the unborn child and preserve its life for the good of the country, the only hope of the Portuguese nation. Hence when the happy birth of a prince and heir took place, the national joy was unbounded, although he was later on to drag that same nation into an abyss.

It is true that when calamities belied the happy prognostics of his birth, various legends rose up which tended to surround the cradle and birth of D. Sebastian with dismal prophecies. Some remembered that a heretic profaned the Sacred Host on the occasion of the marriage of his father; others asserted that on the day of his birth there had appeared in the heavens a flame of fire rising from a coffin; that the princess D. Joanna had beheld a woman in black garments, who with gestures had prophesied the misfortunes which should befall the king and country. That both the princess and her ladies had seen long processions of Moorish phantoms issuing from the closed doors of the palace and cast themselves into the river. All these legends may be taken advantage of to embellish poetry or romance, but history disclaims any such prophesied disasters at the birth of D. Sebastian, and

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

furthermore, there was a good augury mingled with the rejoicing on the day he was proclaimed King in Lisbon, in the arrival of twelve ships from France laden with corn, which at once lowered the high price of bread.

As soon as the death of D. João III. from apoplexy took place, D. Sebastian was proclaimed King. The sudden death of D. João III. had prevented him from expressing his last wishes respecting the regency of the kingdom, as the heir to the throne was only three years of age.

Two rival ambitions disputed the regency—the Queen D. Catherina, widow of D. João III., and the Infante Cardinal D. Henrique. The first was a lady of highest intelligence and energy, who even during the lifetime of her husband had exercised a powerful influence on public affairs. The Council numbered a good many partisans of the Cardinal Infante, who was fanatical, taciturn, of small intelligence, ambitious, but weak; desiring to hold the power, yet trembling at the idea of taking it up, incapable of combating in any other way than by dark plots and in the shadow, and who knew no other feeling but antipathies.

Under these circumstances the most logical manner of deciding the question of the regency was by convoking the Cortes of the kingdom, and submit to their election of a Regent, but the epoch had passed away when it was the nation which could intervene in any way in the election of its rulers, and no one felt disposed to arouse the slumbering power. We remember how in the minority of Alfonso V., although the King D. Duarte had in his will expressedly conferred the regency on his wife, D. Leonor, the Cortes revoked the will and nominated D. Pedro. But in the minority of D. Sebastian, a codicil of the will was brought forward and the people had meekly to accept the Regent whom in a secret conclave the courtiers had at their good pleasure appointed.

How changed were the times! What an abyss between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries! And for Portuguese misfortune the life of the people had become submerged in this abyss.

In effect the Chancellor Gaspar de Carvalho remembered a clause which the King had communicated to him, and which was to be added to the will, by which he nominated D. Catherina Regent of the kingdom until D. Sebastian should attain his twentieth year, and the secretary Pedro de Alcaçova Carneiro also remembered writing it down at the dictation of the King. The Queen had sufficient partisans in the Council for them not to dare cast doubts respecting this wonderful

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

document, while the people, whose sympathies were more on the side of the energetic Queen, although she was a Spanish lady, than for the hypocritical Cardinal, sanctioned her nomination with acclamations. The cardinal alone might be disposed to offer obstacles, but he was of weak spirit, and having few partisans, limited himself to underhand threats. Moreover, D. Catherina, who was an enlightened politician, soon found a means to impose silence. She suddenly recollected that the dying King had besought her to take as her councillor and colleague in the regency the Cardinal Infante D. Henrique, and had begged her to do this for the welfare of the nation.

The Queen did not make this concession to her brother-in-law because she feared him personally, but she feared the Society of Jesus, which was daily growing powerful and intimately allied to the Cardinal which dominated him, and was well aware of the powerful arms for opposition which the charge of Inquisitor placed in the weak hands of the Cardinal D. Henrique.

D. Catherina being a woman of strength of character developed solid qualities which rendered her a notable figure in history. In the then low condition of Portugal, to sustain the reins of the State amid the troubles of a minority clearly proved the strength of the feminine hands which held them. It is true that she was happily assisted by men worthy to understand her lofty aims. In India she had D. Constantino de Braganza; in Brazil, Mem de Sá; in diplomatic negotiations, Lourenço Pires de Tavora, who greatly contributed to the glory of her regency, which was no less rendered illustrious by the heroic defence of Mazagão, the last victory of the Portuguese on African shores.

Meanwhile D. Henrique was acting in the government of the country the part of a supernumerary. D. Catherina through her able minister, Lourenço Pires de Tavora, solicited from Rome for him the honours of legate at Portugal, and also induced fifteen votes to be given in the conclave of cardinals held for the election of a pope after the death of Pope Paul IV., although the election fell to João Angelo de Medicis, under the title of Pius IV. In this way she flattered his vanity with frivolous pomps and distinctions, and reserved to herself the serious cares of government, and the joys and tribulations of power.

In passing we shall mention that as ambassador at Rome, Lourenço Pires de Tavora, during his stay there of many years, not only gained many important advantages for the Portuguese Crown, but

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

acquired such fame as a skilful diplomatist that Philip II. besought him to undertake officially certain negotiations which were pending with Rome. The pope, Pius IV., was guided by his advice when summoning the Council of Trent, and the ambassador became so necessary to his holiness that D. Catherina, at his request, prolonged his appointment, and when at length he quitted Rome, Pius IV. ordered a guard of honour to escort him to the frontiers, affording him many proofs of distinguished esteem, and effectually besought the Duke de Urbino and the Seignieur of Venice, through whose lands he was to traverse, to afford him a safe transit.

But returning to D. Henrique, it appears that although being timid of spirit and taking no active part in the government, yet his vanity, excited by the Jesuits, who made him their tool, allowed him to whisper underhand that it was the jealousy of D. Catherina which prevented him from taking a higher place, but when he attempted to assume a worthier position the calm superiority of his sister-in-law cowered him and compelled him to withdraw into the shade.

In 1560 it became necessary to choose a preceptor for the youthful King D. Sebastian. The Infante D. Henrique proposed the Jesuit Luiz Gonçalves da Camara, while D. Catherina desired that the election should fall upon Father Luiz de Granada, the great mystic writer, or Father Luiz de Montoya, a philosopher and distinguished author. The first was a Dominican and the second an Augustinian. We must here add that D. Catherina, pious as she was, and who had been influenced by the eloquent preaching of the great Saint Francis Borgia, and moreover an ardent defender of the Society of Jesus, was nevertheless little disposed to allow herself to be dominated by their political influence. Furthermore, the saintly Jesuit, whose words had filled her with admiration and respect, was the first to fulminate against the worldly ambitions of his colleagues, and to openly declare that these ambitions would be the ruin of the Society.

D. Henrique was about to yield to the wishes of D. Catherina, but this the Jesuits could not allow. They brought to bear all their influence, and she was forced to yield, the election falling on Gonçalves da Camara, who was nominated preceptor and confessor to the King D. Sebastian, but the Society of Jesus perceived that the victories could not be oftentimes repeated, because the strife had been a heated one, and would be incessant. Instigated by them, the Infante did not cease to intrigue in every way against his sister-in-law as being unworthy

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

of the charge of Regent. These intrigues at length reached the ears of D. Catherina, who resolved to end them with one final blow. To the subterfuges of the Cardinal she replied with an energetic resolution. The mysterious intrigues which were plotted in the dark she dragged out to the light of day and manifested them publicly in all their hideous abjection.

At the end of 1560 D. Catherina suddenly summoned the Infante D. Henrique and declared to him that, as the cares of government were so heavy, and she needed rest, she had decided upon delivering up to him the regency, and the tutorship of the King and of the kingdom. In view of this formal declaration D. Henrique recoiled as usual. The power both attracted and terrified him: from afar he longed for it, yet he feared to touch it. A more undecided character or a meaner one is not easily found in the history of any nation.

Terrified by this resolve of D. Catherina, he trembled while he extended his hand to grasp the coveted regency, yet recoils when touching it, and D. Henrique strove to turn her from her resolve. D. Catherina pretended to allow herself to be deterred from her purpose, and agreed that a letter should be addressed to the States of the kingdom declaring her resolve and beseeching their approval. A powerful national manifestation was the reply, and from all classes poured in petitions, and from every point, from the nobility, the clergy, and the people, to implore D. Catherina to desist from her resolve to yield up the regency. The whole nation dreaded that it should be placed in the power and hands of the Cardinal D. Henrique.

D. Catherina, besides the natural genius of her character—similar, although in a lesser degree, to that of her brother Charles V.—had had her spirit ripened early in life by the great political spectacles and revolutions she had witnessed. Placed in captivity with her mother, she had seen passing before her the revolt of the communists, and had closely assisted at all the intrigues and negotiations which had been brewed around her mother, every party wishing to make use of her as an instrument.

Induced by the almost unanimous petitions of the States to continue the regency, and triumphant with this public demonstration, she declared that she would hold it some time longer, as she did not wish to appear ungracious, after the manner in which her faithful vassals had so loyally come forward.

The victory achieved by D. Catherina, however, only served to

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

embitter more than ever D. Henrique and the Jesuits. Scarcely had two years elapsed than D. Catherina definitely placed the royal power in the hands of her brother-in-law, being wearied with the continued strife. During this interval, the only political event of her government was sending ambassadors to the Council of Trent.

We must now turn to the colonial possessions, and witness the last glories of Portuguese decadence.

D. Constantino de Braganza was nominated Governor of India by the Regent D. Catherina, and received the title of Viceroy as was due to his high lineage. He departed from Lisbon with a fleet of four ships and 2,000 men on the 7th April, 1558. D. Constantino was brother to the Duke of Braganza, a noble of the first class, and closely related to the Royal House. He was distinguished among the nobility for his affability and elegance of manners, a great lover of letters, of which he gave proofs in India by effectually protecting Camões—a fact which tended more to immortalise his name than his warrior deeds of Daman and Ceylon. At the time a man was needed in India of known probity, and a prince of royal blood to impose some discipline upon the unrestrained hordes of adventurers. D. Constantino united the prestige of birth to a perfect nobility of soul, and a natural distinction which involuntarily worked upon the fidalgos of India to become ashamed of lowering themselves to perform acts worthy only of pirates.

As soon as he reached India he perceived that it was needful to take Daman in order to secure the defence of other lands, and he equipped and commanded in person an expedition of fifty ships. It appears Daman was defended by 4,000 resolute men, but as soon as the Portuguese effected a landing, they lost heart and abandoned the city. However, its chieftain fortified himself at a short distance, and with 2,000 horsemen began to attack the Portuguese. The Portuguese, however, repelled them, and took possession of the fortifications, where they found thirty-six pieces of artillery and a great quantity of copper money. The Island of Balzar was next assailed, but the garrison, apprised of the victory gained in Daman, did not await the attack, but at once surrendered. This conquest of the Portuguese was a very successful one. Daman remains to this day a possession of Portugal, as well as Diu, conquered by Nuno da Cunha, and Gôa, the conquest of Alfonso de Albuquerque, and form the only relics of the vast Oriental Empire of Portugal. Meanwhile in Cananor its governor, D. Payo de Noronha, had by his mismanagement provoked

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the wrath of the Rajah and a war was imminent. Luiz de Mello was sent to repress it with 500 men, and fearlessly attacked the enemies which surrounded the fortress, and the Rajah of Cananor had humbly to seek for peace.

Ormuz continued to be threatened by the Turks, who in 1559 besieged the fortress of the island of Basseen, belonging to the King of Ormuz, and defended by a Persian, Ras Murad, who besought aid from the Governor of the Portuguese citadel. Despite the reverse experienced by the Portuguese, they were able to blockade the island and force the Turks to capitulate.

The rest of the year 1559 was employed in repressing the constant disturbances of Malabar. In 1560 two actions were performed on the Red Sea by the Portuguese. Three foists, commanded by Christopher Pereira Homen, encountered four Turkish galleys close to Arkiko, an Abyssinian port. The leading foist intrepidly attacked the Turks, causing much damage, but was destroyed by the superiority of numbers. The two remaining foists fled, but in Gôa, D. Constantino severely punished their captains. It was a sad symptom, India was no longer defended by picked troops and the flower of the Portuguese nobility. It was visited solely by wild adventurers, heroic pirates, and common robbers.

On the coast of Pescaria, Ponicale, a Portuguese factory, was destroyed by the neighbouring Rajah. In retaliation D. Constantino de Braganza wished to punish the King of Jafnapatam in the island of Ceylon, who oppressed his subjects when they became converted to Christianity. In this expedition 1,200 men were sent in 100 ships. The enemy attempted to resist, but was repulsed on all sides. At nightfall the King of Jafnapatam abandoned the city, but pursued by the Portuguese, was forced to ask for peace. However, when the Portuguese were resting during the truce, the inhabitants mutinied and assailed the Portuguese, cutting off all communication between them and the castle, already occupied by Fernão da Sousa. D. Constantino on hearing this, sent a reinforcement, commanded by D. Antonio de Noronha, who joined the detached forces and crossed the city, carrying all before them. After sacking the city, D. Constantino weighed anchor and took the island of Manar, also belonging to the King, where he constructed a fortress, to which he transferred the Portuguese of Ponicale. This was the last noteworthy action of the government of D. Constantino de Braganza, which terminated on the 7th September,

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

1561. He was succeeded by D. Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo.

D. Catherina judged that it was time to expel the French from the colonial possessions of Brazils. The governor of Bahia was the celebrated Mem da Sá. He sent out a small squadron to assist the governor, who at once prepared an expedition against Rio de Janeiro. As soon as the French sighted the fleet, they took refuge in the fort, forsaking the ships, and taking some 800 Tamoyos and a large quantity of provisions to sustain a lengthened siege. The Portuguese assailed it, and although repulsed, succeeded in taking possession of the stronghold and some French prisoners.

Mem da Sá wished to found a city in this magnificent bay, but had not sufficient means to do so, and after razing to the ground Fort Villegagnon, he was compelled to return to Bahia. But the French, who had fled to the forests of the interior, returned, and aided by the savages, established themselves on the shore, and a fresh expedition became necessary. This expedition was led by Estacio da Sá, a nephew of the governor of Brazils, who fought bravely, but the combat continued until Mem da Sá in person went to aid his nephew. The French were completely routed, but the victory cost the life of the brave Estacio da Sá. The governor then judged that it was absolutely necessary for the Portuguese to take definite possession of the bay which was so greatly coveted by the French; and the first foundations were laid of the city of Saint Sebastian of Rio de Janeiro, at the present day the prosperous capital of a flourishing empire.

Hence the regency of D. Catherina was signalised in India by the taking of an important stronghold, and in the Brazils by the foundation of a new city; but what rendered this period most brilliant was the heroic defence of the stronghold of Mazagão, of which we shall give a short sketch.

In the spring of 1562, Muley Abdallah, the sovereign of Morocco, knowing that the governor of the stronghold of Mazagão, Alvaro de Carvalho, was in Lisbon on leave of absence, and that the fortifications were uncompleted, projected to expel the Portuguese from a city so near to Morocco. Muley Abdallah gathered together a numerous army under the command of his son, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. This army, said to be composed of 80,000 men, reached to a short distance of the city, and commenced the siege by raising an earthwork on which were ranged twenty-four pieces of artillery Ruy de

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Souza de Carvalho, the commander of the stronghold during the absence of the governor, hastened the conclusion of the fortifications, and sent information to Lisbon of what was done.

When the news arrived at Lisbon there was a revival of the old chivalry among the nobles, and enthusiasm to carry out the project of winning glory on African shores. Many came forward, and even secretly left in ships equipped by themselves, until it reached to the point that the Regent, D. Catherina, was compelled to issue definite orders under severe penalties that no more ships be allowed to depart. The defenders of Mazagão were many, and one of the chief, Alvaro de Carvalho, who took command of the fortress, had the glory of repulsing an assault made by the Moors. The latter had recourse to springing mines, but the Portuguese engineers worked counter mines, and many rough combats took place in these subterranean galleries. Two months elapsed in this manner, and Mazagão was still in Portuguese hands. Muley Hamet then resolved to concentrate all his forces for a decisive assault, which took place on the 1st of May, 1562. In truth, they fought as though the salvation of the whole empire depended on that victory. The battle continued the whole day, until at length the Moors were compelled to retire, after sustaining serious losses, fatigued and dispirited, feeling that the fortress of Mazagão could not be taken in that manner. Muley Hamet raised the siege, crestfallen at the routing he had received, while the Portuguese were justly proud of a victory gained under such adverse circumstances. The rumour of this triumph resounded throughout Europe, and Pope Pius IV. ordered a mass of thanksgiving to be said by the prelates who had gathered together at the Council in Trent, for the success obtained by the Portuguese over the enemies of the faith.

Such were the military actions which illustrated the regency of D. Catherina, a more glorious regency than could have been expected from the state of the kingdom at the death of D. João III. But the Queen had to suffer, despite her good administration, a rude opposition from the Jesuits, who were unable to exercise over her the dominion they desired, similarly as they did over the Cardinal D. Henrique. At length, wearied by the many obstacles they placed before her, and deprived of the services of the distinguished statesman Lourenço Pires de Tavora, who had gone over to the side of the Jesuits and the Court of Rome which had treated him with such signal distinction, the Queen Regent definitely resolved upon yielding up the regency.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

In order to do this with all solemnity, she summoned the Cortes, and on the 23rd December, 1562, the Cardinal D. Henrique was proclaimed Regent of the kingdom, notwithstanding that many of the representatives of the Councils would not consent to her abdication.

The people, however, took advantage of this summoning together of the Cortes, to lay petitions at the foot of the throne, which clearly manifests the social and economic state of the kingdom. They petitioned that the marriage of the King should take place as soon as possible, and with some princess of France who would be educated in the kingdom. This appeal shows clearly that the people were beginning to feel the evils which the multiplied alliances with Spain were bringing upon the country, and the dangers that it would place the nation's independence. That a council be formed of twelve members to govern conjointly with the Cardinal Infante. This petition proving that after consenting with a bad grace to the abdication of the Queen D. Catherina, they wished to guard against the narrow views and evil mind of the Infante D. Henrique.

That some economies be made in the palace expenses, diminishing the number of chaplains, &c. They also besought that the strongholds of Africa be retained. That no more monasteries be erected in the kingdom, and also to obtain from the Pope that no convent be able to inherit. Many more petitions were sent in respecting public offices, which it would be uninteresting to follow at the present day. Suffice it to add that none of these petitions were attended to. It were impossible for D. Catherina to reform all the abuses specified, even should she have the will to do so. We have to be grateful to her that during the period of her regency the state of the country did not grow worse, and despite that she was the sister of Charles V. and a Spanish lady, she did nothing to induce Portugal to unite with the Crown of Castille.

The government of the Cardinal Infante was null, like his own character. In vain did Lourenço Pires de Tavora, who had done so much towards his election as Regent, put forward his best efforts to render him worthy of the place he occupied, and gave him wise and prudent counsels which constitute a veritable scheme of government, a perfect political and administrative programme, that reveals the lofty intellectual qualities of the illustrious statesman. D. Henrique was not the individual to follow or appreciate the wisdom of these counsels, and at length he came to view Pires de Tavora as no more than

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

a tiresome censor, whom he dismissed virtually from the Council of Ministers, for the great statesman was sent as Governor to the African fortress of Tangiers, as though in Portugal there were no fidalgos fit to break lances with the infidels. It may be true to say that amid that troop of noblemen in the kingdom, there was none to substitute Lourenço Pires de Tavora as a politician, and in the administration of the State.

"The affairs of the State," writes Rebello da Silva, "were almost resolved as monkish conflicts, and fell under the ban of the preachers who filled the sacerdotal and servile court of the Regent, where all things were decided with eyes raised to heaven, the name of God in the mouth and hypocrisy in the heart."

"The Jesuits, whose ascendency was then absolute and preponderating, completely absorbed the other religious Orders, and at the same time silencing the virtuous liberty with which former ministers were in the habit of speaking to kings. In those hapless days none dared to tear off the bandages placed over the open and incurable wounds which were weakening and draining the monarchy, fearing to suffer for the truth. The most austere councillors, discontented and unheeded, withdrew to their own lands, deploring the abuses of which they vainly implored redress, and sighing for the end of their term of office, which, if insisted on, would entail still greater misfortunes. Those of a meek or servile disposition allowed themselves to be moulded according to circumstances, without being ashamed of acting the part of accomplices, and thus joined together to blot out the last traditions of the reign of D. Manuel and of D. João III., stifling remorse with the satisfaction of recompense, but confessing in secret the emasculation and corruption which they beheld exalted, and which, although they deplored, they nevertheless with manacled hands accompanied in their triumphal march."

Hence, despite the representations made by the people that the Jesuits were too wealthy for an Order which had entered the kingdom affecting humility and desires to serve religion, the Cardinal D. Henrique increased and enriched their colleges in Lisbon, Braga, Evora, Coimbra, and Santarem. He likewise favoured the Inquisition, labouring indefatigably to increase the houses and prisons of the Holy Office of Coimbra, and augmenting the revenues of this terrible institution by a further sum of three million reis drawn from the rentals of the Archbishopric of Lisbon, and the Bishoprics of Evora and Coimbra.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The ambassador at Rome, Lourenço Pires de Tavora, obtained from the Pope a considerable ecclesiastical subsidy for the Portuguese wars against the Moors. But the Court of Rome, however, drew from these concessions the greatest advantage, by specifying as a condition that two fleets be prepared by the King, one to be equipped and ready under the immediate orders of the Pope, and to obey him in all things. This bull excited a general feeling of discontent in the kingdom. D. Henrique, however, did not dare to refuse, and if these orders were not subsequently carried out, it was owing to force of circumstances, and not from disobedience on the part of the imbecile Regent.

The Council of Trent established an enormous preponderance for the Church, to the grave prejudice of the temporal power. Charles IX., the fanatical executioner of the Huguenots, was reigning in France, and did not accept, however, the decisions promulgated in the Council. Portugal, subject to the Cardinal D. Henrique, accepted them purely and simply. Portugal was more than ever a veritable feud of Rome.

The regency of D. Henrique was not even rendered memorable by military prowess in the colonial conquests. Abroad the fame acquired by the Portuguese for their invincibility was becoming lost, and the natives were fast losing the superstitious terror which their boldness had inspired. In effect, while still the flower of the Portuguese troops continued to be the amazement of the East, a great number of cowardly adventurers were mingling among the picked ranks, who defaced the Portuguese escutcheon. The existence of these two contrary elements in the Indian army became evident in a battle which took place close to Baticala, between a corsair and D. Paulo de Lima Pereira, who had been sent with four galleys to succour Cananor. Two of these galleys shamefully fled at the commencement of the battle. The other two continued firm and unconquerable. One, commanded by Bento Caldeira de Almada, although set on fire by the enemy, allowed itself to be destroyed sooner than surrender. D. Paulo, thus left single-handed, flung himself so daringly into the enemy's fleet, that, terrified by the persevering resistance of the two Portuguese galleys, took to flight. Such heroism atones for much, but it is no less lamentable that shadows should rise to dim the brilliancy hitherto unstained of Portuguese military glory.

Cananor continued to be heroically defended, the defence being directed by D. Antonio de Noronha; but when Gonçalo Pereira and

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Alvaro Paes de Soutomayor arrived, the successors of D. Payo, the war became defensive instead of offensive, and the enemy was completely routed.

In Ceylon the war was enkindled which had been provoked by Portuguese preponderances and by sanguinary fanaticism. Cota, where the Portuguese, not satisfied with their many fortifications, had established themselves, was besieged by an inimical king, and reduced to such straits by hunger that the Captain-General, Pedro de Athayde, had already ordered the dead to be salted for the support of the garrison, when fortunately aid arrived from Colombo, and the Captain of Manar, by sowing discord among the indigenous tribes, contributed towards the siege being raised.

Daman likewise had to resist not now the Guzarates, but subjects of the Great Mogul. These were driven out by 200 men from the garrison of Chaul and four ships sent from Gôa.

These events took place in 1565. The year 1566 was dismally signalised by the ruin of two fleets on the Red Sea, one being destroyed by the enemy, and the other by storms. In 1567 Malacca was besieged once more by the Sultan of Achea. Defended valiantly by D. Leoniz Pereira, it was saved. In 1568, D. Antão de Noronha founded another fortress in Mangador, after having expelled from the city the Indians who defended it. This was the only expedition directly commanded by the Viceroy, and this command was so little energetic that the soldiers after they disembarked broke through all discipline, spread themselves over the city, and were surprised by the natives. But Portuguese valour redeemed this inexcusable negligence, and although taken by surprise, inflicted a rough lesson to the Indians, and drove them out.

In the Moluccas disorder was daily increasing, demoralisation was rampant among the soldiers, and despotism among the captains. In the Islands of Caron, the Portuguese assisted the natives to repulse the army of an inimical nation, but after the victory the Portuguese acted in such a manner that they brought on themselves the odium of their allies, which gave rise to a fierce war, which, however, terminated with advantage for the Portuguese. In Ternate the Captain Diogo Lopes de Mesquita treacherously summoned to his fortress the Sultan Aeyro, whom he ordered to be slain. These excesses reached to the point that from Portugal were sent instructions for the Viceroy to punish these pirates who were entitled captains. But how was he to do this, when he

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

had not sufficient forces to render himself respected in his own neighbourhood, much less to send to far-distant places?

In 1568 terminated the government of D. Antão de Noronha, which had lasted four years.

Let us now glance at what passed in Northern Africa, where the great statesman, Lourenço Pires de Tavora, had been sent, as in a golden exile, to command the stronghold of Tangiers. As a report had been spread that the Emir of Morocco intended to besiege Tangiers in revenge for the defeat of Mazagão, the fortifications were hurriedly finished, and the command given to Lourenço Pires. The siege, however, did not take place, but he had to defend himself against the continual assaults of the Al-Kaid of Arzilla, who challenged him in a personal combat, but which he did not accept, as he suspected some treachery was combined under this challenge to an aged statesman. In order, however, to show that it was not through cowardice that he had refused the challenge, Lourenço Pires made various sorties against the Moors, who scoured the outskirts of Tangiers, successfully.

Lourenço Pires once again returned to Portugal, having won military glory during his term of government in Tangiers, by which he enhanced his former diplomatic renown. But these warlike deeds were not new to him, because even as early as in the time of D. João de Castro he had gone to India commanding a squadron, and had taken an active part in the defence of Dio.

Meanwhile great political changes had been effected in the mother country. In 1568 D. Sebastian attained his fourteenth year, and the influence exercised by the Jesuits over him daily increased, and Luiz Gonçalves da Camara managed at his own sweet will that ardent, ascetic organisation and fiery, narrow intelligence. They felt that from the moment they should govern directly the kingdom with the arm of their pupil, they could dispense with the aid of the Cardinal Infante, who was to them now no more than a useless instrument. The selfsame efforts they had employed to raise him to the supreme power they now used to hurl him down from the elevated position he had occupied, and they besought for this object the alliance of Queen Catherine. Dissatisfied with her brother-in-law and resentful of the conduct of the Court towards her, the Queen did not repress the temptation of paying the Cardinal Infante for the slights he had offered her. Hence she leagued herself with the Jesuits to overthrow the Infante, but when she perceived later on that the victory was advantageous only to her

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

allies, she bitterly lamented having been illuded by them, and sought to withdraw them from the side of the youthful king. It was too late: their influence had become deeply rooted.

What the means were which the Jesuits and the Queen employed to induce the Cardinal Infante D. Henrique to accept the declaration of the majority of D. Sebastian at the age of fourteen, we are unable to say, because the Chronicles are silent in this respect, but what is certain is, that the majority of D. Sebastian was officially acknowledged in 1568. The Cardinal Infante on delivering up his charge as Regent gave him an account of what he had done—that he had enriched the Jesuits and the Inquisition, that he had accepted the decisions of the Council of Trent, that he had nominated a viceroy for India and a captain for Tangiers, had laid out the fortifications of Ceuta, sent out a fleet against the French corsairs, who had assaulted the island of Madeira.* Had furthered the works of the towers of S. Julião da Barra and of Setubal, and fortified some maritime places in the Algarve. He also stated that Damião de Goes had finished writing the chronicles of the king D. Manuel. A few more insignificant items concluded the meagre report of the Cardinal Infante.

D. Henrique perceived by the cold manner manifested by the youthful monarch that his government had ended for good, and that the actual kingship was passing to the individual he had imprudently elevated to the rank of preceptor, the Jesuit Luiz Gonçalves da Camara.

He then retired to the Monastery of Alcobaça, but the kingdom was not yet free, in our opinion, from his mischievous administration. We shall see him later on reappear from Alcacer Kibir like a decrepit gravedigger, to open the vault wherein the Portuguese independence was to be buried when mortally wounded in the unfortunate battle on the shores of Africa.

In absolute governments a great influence is always exercised by the character of the persons placed at the head. Nevertheless it is never the hand of one only individual which impels a whole people to the

* The island of Madeira was much exposed to these sudden attacks. The event referred to in the text was directed by a Portuguese traitor called Gaspar Caldeira. Blaise de Montluc, the celebrated French corsair and nephew to the Marechal of the same name, was a scourge to the island of Madeira. These incursions of the French corsairs form the plot in the last pages of the beautiful romance of Arnaldo Gama called *A Caldeira de Pero Botelho* (Oporto, 1866).

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

highest prosperity or to the direst misfortunes. It is true he can hasten it, but not absolutely cause it, hence the greatness of Portugal is not due entirely to D. Manuel, nor its ruin to D. Sebastian.

Alcacer Kibir was not a stroke of lightning which had flashed suddenly from a serene sky and consumed the cities with fire from heaven. The causes which produced the ruin of Portugal we have seen rising up, developing, and accumulating like so many combustibles heaped together, which only await a reckless hand to cast a firebrand into them to explode and set fire to the whole kingdom. Such a moment might be delayed somewhat, but the heated enthusiasm of D. Sebastian hastened the catastrophe, and rendered it deeply painful. Never had the character of its monarch so great an influence over the destinies of the people, hence it behoves us to study the disposition of the grandson of D. João III. and the manner which education developed it.

D. Sebastian was dowered with an imagination naturally excitable and enthusiastic, a bright, quick intelligence, and the rapid progress he made during his early studies astonished his masters. He had also a love for adventures which impelled him to undertake great and hazardous undertakings. Prescott declares that with his quixotic adventures D. Sebastian introduced romanticism into the history of his country.

This adventuresome, fervent imagination excited in him warlike attempts and the fascinations of religion. His tendency towards asceticism, joined to his passion for the profession of arms, made of him a kind of monk-knight, as Rebello da Silva tells us, rather than an individual fit to conduct the difficult and stern duties of a kingdom.

Education ought to have repressed all excess in piety and chivalry. But unfortunately, instead of repressing these tendencies, it favoured and developed them. The selection of tutor and preceptor greatly concurred towards this end. His tutor was D. Aleixo de Menezes, a nobleman in every way worthy of the high charge entrusted to him. His prudence, his good sense, and his austere honesty rendered him in the highest sense worthy to conduct the education of the youthful prince. But his military career, full of glorious actions, could not do aught but fire, although involuntarily, the enthusiasm of D. Sebastian. D. Aleixo, the son of the Count Cantanheda, drew his maiden sword with his uncle, D. João de Menezes, in the taking of Azamor in 1513. He went on to India with Lopo Soares d'Albergaria, and was present at the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

battle of Djeddah, and in the taking of Zeila. Subsequently he defended Malacca against the King of Bintam. He governed India provisionally during the absence of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. On his return to Portugal, he was chosen by D. João III. for several confidential missions, and Charles V., who received him as ambassador in his Court at various times, held him in such high esteem that he selected him as sponsor to his nephew, the hapless Prince Charles; and when he was apprised that D. João III. had appointed him tutor to his grandson D. Sebastian, approved the choice in flattering terms. It was but natural that this tutor, notwithstanding his great tact and vigilance, should concur to enkindle in D. Sebastian, although unwillingly, his passion for glory. His example spoke more eloquently than his words, nor could he altogether forget the traditions of his life and his military character, nor pluck from the breast of D. Sebastian the aspirations which he saw with pride springing up, and which he could not foresee to what fatal extremes it would lead him.

If the passion for arms was developed without any sinister motive by the mere presence of D. Aleixo, the ascetic mania or fanaticism in religion was very purposely evolved by his chosen preceptor, Luiz Gonçalves da Camara.

He was the son of João Gonçalves da Camara Lobo, captain of the island of Madeira, and of D. Leonor de Vilhena, of the house of the Counts de Tarouça. Luiz Gonçalves sacrificed all the legitimate worldly ambitions which his birth offered him through enthusiasm for the institute of the Society of Jesus.

As a student in Paris and in Coimbra he gave in both Universities ample proofs of deep genius, and attracted towards him the attention of the Jesuits, who spared no efforts to win him to their fold. In their institute he rapidly rose to the first ranks, and in 1547 was elected Rector of the College of Coimbra, and in 1550 Simeon Rodrigues d'Azevedo proposed him as a candidate to his father as preceptor to D. Sebastian.

He went to Rome, and was admitted to the friendship of St. Ignatius of Loyola, and on his return to Portugal the King appointed him his confessor.

The Society of Jesus needed men of this stamp at the Court—talented, enlightened, noble by birth, and completely dedicated to their interests. Gonçalves da Camara was not long ere he acquired the desired influence, and which he wholly employed in serving the Society of which he was a member.

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Overcoming all and every resistance, he succeeded in being appointed preceptor and spiritual director to D. Sebastian, and at once set to work to mould his spirit to serve the interests of religion, of which the Society of Jesus was her strongest propagator. Justice, however, demands that we should state that when he saw to what extremes religious ardour had driven his pupil, he was profoundly terrified, and endeavoured on various occasions to deter him from following his fatal inspirations.

A man who exercised so great and so unfortunate an influence, although indirect, over the destinies of Portugal merits that posterity should know him under all aspects.

"If the sketch left us by the Ambassador of Venice," says Rebello da Silva, "of the person and features of Father Luiz Gonçalves be correct, he certainly had not to thank his personal appearance for the sympathies he inspired, or explain the influence he exerted, which he assures us was no less than that exercised by Ruy Gomes. Thus does Tripolo describe him: 'The countenance of the master,' he says, 'shows him to be about fifty years of age, and to his sufficiently common and disagreeable presence was added the loss of one eye and a defect in his speech, which rendered him absolutely repulsive.'"

The Venetian statesman praises him for his theological science and the austerity of his religious life in the midst of the pleasures of the Court, but he does not conceal that Luiz Gonçalves had incurred the odium of the nation, and that both the widowed Queen, the Infante Cardinal D. Henrique, and the Infante D. Duarte longed for the day when, by the marriage of the monarch, which they hoped to see effected, they should get rid of the yoke of the confessor.

Hence it was solely due to the power of intellect that Luiz Gonçalves had attained to such influence and authority at the Court. Hence, while D. Aleixo de Menezes was involuntarily developing the bellicose instincts of his pupil, the Jesuit Luiz Gonçalves wilfully fanned his ascetic religious fervour. Added to this, let us bear in mind that the courtiers were carefully watching the birth of the passions in the spirit of the royal child, not indeed to clip their heads, but to foster and flatter them in order to win his regard, and we shall see how these took complete possession of the spirit of D. Sebastian.

Among the most honourable and trusty fidalgos of the realm there was a unanimous feeling of reprobation against D. João III. for having delivered up to the Moors three strongholds won by Portuguese

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

blood, and the green laurels culled by D. Alfonso V. on the wrecked walls of Arzilla crushed by their hands.

This feeling was openly expressed after the death of D. João III. Their words were listened to in silence by D. Sebastian, who watched their martial brows frowning, and their bronzed faces crimsoned with shame, when they recounted how they had, in obedience to royal orders, been obliged for the first time in their lives to turn their backs on the enemy and surrender, without resisting, those strongholds which had been the arena of so much glory.

The defence of Mazagão occurred to corroborate the impression produced on the spirit of the King by the complaints of the veteran warriors and frontier governors of Africa, and strengthened in his breast the desire to redeem the shame of his grandfather, and place himself at the head of his brave, gallant knights, who had illustrated their country in the recent defence of the stronghold of Barbary.

All this united to kindle within him an enthusiasm both ardent and sullen, characteristic of imaginations naturally bellicose excited by mysticism.

Similar to the Puritans of Scotland, whose type Sir Walter Scott has reproduced with so much truth and skill, the King manifested himself in the bloom of youth grave and silent, and fleeing from the world, sought in the heart of the forests, and in the pursuit of hunting, both the excitement of exercise and meditative isolation.

His vivid intelligence, and which study would have rendered cultured, only bent towards such studies as favoured his favourite pursuits. Reading the mystics, books of chivalry, and of Portuguese history, principally those which narrated the events of Africa, and one in particular which told the expedition of Charles V. against the Moors and his many spiritual exercises, were what mostly occupied his spirit.

Hunting, jousts, and tournaments were his favourite bodily exercises and amusements. In summer-time in Salvaterra and Almeirim, and in winter in the woods of Cintra, he would cast aside the cares of government, and blindly confiding to his ministers the despatch of business, he threw himself with ardour into the excitement of races and hunts, purposely exposing himself to inclemencies of weather and seasons. Never was he happier than when, spurning all the delights which his courtiers offered him, he entered into rough and manly sports. Insensible to fatigue, and finding pleasure in what others found irksome, he often sallied out in galleys to challenge the rough seas in stormy

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

weather; and from the poop, fearless and immovable, he contemplated, as though he were no more than a simple spectator, the majestic scene of the roaring tempest. When the waves beating against the sides of the ship, the surging of the craft, and the violence of the waters as they swept over the deck and flooded the cabins, made his companions tremble for their lives, he would stand in the midst of the fury of the elements as calm as though he paced the peaceful halls of his palace, and he would cross his arms as he tranquilly watched the wrath of God speeding over the face of the waters. Never was his countenance altered or manifested fear.

All historians and chroniclers are unanimous in their declaration that D. Sebastian was insensible to feminine charms or the joys of matrimony. On several occasions projects of union with some of the highest princesses were laid before him in order to secure the succession to the throne, but all these he eluded by various pretexts. The ministers which D. Sebastian selected as soon as he was definitely on the throne at once reveals his predilections, and the class of men who were to exercise upon him their influence. The Queen D. Catherina proposed to him as Minister of Finance the former wise minister of D. João III., the enlightened Pero de Alcaçova Carneiro, who became later on Count de Idanha. He did not obtain the appointment, and moreover was sent from the Court, and had to deliver up the post he then was filling of secretary to Miguel de Moura, a creature of the Infante D. Henrique, although an able stateman. D. Martinho Pereira, a veteran nobleman completely dedicated to the Jesuits, was chosen as Minister of Finance, Martim Gonçalves da Camara brother to the great preceptor of the King, a theologian and priest, and his brother the preceptor himself as President of the Privy Council were the three who in truth ruled the State. His first care was to open an abyss between D. Sebastian and D. Catherina, and for this object insinuated to the King the suspicion that the Queen as a foreigner did not take a very great interest in the affairs of the kingdom, and even that she desired to keep the Portuguese Court dependent of Castille, allowing the policy of Philip II. to predominate. Nothing else was required to excite the indignation of D. Sebastian in thus touching the pride and jealousy of power natural to his age. His youthful pride could not brook the idea that the princes of Europe should rank him as the obedient satellite of his uncle, Philip II.

His trusty tutor, D. Aleixo de Menezes, who might have counter-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

acted the influence of Luiz Gonçalves, had died in 1569. However, before his death, D. Aleixo addressed to D. Sebastian counsels which were soon forgotten, but which manifest nevertheless how wide was the good sense of the prudent and skilful councillor, and how fatal was the oblivion which withdrew him from the Court and gave the power to Luiz Gonçalves and his treacherous brother.

In this document, attributed by late chroniclers to D. Aleixo, his former tutor advised his pupil to distrust flatterers who should counsel him to withdraw his intimacy from his uncle, the Cardinal. This was, in truth, the first thing Luiz Gonçalves managed to effect.

D. Aleixo warned him against the excesses of his warrior inclinations, and the exaltation of his aims, beseeching him not to risk the forces of the kingdom in unprofitable and foolhardy undertakings.

He also besought him not to confer his favours on the young nobility, thus withdrawing from him experienced men who had grown grey in the practice of business. Likewise that men in religion be not so frequently withdrawn from their duties to take up the worldly affairs of the government of the State.

He well knew the severe puritanical disposition of D. Sebastian, and he feared with reason (as facts proved later on) that, desirous of restraining luxury, he would cut it down rudely to extreme limits, by issuing sumptuary laws which would provoke resistance, and cause a grave disturbance in the industry and commerce of the country.

Nevertheless, these were actually the first measures taken by D. Sebastian. Portugal was to be governed monastically; frugality was decreed by Luiz Gonçalves da Camara, with great applause by the youthful king of fifteen summers, who was proud to sign his name to these Spartan decrees.

The pragmatic law of D. João III. dated 3rd July, 1535, increased in rigour by the Cardinal D. Henrique on 8th June, 1560, was completely put in the shade by one of D. Sebastian of 28th April, 1570, in which he ordered that no one spend more than his rentals, and endeavour to save out of that to buy properties, landed or otherwise, silver, tea, &c., and lastly that no one should place on his table more than one roast or boiled meat, or a mince, rice, or cuscus, and no white sweets or delicacy of such sorts.

With our nineteenth-century liberal ideas and aspirations of the supreme ideal of self-government, we can scarcely understand this constant intervention of the monarch in the common acts of domestic

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

life. This was indeed the common error of the epoch. But what appears most improbable is that they should possibly imagine that this fragile barrier could be sufficient to restrain the extreme luxury which the wealth brought from the East had introduced into Portugal, and which Francisco de Sa de Miranda so bitterly lamented.

As might be foreseen, the law was never enforced, and the first to rebel against it was D. Sebastian himself. "It was this prince," says Rebello da Silva, "who encouraged by example what he at the commencement of his reign wished to repress. The pomp manifested by the fidalgos who accompanied D. Sebastian in his expedition to Africa ruined many and left others in debt for years. What else was this but a manifest disobedience to the orders of the sovereign?"

Great consternation was likewise caused throughout the kingdom by a law which reduced copper money to its intrinsic value. The law was a just one, but it was effected too suddenly, and thereby reduced to misery a great number of persons. The fault lay in the former elevation of value of the coinage, but the remedy was worse than the error, because worked too hastily.

On this occasion a project of marriage was attempted, and the ministers acceding to the votes of the Cortes were disposed to enter into negotiations with a royal princess of France to be the consort of D. Sebastian. With this object the king, Charles IX., was asked for the hand of his sister, the elegant, erudite, witty Margaret of Valois, who married Henry of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France. To this marriage Philip II. of Spain offered a decided opposition, and proposed instead as the bride of D. Sebastian the Archduchess Isabel of Austria.

Charles IX. of France had asked Maximillian II. for the hand of his daughter Anna, but the Emperor preferred her to be Queen of Spain, and had assigned her as the fourth wife of Philip II., whose third wife, Isabel de Valois, had died a short time previously, a victim to mysterious intrigues. In order, however, not to slight the King of France, he promised him (and he fulfilled his promise) the destined bride of D. Sebastian, the Archduchess Isabel.

Philip II. undertook to arrange matters with Portugal, and advised D. Sebastian to wed Margaret of Valois. This want of ceremony highly offended the haughty D. Sebastian, who, moreover, little inclined to enter the bonds of matrimony, took this opportunity to refuse absolutely the bride offered him or any other—a resolution which was confirmed

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

by Luiz Gonçalves da Camara, fearing that a wife such as Margaret, who united in herself all the seductions of beauty and intelligence, and a hidden fascinating power which none had been able to escape in Paris, might succeed in bending the rebellious disposition of D. Sebastian and withdraw him from his influence.

The Queen D. Catherina, although she was dedicated to her nephew, marvelled at the unceremonious disdain with which he treated the King of Portugal. No doubt strong motives had impelled Philip II. to act in this manner, and we are firmly convinced that his desire to form an alliance with France was in order to develop the ambitious idea of a universal monarchy by projecting the absorption of France. These projects he attempted to carry out on the occasion of the *League*, and which he probably might have realised by taking advantage of the fanaticism of French Catholics, had not Providence sent to the threatened nation a hero in the person of the renowned Henry IV., the head of the Bourbon dynasty.

In vain did the most enlightened men of the kingdom endeavour to move D. Sebastian from his purpose, among them the Bishop of Silves, D. Jeronymo Osorio. In vain did the Pope Pius V. intervene, he who was later on canonised by the Church. D. Sebastian was inflexible; his ascetic tendencies, encouraged by Luiz Gonçalves da Camara, rose up to aid his offended pride, and the negotiations initiated by Philip II. were interrupted.

The influence gained by Gonçalves da Camara was now undisputed and had firmly taken possession of the spirit of the King. Through his influence D. Henrique, finding that his nephew received him distrustfully, had withdrawn to Alcobaça; his acceptance of a bride who might have put down the power of Gonçalves was indefinitely postponed, and the Queen D. Catherina, viewed with distrust by her grandson, separated from him, and later on he exercised his influence sufficiently to impel D. Sebastian to offer her a serious offence, which altogether withdrew her from the State councils.

About this time a pestilence broke out in Lisbon like a scourge of God, and in 1569 fifty thousand persons fell victims.

Meanwhile D. Sebastian, flying from the epidemic, visited the provinces, affording proofs wherever he passed of his excited imagination, and the dismal tendencies towards a holy war, which led him to scorn all virtues which were not warlike and daring carried to the extreme of temerity.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

When visiting the monastery of Alcobaça he wished to behold the remains of the kings who were lying there. When gazing on the raised form of D. Alfonso III., he praised the courage with which he had widened the Portuguese territory, then only springing up, conquering the Moors and disputing from the Castillians the kingdom of Algarve; while he passed by with contempt the form of D. Pedro I., whom he said knew only how to love women, and contemned the glory and the deeds of a conqueror.

One of the friars of Alcobaça, however, could not brook this, and stepped forward saying that if D. Pedro had not left an example as a conqueror, he had left proofs that he knew how to maintain and preserve his kingdom and favoured its prosperity; that it would be better for him to imitate him than come to his tomb to affront him.

D. Sebastian did not punish the daring words of the monk, Francisco Machado, because he had the greatest respect for the monastic habit, and moreover took great delight in holding *palestras* with the monks of Alcobaça after his field sports were over, but he could not help being displeased, so much so that D. Henrique the Cardinal judged proper to reprehend publicly the monk, although, as the chroniclers affirm, he privately praised his boldness.

When visiting Batalha, a similar scene took place. D. Sebastian bent low over the uncovered remains of D. João II., venerating in him the hero of Arzilla rather than the enlightened statesman and eminent administrator.

While he in this manner proceeded to fill far-seeing spirits with sad forebodings for the future, openly manifesting that he possessed more brilliant qualities for a warrior-knight than the solid ones of a king, he allowed his ministers to renew in his name the acceptation, pure and simple, of the Council of Trent made by his uncle, D. Henrique.

Meanwhile the intrigues at the palace grew more fiery each day, and the Queen D. Catherina, finding that her authority was inefficient for destroying the influence of the two brothers Camara, appealed to D. Philip and D. Joanna to intervene in her favour. Philip II. sent to Portugal D. Gomes Soares de Figueiroa, first Duke of Feria, in order to effect a reconciliation between her and her grandson. D. João de Borja also came on the same mission, and to induce the King to marry Margaret of Valois. To this was added the petition of the Bishop of Algarve, and again did the Pope plead. But all to no purpose. Then the Queen, deeply offended, resolved to quit the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

country and retire to Castille. This resolution was received by the kingdom with a general outcry.

The Bishop of Algarve, whose authoritative vote carried great weight in the Court—to which was added his epistolary eloquence, that invested him with the surname of the Portuguese Cicero—was the first to write to the Queen, advising her to be resigned, and with courtly roughness forbidding her to leave a kingdom where her presence was so necessary. In letters written previous to this one, addressed to Luiz Gonçalves da Camara, D. Jeronymo Osorio does not hesitate to tell him in severe language that the nation imputed to him the blame for all the errors of the King—his senseless temerity, the want of respect towards his grandmother, and especially of the fiascos of the marriage alliances of the King, by which he placed the future of the kingdom in great perils.

The Senate of Lisbon likewise represented to the King the inconveniences the departure of D. Catherina would entail, and at the same time beseeching the King not to risk his person in hunting and long journeys, and to secure the succession to the throne by wedding the sister of Charles IX. of France, and that for the better government of the kingdom it would be expedient to summon the Cortes more frequently. In this affair Pope Pius V. also intervened, and Luiz Gonçalves, not daring to combat the unanimous manifestation of public opinion, induced the King to take the first step towards conciliating the aggrieved spirit of the Queen. The King then proceeded from Almeirim, accompanied by the Cardinal D. Henrique, to visit his grandmother, and with marks of affection and respect succeeded in inducing her to remain, but at the same time did not afford the smallest hope of allowing his influence to diminish. Hence the war between the two powers remained sullen and implacable.

Knowing that the King was completely under the influence of the Jesuit Preceptor, D. Catherina judged proper to write to St. Francis Borgia, who was the General of the Jesuits, and beseech him under some pretext to withdraw Luiz Gonçalves from the side of the King. But all to no purpose.

Francis Borgia, who had oftentimes declared that he wished to see the Society of Jesus pure sooner than powerful, had not probably sufficient courage to break through the traditions of the institution, and to lose, merely to satisfy the Queen, the limitless influence which, through the intermediary Luiz Gonçalves, the Jesuits held over the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

sovereign of Portugal, whose dominions included the East and America, the promised land of the missionary disciples of Saint Ignatius.

These events were taking place about the year 1571. The King was completing his seventeenth year, and his character was daily more and more excitable, enthusiastic, and ascetic. He was no longer satisfied with hunting and the chase; he ardently desired a holy war. About this epoch a legate from Rome arrived to Portugal in the person of Cardinal Alexandrino, to ask D. Sebastian to take part in the crusade against the Turks. The excited spirit of the youthful King was doubly aroused by this petition, and by the news of the laurels won recently by the youthful knight, D. Juan of Austria, in the heroic battle of Lepanto. Not only did D. Sebastian declare himself ready to join in the alliance, but he wrote to Charles IX. of France, beseeching him to do likewise, and in order that he should not hesitate, he declared he was ready to marry Margaret of Valois, whom he had so often rejected, condoning the dowry of 400,000 cruzados, and, furthermore, lending Charles IX. an equal sum for him to make war against the Huguenots of his kingdom. Greatly as the King of France would have wished, or rather his wily mother, Catherine of Medicis, who ruled him, to accept this advantageous proposal, unfortunately it was too late. Margaret of Valois was the promised wife of Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, the future Henry IV. of France, and Catherine of Medicis, who would unscrupulously have broken her promise, could not do so now, because this marriage was the bond which was to attract to Paris the Huguenot nobles, of whose party Henry of Bourbon was the chief, and thus induced them to fall into the infamous and sanguinary plot of the 24th of August, 1572, called the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew.

Meantime D. Sebastian promised his aid to the Republic of Venice, and was arranging with the Shah of Persia how, by making a diversion towards the East, to contribute towards the happy issue of the undertaking.

But the princes of Christendom, occupied with their own internal affairs, declined to place the red cross on their shoulders, and D. Sebastian was forced to turn his feverish activity towards another channel. He ordered a powerful fleet to be equipped, ostensibly with the object of helping Charles IX. in his wars against the Huguenots, because it was disarmed, as soon as the official news reached Portugal

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

of the massacre on the night of Saint Bartholomew. But D. Sebastian, who thirsted for glory, finding that this fleet was not required for the original purpose, resolved to utilise it by proceeding to India, despite the opposition of the council. However, a furious tempest broke up the fleet while on the Tagus. But his heart was all for African wars against the infidels, and he commenced to issue regulations by which he established that service in Africa be an indispensable condition for receiving the investiture of existing military orders, and that an arrow be introduced into the habit or cloak in commemoration of the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian, for this object summoning a general Chapter of the Order of Christ in Santarem on 8th December, 1573. Pope Gregory XIII. sent him, for this ceremony, one of the authenticated arrows used in the martyrdom of the saint, and which was received with great solemnity, and immortalised by the great epic poet of the Lusiades.

The thirst for glory on African fields continued to increase, owing to the brilliant successes achieved by Portuguese arms in the East.

The glorious lustre of the Portuguese name in the East, which had become dimmed under the weak regency of the Cardinal Infante D. Henrique, once more flashed strongly and vividly during the reign of D. Sebastian ere it was extinguished. The national flag, which was so soon to be trodden under foot by the vigorous steeds of the African battalions on the fields of Alcacer Kibir, once more waved triumphantly and proudly on the lands of Asia, held by the heroic and skilful hands of men who maintained the brilliant traditions of the great Alfonso de Albuquerque.

D. Luiz de Athayde left Lisbon on the 6th of April, 1568, as Viceroy of India. He fully redressed and compensated skilfully for the errors and the mistakes of the incompetent government of D. Antão de Noronha.

On reaching the East, D. Luiz de Athayde organised at a great sacrifice a powerful fleet, which was absolutely necessary in those far-distant regions for protecting Portuguese commerce against the corsairs and the natives, and also to inspire some respect for the Portuguese name, which had fallen low, owing to the evil administration of its late governors. Moreover, the affairs of India were somewhat in an embarrassed state, and the Portuguese dominions were threatened on various sides.

The natives of Batecala were projecting to revolt; the *Tanadores*

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

threatened to disturb the tranquillity of Goa; the Samorim was the implacable and persistent enemy of the Portuguese and greatly harassed them with his piracies, and the pirate Kanatale was the terror of the seas, and in particular of Portuguese commerce. D. Luiz de Athayde at once faced all these difficulties and drove all before him, triumphing brilliantly, and furthermore inspired in his delegates courage, goodwill, and intrepid bravery.

Alfonso Pereira de Lacerda, with six ships and one galley, proceeded to crush out the projected revolts of Batecala, and when he appeared the whole people at once submitted humbly and respectfully as in the golden days of Portuguese prestige in the East. Meanwhile D. Jorge de Menezes Barocho departed with a *catur* and two galleys to chase the terrible pirate Kanatale, fearlessly attacked him, and after a fierce fight, in which the brave Indian defended himself heroically, perceiving that all hopes of conquering were over, slew his son and put an end to himself.

The Samorim was violently attacked by a squadron, at whose head stood D. Diogo de Menezes, who completely destroyed the city of Mellascharon, which was the hunting-ground of the corsairs. Martim Alfonso de Miranda, with twenty ships, was sent to watch and protect the coasts of Malabar, while Ayres Telles de Menezes was charged to repress the overbearing advances of the *Tanadores* on the suburbs of Gôa.

In this way did D. Luiz de Athayde vanquish all the difficulties against the Portuguese power in Asia which had arisen, and cut them down to the roots. Later on dangers sprang up, from other sides, with a more terrible and menacing aspect. The Portuguese, when overcoming these dangers, repeated the heroic deeds of their ancestors, and inscribed with the sword, and oftentimes with their blood, one more page of glory added to the legendary poem of the East.

Again, at this moment, commenced anew Portuguese history, to be mingled with the marvellous narrative of the deeds performed by its heroes, and the fantastic legends of the romances of chivalry.

The naval combat of Mem Lopes Carrasco bears all the marks of an epic poem. Mem Lopes, when navigating the waters of Malaca, was suddenly surrounded by a formidable squadron of the Sultan Achem, who detested the Portuguese ever since D. Diniz Pereira had compelled him, at a great loss, to raise the siege of Malaca. The squadron of the Sultan was composed of twenty junks, twenty galleys, and a hundred

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and sixty launches. The Portuguese artillery fired with such precision that after three days' fighting the Sultan found so many of his ships had been destroyed that he abandoned the spot and left the victory to be won by the Portuguese, who returned triumphantly to Malaca, although fearfully punished.

To the south of Gôa there was a city called Onor. D. Luiz de Athayde was apprised that its inhabitants had treated disdainfully his predecessor, D. Antão de Noronha, and he resolved to avenge the affront offered to him. On the 12th of November, 1569, he appeared opposite Onor with a fleet of a hundred and thirty ships, sending to land a division of 800 men, commanded by D. Francisco Mascarenhas, to intimate that the city must surrender. As the inhabitants refused to do this and attempted to resist, D. Luiz landed with 1,400 men, attacked the fortress on the south; meanwhile that Mascarenhas with his 800 men assaulted on the north and surrounded the city in a circle of iron, which grew more circumscribed, and compelled the natives to capitulate on the 24th of November.

Onor being conquered, D. Luiz left a garrison of 200 men, commanded by Jorge de Moura, and proceeded to conquer the citadel of Bracelor, which was defended by over 12,000 Indians and protected by a fortress considered almost impregnable. But the Indians, although brave and numerous, were not regularly organised and armed, and, moreover, undisciplined; hence Luiz de Athayde, by disembarking and forming a close column, advanced in a body without a moment's hesitation. The fort was easily taken, and the Indians in terror abandoned it. The Indians began to perceive the truth of the proverb that "union was strength," and finding that by being isolated and disorganised they only allowed themselves to be conquered by the Portuguese, all the princes of Malabar, with the exception of the King of Cambaya, who was at war with the Magoes, joined together and allied themselves with Hidal Khan II.; Nizamaluco, Rajah of Nisam, and the Rajah Samorim, to endeavour to expel out of every place all the Portuguese, and they had so much faith in the adage and what they should effect by their union that they were already dividing beforehand the Portuguese possessions among themselves.

D. Luiz de Athayde, however, vowed to give a formal denial of the wisdom of the nations in presence of the princes of Malabar.

The allied Indians distributed their forces for the great signal attack they were simultaneously to give the Portuguese in the following

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

order : The Rajah of Nisam, at the head of 120,000 men, horse, foot, and archers respectively commanded by 4,000 officers, many of whom were Europeans, was to march against Chaul, which was then governed by Luiz Freire d'Andrade; Hidal Khan, with 75,000 cavalry, 2,000 elephants, and 350 pieces of artillery, against Gôa, governed at the time by the Viceroy of India, D. Luiz de Athayde; and the Samorim, with 100,000 men and 40 pieces of artillery, against Chale, governed by Jorge de Castro.

When the Viceroy D. Luiz de Athayde became aware of this powerful alliance, which seriously threatened the Portuguese dominion in the East, he took all the providences that as an excellent general he deemed necessary, and with all the precaution of a brave soldier who knows how to govern heroes. Hence he selected for himself the most important and most dangerous point, and towards which the enemy would direct and concentrate its greater strength : this was Gôa.

To Chaul he sent four galleys, five foists, and 600 soldiers, commanded by D. Francisco Mascarenhas, to aid Luiz Freire d'Andrade, who had a garrison of 600 soldiers and 50 horse.

Farret Khan, who commanded the advanced troops of the bulk of the army of the Rajah of Nisam, was aware of the number of defenders of Chaul, and judged he could easily take the stronghold by surprise in a swift attack. The Portuguese warriors of Chaul quickly proved that quality was of more importance than quantity, and after three hours of fierce combat the assailants were vigorously repelled, and were forced to retire. Farret Khan then resolved to besiege it, and on the 21st December, 1570, camped, and awaited the arrival of troops to commence operations. They then surrounded the city completely, and the generals of the Rajah of Nisam, with 4,000 horse, intercepted all communication between the beleaguered stronghold and Bacaim, an adjacent fort.

The forces of the Rajah of Nisam were the first to give a regular assault, which proved as luckless as that of Farret Khan, and the Indians were repulsed with considerable loss. After this the Indians concentrated their forces to attack the prison of St. Francis, whose governor was Nuno Velho Pereira. Although the assailing column numbered 5,000 and the attack was made at three different points, the Portuguese, despite their inferiority in numbers, succeeded to repulse them energetically.

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Indians, however, persisted in destroying St. Francis, and notwithstanding the heroism of the Portuguese, their strong artillery was made to bear obstinately over the fort, and they succeeded in wrecking it, and compelled the Portuguese to surrender; but the latter were terrible in their warfare, and ere they really quitted the stronghold made a false retreat. The enemy entered triumphantly the abandoned prison, and when they judged they were its masters, the Portuguese, who had ambushed close by, suddenly assailed the edifice, but were forced for the last time to forsake the ruins where many had found their death. They then endeavoured to spring a mine beneath the houses which were outside the walls of the fort, but some powder thrown by one of the assailants set fire to the mine, and many Indians were slain as well as Portuguese.

This disaster did not discourage the Portuguese, or cool their ardour, but it encouraged the enemy, who attempted to assault the bulwark of Cruz, near the ruined houses, but were energetically repulsed by the Portuguese, who had indeed practised unheard-of acts of heroism. Among those who distinguished themselves by their brave deeds were Henrique de Bettencount, who fought like a lion on the bulwark of Cruz, using his left hand because he had lost the right in a former combat; Domingos de Alamo, who played an important part in this combat, fought sitting because both his feet had been blown off during the explosion of the mine beneath the houses around the fortress of St. Francisco; Christovam Curvo de Sequeira, who, with a lighted torch, reconnoitred calmly the rampart walls beneath a shower of shots and arrows from the enemy, and which, strangely enough, did not touch him. These were only a few of the many heroic deeds.

Towards the beginning of April the Portuguese soldiers sought, without orders, to combat the enemy on the open field, as the siege of Chaul still continued, and secretly left their entrenchments to attack the forces of the Rajah of Nisam, and slew over 150 men. The Rajah attempted a fresh assault, but was repulsed. He then quitted the battle-field, and resorted to the arms of intrigue; but the neighbouring rajahs with whom he was intriguing, by beseeching them for aid against Chaul, likewise repulsed them, because the gross intrigues of the Rajah of Nisam had been anticipated by the skilful negotiations of the clever diplomatist, Alvaro Peres de Tavora, the governor of Daman.

D. Luiz de Athayde, although still besieged in Gôa, found means to send aid to Chaul, and when on the 29th June, 1571, the Rajah

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

gave a decisive assault, in which he employed all his forces, he was beaten with great losses, and forced to raise the siege.

Meanwhile let us glance at what was passing in Gôa. The tactics of Hidal Khan were more deeply planned, but not more successful. His troops, instead of converging towards one only point, were distributed along the margins of the river Gôa and the passes of Benastarim, Agaçaim, and Sapal, and their first care was to intercept the current of the river Gôa, hoping to enter by that way, and for this object constructing large defences, which Luiz de Athayde allowed them unmolested to erect, but as soon as finished he destroyed by a round of artillery.

The enemy then concentrated its activity and whole attention on the fortress of Benastarim, which seemed, and was, in effect, the most easy of access. But no sooner did Athayde suspect the intentions of the enemy than he passed on to Benastarim, feeling the danger it was in, and immediately raised a wooden paling and earthworks, which placed the fortress safe from the enemy's fire, and then commenced to make daily sorties to irritate and decimate the enemy's ranks. Aid of some importance, the fleet of Luiz de Mello da Silva, arrived, which had just destroyed the squadron of the Sultan of Acheem, and the fleet of D. Diogo de Menezes. These proceedings completely nonplussed the tactics of Hidal Khan, and effectually disheartened his forces. Hidal Khan, similarly to the Rajah of Nisam in Chaul, attempted a decisive assault, but Luiz de Athayde continued his system of turning an offensive war into a defensive one, and therefore he did not await the attack, but sent out D. Fernando de Monroy to meet the assailants, and completely routed them. Finding himself thus crushed, Hidal Khan had recourse to the expedient of the above-mentioned rajah. He endeavoured to form new alliances with the neighbouring rajahs, in order to attack Onor. But fate was against the Indian rajahs. The besiegers of Onor were thoroughly beaten by the Portuguese under the command of D. Jorge de Moura, who captured all their artillery, and Hidal Khan was forced to raise the siege, after seven months, these months being spent in constant routing by the Portuguese, and in permanent glorious victories.

Chale was another point of discord for the princes of the East. In this place the Portuguese were less successful, and the chroniclers only record one heroic deed. The rest of the action is dimmed unfortunately by a domestic drama which became transformed into a national shame.

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Chale was governed by D. Jorge de Castro, a veteran of eighty, but who on the battlefield was as courageous and brave as a young man; moreover, he had a youthful, pretty wife. The Samorim, to whom in the imaginary distribution of the Portuguese possessions Chale had fallen as his share, was far more expert than his allies, and allowed Hidal Khan and the Rajah of Nisam to besiege Chaul and Gôa, and quietly waited until the winter, when it would be improbable that Chale should be succoured by sea from any of the Portuguese possessions.

D. Jorge de Castro was completely illuded by the proceeding of the Indian prince, and judged he had separated from the alliance, and ceased to think about the siege. To his great surprise, he beheld one day that the bar of Chale had been intercepted by twenty pieces of artillery belonging to the Samorim, and the shore carefully fortified by the Indian soldiers. D. Jorge de Castro, in great trepidation, besought aid from the Viceroy of India, D. Antonio de Noronha, who had at the time been substituted for Athayde, and the Viceroy departed at once for Chale with a small fleet. On reaching the bar and finding it completely blockaded by the enemy, Pereira Camello, who accompanied him, bravely and boldly, with a few soldiers, forced his way amid that terrible bulwark of ships, and, at the risk of his life, succeeded in entering the stronghold, where he was received most enthusiastically.

On his return to Caim, D. Antonio de Noronha sent another squadron, under the command of D. Diogo de Menezes, to succour De Castro. Finding this fleet insufficient, he proceeded to Coxim for a further reinforcement of three ships, and, with this addition, was able to force the bar and take provisions into the fortress.

These aids perturbed the Samorim, who decided upon not waiting for the end of winter, but at once to make a general assault on Chale, which, however, was heroically repelled. This feat, performed by the besieged Portuguese, instilled courage into D. Diogo, who then forced the bar, and was able to reinforce the stronghold which had been so fearfully assailed.

D. Diogo now returned to Coxim to equip another squadron to relieve the fort. However, when this fleet was prepared, and furnished with 1,500 men had arrived at Chale, it was too late. The fortress had surrendered, owing to the pleadings of the young and fascinating wife of the aged Governor of Chale, D. Jorge de Castro, who was terrified, and induced her husband to surrender. D. Diogo could only avenge this shameful surrender of the Portuguese by bombarding many

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

fortresses of the Samorim, and setting fire to all the ships he found on the coasts of Malabar.

Mozambique afforded far less glory to the Portuguese than did India. Whilst D. Luiz de Athayde cast the last rays of vivid glory over the early years of the reign of D. Sebastian, Francisco Barreto, who subsequently became Viceroy of India, was sent out to Mozambique by order of the youthful monarch, to avenge the death of a Portuguese missionary in Monomotapa, called Gonçalo de Silveira. Barreto was charged not only to exact a plenary satisfaction from the Emperor of Monomotapa, but likewise to explore the important silver mines which were said to exist in Mozambique. On the 18th December, 1571, Francisco Barreto arrived at Sena with great military show, after visiting Mozambique and remaining there several months in order to control the Moors.

When the Caffres saw Barreto disembark in Sena with his 700 soldiers, they became terrified and fled, concealing themselves, and then commenced, in place of an open honest war, a terrible conflict, vile, treacherous, against the Portuguese, by endeavouring to poison them in their food, instead of meeting them, assegai in hand, in the fields and palm groves.

The Emperor of Monomotapa gave Barreto, through his envoys, the demanded satisfaction and all the concessions exacted. Barreto then struck his camp in Chicova, leaving it garrisoned with 200 men, and proceeded to Tete to find a means to end this cruel war of the Caffres, and tap the mines. It was a mistake to leave these 200 men, although brave ones, in the midst of a whole population of the fiercest enemies.

As soon as the Caffres knew that these 200 men were in Chicova, they proceeded to attack them, but were repulsed. Then they surrounded the Portuguese, and calmly awaited their time to starve them out, by not allowing any food to be supplied them. They judged that the Portuguese would surrender through famine; but this heroic band, led by Antonio Cardoso de Almeida, bravely resolved to meet their death on the battle-field rather than the cowardly one of starvation. Losing all hopes of being rescued, the Portuguese quitted Chicova, and bravely ran against their numerous and implacable enemies, and, sword in hand, fought until their last breath.

When Francisco Barreto, who was in Tete preparing a reinforcement, received the news of the heroic but disastrous death of the

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

garrison, he became stricken with grief, and died a short time after from the sad shock.

Such were the melancholy results of this expedition to Africa; it was the sad presage of the terrible drama which Portuguese history was to represent in African lands.

All great deeds were at an end in India. In the same way as the disaster of Chicova was the prelude to the misfortunes of Africa, so likewise were the heroic deeds performed in Chaul and Gôa the epilogue of the glories of India.

In Northern Africa a sad disaster occurred. Tangiers was at the time governed by Ruy Lourenço de Carvalho, one of the heroic soldiers of the celebrated siege of Masagão. It appears D. Sebastian was not satisfied with the small victories which Carvalho was slowly but surely gaining over the infidels of Tangiers, and thought proper to censure his want of activity and daring.

The veteran soldier, deeply wounded at the unjust censure passed by the young and inexperienced sovereign who filled the Portuguese throne, wished to manifest that he feared not death, nor had forgotten the heroic epoch of Masagão, and sallied out on the field with thirty soldiers against 2,000 Moorish ones, and fought like a lion until he fell lifeless, after receiving a hundred and ten wounds.

D. Luiz Fernandes de Vasconcellos had been nominated to succeed Mem de Sá as Governor of Brazil. Vasconcellos departed in 1570 in a fleet of seven ships from Lisbon with forty Jesuit missionaries, at whose head was Father Ignacio d'Azevedo. On reaching the heights of the Canary Islands one of the ships became separated from the fleet, and was captured by a Protestant corsair, who put to death all the Jesuits, venerated as martyrs by the Catholic Church. When close to the coast of Brazil the rest of the squadron was attacked by five Protestant ships, and the governor was slain. Hence Mem de Sá continued to govern Brazil.

The first expedition of D. Sebastian to Africa, or rather the first act of the short and lugubrious tragedy called Alcacer Kibir, lasted only two months and a half.

D. Sebastian had dreamed, for a great length of time, golden visions of war and of holy triumphs gained over the infidels.

In the Court all calm and prudent-minded persons were against such rashness, which only illuded youthful and brainless spirits. The Cardinal D. Henrique, the Queen D. Catherina, and even Luiz

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Gonçalves da Camara, despite that all three were at open war with one another, yet on this point were unanimous in counselling the King not to risk his person in this reckless project, in which they foresaw the saddest results.

But D. Sebastian had tutored himself for a long time to not heeding the authoritative and friendly voice of the Queen Regent, nor the counsels of the Cardinal Infante, which oftentimes were safe and wise ones; and he even was beginning to close his ears to the only voice which, up to that day, he had ever respected and been his guide, that of his confessor, favourite, and minister, the Jesuit Luiz Gonçalves.

Not meeting with approval from his favourite, nor from his uncle D. Henrique, nor the Queen mother, D. Sebastian nevertheless did not desist from his project, but to the contrary was obstinate and pertinacious, and began to withdraw from his councillors and to prepare all things secretly in order to realise unaided, and heedless of just and severe censures, the idea he had conceived. Without consulting any one, he sent the Prior of Crato, D. Antonio, to Tangiers as its governor, in place of Ruy de Sousa Carvalho, and on the plea of the summer heat felt in Lisbon, D. Sebastian retired to Cintra in the month of August, 1574, in order the better to mature his warlike projects of the expedition to Africa. On the 15th of the same month a royal galliot, which he had ordered to be constructed, was launched on the Tagus, and the King came from Cintra to Belem to assist at the ceremony, and to the embarkation of troops in this as well as in other galleys, which he had had secretly equipped with the object of proceeding to Africa. He also gave confidential instructions to the admiral of this fleet to await him in Cascaes.

On the 17th the city of Lisbon was thrown into a great state of excitement and terror at the report which spread throughout the country that the King had disappeared, accompanied by some of the highest nobles of the kingdom. That he was about to embark in Cascaes in the fleet commanded by D. Ferdinand Alves de Noronha, which was ordered to follow on to the Algarve. For many days Lisbon was anxiously expecting news of the King, and at length the Cardinal D. Henrique received a letter from his royal nephew dated from Lagos, 20th of August, in which the King of Portugal informed him that he was going on to Africa, and inviting all the nobles who should wish to join him at Lagos. He delivered up the regency of the kingdom during his absence to the Cardinal D. Henrique, to the deep disappointment of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

his confessor, Luiz Gonçalves da Camara, who imagined he had every right to the regency.

Many nobles hastened to answer the call of their King, and went to join the King's fleet, taking a force of 1,000 horse and 500 foot, and together proceeded to Ceuta, where he was received with all the solemnities due to the King of Portugal by the Marquis de Villa Real, who was then governing the stronghold.

The King was brimming with warlike desires and impetuous wishes for the combat, but in Ceuta he was fain to cool this impetuosity and feverish ardour.

The Moors, terrified at the arrival of the King of Portugal and of the prestige it carried, did not attempt the faintest skirmish, and the King and his nobles not meeting enemies to fight, were fain to be contented with hunting and the chase. Hence as the enemy would not come forward in Ceuta, D. Sebastian, like any modern hero in a burlesque opera, went to seek him in Tangiers. Fate was somewhat more propitious to him at this latter place. The Emir of Morocco sent the Governor of Mequinez with some troops to reconnoitre the army of the Portuguese King. As soon as D. Sebastian sighted the Moorish troops, he ran against them and performed heroic deeds, which were imitated by his followers, who were incited by the example and the presence of the young King.

In truth, history may call D. Sebastian a fanatic, reckless and foolhardy, but never a coward. The great defect of his character was in being over-brave.

The Moors had really not come to combat, but simply to observe the strength of the army accompanying the King of Portugal, and they found that not only had they fulfilled their mission by beholding the Portuguese army, but had also experienced its power, and so they fled.

D. Sebastian attributed this precipitate flight of the Moors to the terror inspired by his presence; and thereby the lofty idea he held of himself, the prestige of his name and of his arms, considerably increased, while the contempt for infidels proportionately augmented, and from that moment the idea of becoming the conqueror of Morocco took complete possession of his spirit as a deed the simplest and easiest in the world to perform.

From Portugal began to arrive to Tangiers petitions from all the ablest statesmen for the King to return. The King pretended to yield,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and departed for Lisbon; but not with the sincere wish of acceding to the will of his vassals, but simply with the secret idea of preparing a new expedition, more complete, stronger, louder, and which would conquer the domination of the infidels, and resound throughout the world, and assign to him a brilliant place in history, side by side with the greatest of conquerors.

This first expedition to Africa, which lasted less than three months, nevertheless effected a great change in the home policy of the kingdom.

During this short space of time the brothers Camara lost their high importance and superior influence, which it may be said they had held over the monarch from his cradle.

Martim Gonçalves had perfect confidence in his power over the spirit of the King, and it was this very confidence which proved his loss. He allowed his royal pupil to depart with military braves who detested the two Jesuits that governed the kingdom. He allowed, for the first time, the King to be separated from them, and soon felt the first effects of this withdrawal.

As soon as D. Sebastian was separated from his preceptor and confessor, he delivered over the regency to the Cardinal Infante, to the great disappointment of the Jesuit, who, as we have said, judged he had the best right to govern the kingdom in the absence of the King, forasmuch as he had governed it underhand when present. Moreover, during this first voyage D. Sebastian, like all fiery and highly wrought minds, allowed himself to be easily governed by the nearest person who knew how to win his confidence, and he completely fell into the suggestions of D. Alvaro de Castro, the son of the hero of India, who thoroughly and skilfully dissected the vanity, semi-idiotic, of the young King.

D. Alvaro de Castro, without ever opening his lips in detriment of Martim Gonçalves, nevertheless waged an implacable war against him. He perfectly understood the King, he knew how vain he was, and without openly attacking the Jesuit, led the King to comprehend that the whole nation judged he was only the obedient pupil of Martim Gonçalves, and that in reality they held him as the actual King of Portugal.

The blow was levelled true, and hit the right spot. When the King returned to the kingdom he was no longer pining for his former favourite, councillor, and master. All things appeared to combine together to the fall of the Jesuits.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

D. Sebastian was arriving to Lisbon little disposed to favour Martim Gonçalves, and what did he find?

He found the Jesuit had sullenly retired to the convent of Bemfica, because, forsooth, the regency had not been conferred on him; and, moreover, had affronted the Cardinal D. Henrique by refusing to exercise his charge under his orders.

The Cardinal was justly offended, and D. Sebastian was exceedingly annoyed at the pride which had instigated the proceeding of his master, who thought himself superior to every one else and beyond the pale of censure. This crowned the work of the new Camarilla which D. Sebastian was bringing from Africa.

Martim Gonçalves was completely put aside in the heart of the King; yet the only one who could not see it, who did not feel that the hour of his end was about to strike, was Martim Gonçalves himself.

D. Alvaro de Castro was appointed in his place, and Martim Gonçalves da Camara was neither heard nor sent for: Christovão de Tavora was also nominated to the Privy Council, and Luiz da Silva.

The party of the Queen-mother D. Catherina, on perceiving the power which the conspiracy of the young nobility against the Jesuits, their old and implacable enemies, was assuming, now joined them, and drew towards it new forces, in the secret aid of Philip II. of Spain.

Blinded by vanity and pride, Martim Gonçalves da Camara imagined that his influence and power were unassailable, and that D. Sebastian would ever be in his regard the obedient, timid pupil, and therefore instead of fearlessly confronting the conspiracy and openly combat it, he did not even perceive what was looming, and remained quietly in Lisbon, while the King proceeded to the Algarve, surrounded solely and simply by all the enemies of the Jesuits.

The voyage to Africa was the first blow given to the power of Martim Gonçalves da Camara, and this journey to the Algarve was the decisive one.

D. Alvaro de Castro, who now enjoyed a great influence over the spirit of the King, did not conceal matters with that diplomatic reserve he had employed in Africa, and clearly informed him that the administration of the brothers Camara was most objectionable, and that their financial measures had ruined the whole country, and added that these measures served to render it well-nigh impossible to organise another expedition against the Moors of Africa.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

These words made a deep impression on the heart of the King, as it levelled a blow to the most vulnerable part—his pride. The death of Luiz Gonçalves da Camara on the 15th March, 1575, contributed to the complete fall of the favourite minister, and an act of Martim Gonçalves which he performed later on afforded a motive for the King to manifest openly his displeasure, and also an occasion for his enemies, the new favourites of the King, to give him the *coup de grace*.

It appears one of his brothers had died, leaving a widow: this lady was of high family, and greatly esteemed by the noblest families of the realm. However, D. Maria de Noronha soon after remaining a widow fell in love with a man of inferior condition, and breaking through all worldly restrictions, married him. Martim Gonçalves was deeply enraged at this marriage, and as he considered himself absolute ruler of the kingdom, ordered the lady, his sister-in-law, to be dragged through the streets with hands tied and fastened on a mule, exposed to the shame and scorn of the people, and afterwards be cast in a dungeon.

His orders were carried out in all their brutality, and on passing the Church of Santo Antonio, the poor lady leaped from the mule to take refuge in the sanctuary, judging that she was being conducted to the scaffold. She fell to the ground, and as her hands were fastened together, she could do nothing to save herself and rise, or arrange her disordered dress.

This act of the Jesuit caused a violent impression in the city, and a general feeling of indignation, especially among the higher classes, against his base vengeance, who felt insulted in the infamous outrage practised on that lady. The Queen D. Catherina likewise expressed herself deeply offended at the shameful punishment inflicted on D. Maria de Noronha, and at once sent in a protest in her name and in that of all the nobility to the King, her grandson, against the brutal violence of his favourite.

D. Sebastian took the part of his royal grandmother and of the nobility, and as he for a long time had sought an opportunity for dismissing Martim Gonçalves, when the latter, perfectly confident of the support of the King, entered the palace, the King turned his back upon him, and from his chamber sent to demand of him on whose authority he had ordered his sister-in-law to be apprehended and punished.

It was only then that Martim Gonçalves perceived the real state of affairs. It was clear and positive that his reign was over, and he

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

perfectly comprehended it now and quitted the palace, never more to return.

A few days later the King formed his new ministry, and Martim Gonçalves da Camara no longer was summoned to form one of the Council of State. The new Council included Pedro d'Alcaçova Carneiro, the former Secretary of State of D. João III., and the faithful partisan of the Queen Regent; Manuel Quaresma Barreto, and D. Francisco de Portugal.

The place of Martim Gonçalves da Camara by the side of the King had long ago been taken by D. Alvaro de Castro, who was now in truth the actual minister. Unfortunately for the King and for the country, Alvaro de Castro died soon after his accession to power, and it is firmly believed that had he lived his acknowledged intelligence and weighty counsels would have withdrawn the King from the fatal road to Alcacer Kibir, and saved the kingdom from its results. But after losing this trusty servant D. Sebastian gave himself up to his caprices and his adventuresome disposition, and commenced to carry out his plans for a second expedition to Africa. His new favourites possessed neither the experience nor the intelligence, nor indeed the courage to point out to him the dangers of this expedition. Among them only one could have raised a voice authoritative and unprejudiced in the councils of the King, this was Christovão de Tavora, but this individual was sincerely of the King's opinion, and he beheld in Africa a vast field for conquests and for glory, and himself a valiant warrior, second to none, besought no better occasion to manifest who he was and what he could do.

The first step taken by D. Sebastian towards carrying out the second expedition to Africa was to ask the alliance of Philip II. against the infidels. Pedro d'Alcaçova was sent as envoy to arrange this alliance with the King of Spain, and, in order to further it, D. Sebastian authorised his envoy to ask in marriage, for the King of Portugal, the hand of the Spanish princess, Isabel Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II.

This was his customary plan, when he wished to gain an alliance, to ask in marriage the hand of a princess. He made use of his affections like any modern coquette. He besought the hand of Margaret of Valois when he desired to have Charles IX. as an ally in the crusade against the infidels. And now when he needed the alliance of Philip II. to conquer Morocco, he was ready to marry his daughter

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

"D. Sebastian," observes Pinheiro Chagas, "does not resolve upon taking a wife but when preparing to find a means of leaving her a widow."

Philip II., who appointed the Duke de Alba his plenipotentiary to confer with the envoy of the King of Portugal, soon made known that he was in no ways disposed to enter into a war against the Moors; and the Duke de Alba, like a skilful diplomatist, evaded giving a direct refusal, by suggesting that a matter of such high importance ought to be discussed personally between the two monarchs in a private interview, an interview which was arranged to take place at Christmas of 1576, during the feasts held in the Monastery of Guadalupe.

During this interview D. Philip gave only wise and prudent counsels to the Portuguese King, endeavouring to convince him against such an expedition, whose disastrous results he could not have possibly foreseen, because all the great military successes of the Portuguese had resulted from fearless and even reckless adventures. With great good sense he suggested to D. Sebastian that in order to take Larache—this being the plausible pretext given by him, because it had become a dangerous port for Spain and Portugal ever since the Turks assisted to place Abd-el-Melek on the throne of Morocco—it was unnecessary to risk the person of the King, and it would be amply sufficient to send an expedition under the command of a trusty person, such as the Duke de Alba, who at once had offered to go.

But the high-mettled Portuguese King refused to listen to this, and furthermore took the offer of the Duke de Alba as a wish to rob him of glory, and the prudent advice of Philip II. he treated as no more than jealousy and envy felt by the King of Spain for the renown and power which that African expedition would bring to Portugal; hence he would not yield a single point of his senseless and imprudent intentions.

D. Philip, finding that his counsels were unheeded, and no doubt inwardly rejoicing at the obstinacy of his nephew, which was opening an easy path to his persevering ambition of making Portugal a province of his kingdom, did not insist, but not wishing to refuse everything to him, consented to the marriage he had proposed, and to aid the expedition by sending 50 galleys and 5,000 men. D. Sebastian departed more firmly resolved than ever to make war to the infidels on the African shores, and add Morocco to his crown. There was no moving

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

him from this disastrous intention, and every petition or counsel was unheeded and even scorned.

The new nobility, fresh and spirited, which clustered around him were sure of his protection and friendship against the constant vote of the veteran statesmen and friends of Portugal in the discussions which the monarch held with them. Indeed, few were the courtiers who now dared to oppose his warlike projects, and even the Bishop Osorio, not wishing to actually thwart the express will of the King, endeavoured by other means to deter him. The Bishop said that he approved of another great expedition to Africa being projected, but that it would be expedient to await a favourable moment, and an occasion when the intestine combats of the Moors would render easy and safe an attack from the Christians. These intestine wars soon rose up for the misfortune of Portugal, and the words of the Bishop were turned by the monarch as so many arguments for engaging in a battle in which the country was to be crushed.

We will give the reader a rapid sketch of the origin of these intestine wars as we find them explicitly narrated in the chronicle of Father Bernardo da Cruz.

The chronicler minutely relates the civil wars of Mauritania and their causes. It is most interesting to follow the Portuguese chronicler step by step across Barbary, and see how fate sowed discord amongst the petty kings of Mauritania, and apparently prepared a favourable occasion for D. Sebastian to start the second expedition to Africa, the fatal event of Alcacer Kibir. Let us hear what the chronicler says.

"After the empire of the kings of Barbary had been broken up by Christian arms, an empire which formerly comprehended the kingdoms of Argel, Tunis, Carthage, and extends as far as Spain, there came some lords to take possession of the principal provinces, which they called kingdoms, and they styled themselves kings. These were divided into six. The kingdom of Fez, whose king was called Hamet Almerini; Morocco, held by Mahomet Bocénchut; Talifet, by Araarben Abdelmelecht; and Tremecem, whose king was Beroeren. There were also the kingdoms of Sus and Dara; these being, in the time of the Xarifes, occupied and divided into portions possessed by Alcaides, who lived as free lords, and held these lands as seigniories, and were not under the obedience of any king."

It would be tedious to follow all the changes and combats which

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

took place, but it suffices to mention the actual events which induced D. Sebastian to proceed to Africa.

Muley Maluco, assisted by the King of Argel, prepared a strong army and marched to conquer Fez. The Xarife Muley Hamet, on learning this, took up arms, and with his Moors came to encounter the Turks commanded by Maluco. A fierce battle ensued, in which the Moors at first had the best of it, but at length the Turks spread a false report along the victorious ranks of their enemies of the treachery of Almoxecra, the great general of the Xarife Muley Hamet.

Muley, naturally cowardly and timid, believed the news and fled. The Moors, on witnessing the flight of the Xarife, lost all moral courage, and the Turks gained the day. Muley Maluco victoriously entered into Fez with all the honours of a king.

Soon after, the Xarife, who had taken refuge in Morocco, attempted a second battle to reconquer Fez. This battle was unsuccessful, and despite the disproportion of forces, Muley Maluco, being a skilful strategist, won the day. Again did the Xarife fly to Morocco. Here he was persecuted by his brother, and the Xarife was forced to take refuge in the mountains. Trusting to the hospitality received from the Morabites—a religious sect dwelling in the mountains—he attempted to take Sus and Dura, where he was, however, repulsed and routed. Again did the Xarife attempt a combat, and again repulsed, proceeded to Morocco, taking advantage of the absence of Muley Maluco to sack and rob the Jewish quarter. When Maluco was apprised of the terror he was spreading in Morocco, he came to seek him out. As soon as he approached, the Xarife fled to take refuge close to the fortress of Pinhel, belonging to Castille. It was then that, finding fate pursued him unmercifully, and that Muley Maluco was triumphant in Barbary, he besought D. Sebastian to aid him, placing in him his only hope of regaining his kingdoms. This was in 1578.

The petition of the Xarife Muley Hamet was the pretext put forth by D. Sebastian for carrying out his second expedition to Africa—a project which was combated and deprecated by all loyal Portuguese of good sense and friends of the nation. Christovão de Tavora and Luiz da Silva, his new favourites, were youthful nobles, reckless, inexperienced, full of love of glory and of display, and at the same time courtiers and flatterers of the King; and these were the only ones who approved of his plans of conquering Africa.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

As may be inferred, D. Sebastian only listened to these new friends, who sought to please him, and he at once made all necessary preparations for this great and showy expedition, which was calculated, in their opinion, to astonish the world, but which was to end in the fall of Portugal. But money was urgently needed to meet the fabulous, extraordinary expenses of such an expedition.

Philip II., as we have seen, had refused to take part in the war, but had promised D. Sebastian, at the interview held in Guadalupe, to send him 50 vessels and 5,000 men to proceed to Africa. However, when the moment arrived for fulfilling his promise, he declined to do so, urging his inability by a reasonable pretext which Muley Maluco had furnished him.

Muley Maluco had, it appeared, thrown all the responsibility of Alcacer Kibir upon the shoulders of D. Sebastian, but when he knew that the Portuguese were coming over to Africa, hastened to make most advantageous proposals to Portugal in order to avoid a war, pledging himself not to allow the Turks to enter Morocco, and to secure every means of subsistence to the Portuguese citadels in Africa, and also to end all the raids which were constantly disquieting them.

D. Sebastian foolishly refused proudly all these conciliatory proposals. Muley then apprised Spain of this refusal, and it was on this imprudent and unjustifiable refusal that Philip II. based his grounds for the non-fulfilment of his promise.

Thus D. Sebastian was left deficient of the important contingent of 50 vessels and 5,000 men. In order to raise money D. Sebastian had recourse to every possible means, and even went so far as, putting aside his fanaticism, to allow the Jews for ten years immunity from their properties being sequestrated, in consideration of 240,000 cruzados. He obtained from the Pope, Gregory XIII., on the plea that the Church was interested in this war against the infidels, a bull as for a crusade, and the tributes of the churches. However, these tributes were never paid, because the clergy rose up against this imposition, and the King was obliged to yield, and be satisfied with receiving a round sum of 150,000 cruzados. But all this was insufficient, and he was forced to levy a tax on all properties and to raise loans. Money was expended on all sides, and daily fresh amounts were needed. D. Sebastian raised troops from foreign lands, from Germany 3,000, from Spain 3,000, and he engaged the Italian soldiers commanded by the Irish officer Thomas Stukeley, who had ported in Lisbon

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

on his way to Ireland to raise a revolution against the English Protestants.

Thomas Stukeley, who had been created Marquis of Leinster by the Pope, hesitated to accede to the request of the King of Portugal to accompany him to Africa, notwithstanding the great advantages offered by D. Sebastian, but at length he consented, and departed without awaiting the permission he had sent for to the Pope.

The 3,000 Spaniards whom D. Philip had permitted his nephew to recruit were commanded by D. Alfonso de Aguilar, and among the superior officers were Luiz de Cordova and Captain Aldaña, a veteran soldier of the Duke de Alba, who had lately come from Africa, and had seen, and expressed to Philip II. the invincible difficulties attached to the daring expedition projected by the King of Portugal.

The presence of this experienced strategic officer attached to the Portuguese army which was about to march upon Africa, where he well knew there was nothing to hope for, induces a suspicion that this individual, who stated one thing to his king and master and a totally different one to the Portuguese king, and even encouraged him to follow his warlike impulses, was not altogether ignorant or uninformed of the ambitious plans which were being engendered in the spirit of Philip of Castille.

The troops levied throughout the country were only 9,000, and these were from the lowest ranks, weak and cowardly, a dispirited band. The recruiting officers delegated subordinates to collect men, and these resorted to the greatest violence, and led to a species of auction, in which those who offered most bought out their exemption from service in Africa. Hence the ranks were filled with a terribly despondent band.

The most brilliant corps was that of the nobility, numbering some 2,000, commanded by Christovão de Tavora.

The whole army to be taken by D. Sebastian to Africa numbered 24,000 men, including 400 nobles, and servants and soldiers raised at their expense, and the garrisons of Arzilla and Tangiers, and the Moors of Muley Hamet.

The expedition was brilliant, but incapable and impotent. D. Sebastian could not muster sufficient forces to combat against the powerful armies of Africa; he knew not how to gather around him generals who could compete in dexterity, tact, and military skill with the celebrated Muley Maluco.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

From this moment we find the shadow of Philip II. ever looming over the catastrophe which the recklessness of his nephew was bringing over the country.

D. Pedro d'Alcaçova, who divined what passed in the ambitious spirit of the King of Spain, once more counselled D. Sebastian to distrust the motive for not fulfilling his promises, and to desist from his reckless undertaking.

D. Sebastian listened to the advice given, and, as was his custom, paid no heed to it. Meanwhile the sums drawn at great and scandalous sacrifices only reached 700,000 cruzados, while the current expenses were 800,000, without reckoning upon the unavoidable outlay which would be incurred in Larache, and the means needed to equip the fleet of the Count de Athouguia, the new Viceroy.

This veteran was once again Governor of India, and the first Portuguese general of that time. Notwithstanding his vain desires of commanding in person the war of Africa, D. Sebastian felt that he could not properly omit to offer the Count the command of the expedition, to which he had every right, as due to his military glory and signal services.

The veteran soldier, however, declined the charge offered by the King, and D. Sebastian, delighted with this refusal, which fostered his own desires, then took occasion to nominate him Viceroy of India, where affairs had become complicated. By this act he withdrew from his side the man who might disturb him with his counsels, and also a sword whose glory might dim his own. Another valiant soldier, and one of the greatest heroes of India, Martim Affonso de Sousa, was also placed out of the pale of this expedition.

This aged and honest warrior of India knew not how to belie his conscience or flatter the King against the good of the nation, and seeing clearly the risk which the country ran by this African war, spoke in the palace strong words against the project. These words were heard by the King, and a violent scene followed between the monarch and the soldier, with the result that D. Sebastian deprived himself of one more brave, heroic sword in his expedition to Africa.

While all this was passing in the mother country, let us glance at the state of affairs in the Portuguese colonies. India continued to be governed by the weak hands of D. Antonio de Noronha, while the discipline which D. Luiz de Athayde had strengthened during his first glorious term of office was well-nigh put aside, and the magnificent squadrons which he had organised were reduced to nothing.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

D. Antonio de Noronha had departed from Lisbon with the new Governor of Malacca, Antonio Moniz Barreto. When arranging his departure to his post, ships and men were necessary. These were not to be had. The coffers of India were empty, and Noronha had no means. Barreto demanded several times, but as no troops or ships were forthcoming, he became irritated, and forgot that it was against the Governor of India that he spoke bitter things. But Noronha had neither force nor energy to make him remember his duty, and as Antonio Barreto persisted in his refusal to proceed to his post unless with a fleet and proper escort, he disobeyed the orders of the Governor and remained in Gôa, thus affording a terrible and contagious example of insubordination, and, moreover, intrigued with the ministers in Lisbon against the Governor with such effect that the Portuguese Government ordered the Archbishop of Gôa to depose D. Antonio de Noronha and appoint Antonio Moniz Barreto his successor.

This was indeed to glorify insubordination and intrigue. Moniz Barreto took the governorship, and Noronha soon after died from sorrow. D. Leoniz Pereira was then nominated Governor of Malacca in place of Moniz Barreto.

A similar scene was now enacted. Leoniz Pereira demanded of Barreto ships and troops as he himself had demanded of Noronha. Moniz Barreto refused, just as Noronha had refused him, but being more energetic than D. Antonio de Noronha, he did not allow him to raise his voice againt him in India.

Leoniz Pereira then proceeded to Portugal to lodge his complaints, but no one heeded him, and he did not meet with the success of Moniz Barreto, who had himself acted a similar scene in this dismal comedy. Meanwhile Malacca was passing on to the hands of the sovereign of Japara, one of the kingdoms of the island of Java, which he besieged in 1574. It was saved by Tristão Vaz de Veiga, who ported there about the time, and compelled the people to raise the siege after three months, due to the vigorous sorties led by João Pereira.

In Malabar D. João da Costa cruelly battled against the Samorim, avenging in a brilliant manner the loss of Chale, whose aged governor, D. Jorge de Castro, had surrendered the stronghold owing to the tears and petition of his young wife, and was ordered to be beheaded, no respect being paid to his advanced age of eighty; and after this order was carried out, D. Sebastian actually nominates him governor of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

another stronghold! Such was the state of the Portuguese ministers in Lisbon, whose heads were solely occupied with the projected war of Africa. And while all this was going on, D. Alvaro de Athayde was being expelled out of the Moluccas by the Sultan of Ternate, and forced to take refuge in the island of Tidor.

The governorship of Antonio Moniz Barreto, brutal and insolent, lasted from 1573 to 1576. His successor was D. Diogo de Menezes, because Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, who was nominated Viceroy of India in place of Moniz Barreto, died during the journey and ere he reached Gôa. D. Diogo de Menezes was a complete nullity, and allowed during his governorship Ruy Pires de Tavora, who had gone to a port of Hidal Khan to demand some ships of the Samorim, with whom he was at war and who had taken refuge there, and as he had justly refused it, to completely destroy and raze to the ground the place, Portugal being at the time in perfect peace with Hidal Khan, a peace which a plenipotentiary had come to Lisbon to sign. The result of this may be foreseen. D. Diogo and D. Antonio de Silveira were treacherously attacked in Dabul by a general of Hidal Khan, and a new war was kindled with this prince. The Sultan of Acheem likewise about this time threatened anew Malacca, but was completely destroyed by Mathias de Albuquerque, who slew 1,600 men and captured three galleys.

The arrival of D. Luiz de Athayde, who had been a second time appointed Governor of India, put an end to these wars. His name was so respected and feared throughout the East that the envoy sent by Hidal Khan to Lisbon to sign the peace treaty, when he returned to India, said that of all he had seen, naught had impressed him so much with astonishment as the form of D. Luiz de Athayde, as he stood erect in the cabinet of D. Sebastian, he who had been the terror of Asia. From this he inferred that D. Sebastian was the greatest monarch of the world, because his vassals were such heroes that in other kingdoms they would have been honoured as princes.

As soon as Athayde arrived to India, like the faithful servant of his King and ardent lover of his country that he was, he revealed the news of the King's intention to proceed to Africa and combat the Moors. This he did with the object of recruiting some brave fidalgos for the expedition which he himself had been so much against, but which, finding all his efforts useless, he now desired to render successful. But the news was already known, owing to D. Sebastian having ordered a loan to be raised among the allied Kings of India, and when D. Luiz

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

de Athayde was publishing to the Eastern nations that D. Sebastian was proceeding to conquer Africa, the "Desired" King was already crushed, and with him the kingdom, beneath the hoofs of the African war-horses on the fields of Alcacer Kibir.

But let us return to Lisbon, and witness the tremendous agitation which the expedition to Africa was producing.

The beautiful city had all the appearance of a warlike city of ancient times; the echoes were constantly awakened by the beating of drums; soldiers of all nationalities, German, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, elbowed each other in the streets and often sparred together in fierce, useless strifes, provoked by the bursting out of small rivalries and large odiums, and precious blood was spilt and wasted in the night watches and praças of Lisbon, which was wanted to water African lands, to the complete contempt for the laws of discipline, indispensable to all powerful and well-organised armies.

The Portuguese also took part in these terrible combats, in which pervaded national revenges and engendered dangerous incompatibilities, until at length D. Sebastian was forced, in view of the scandal produced by these continual fights, to issue an order that any one who drew the sword in these personal questions should be guilty of death and condemned without trial. But this order afforded a small result, despite its severity, and the insubordination of the army rose superior to all fear of threats, and a few days later the port became the theatre of a veritable fierce battle between the Portuguese troops of the Duke of Braganza and a company of Castillians.

On the other hand, the insubordination of the soldiers afforded a singular contrast to the ruinous luxury of the officers.

The second African expedition was entered into by the young Portuguese fidalgos with showy mien, as though it were some luxurious festival, a grand spectacle, and each one prepared for it as though they were so many women decking themselves for a ball, and only thought how best to outvie each other, fascinate the world, and attract the notice of the King by extraordinary display of wealth and the rich ornamentation of their equipment. The nobility of Portugal manifested a marvellous *mise-en-scène* in this sad and deplorable expedition. It was a Babylonian display; gold, precious stones, costly velvets and rich silks surmounted the equipment of the Portuguese warriors, and in truth resembled rather the fantastic costumes of a princely fancy ball than those fit for a terrible battle.

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

However, as there was not sufficient money to defray all this showy display, the Portuguese nobles ruined themselves with heavy loans, and contracted shameful debts, in order to deck their hats with rubies and their regimentals with brilliants.

Alas! who could have thought, on witnessing the embarkation of that brilliant expedition, amid the flashing of gold, diamonds, and rubies, that it was proceeding to bury the glorious crown of heroic Portugal in the far-distant lands of Alcacer Kibir.

Before embarking, D. Sebastian made his will, not because he thought he might die in Africa, but simply in obedience to an ancient custom. Far from him indeed was the thought that he might die in Alcacer Kibir, he who, similarly to a conqueror in a comic opera, had taken with him on board his galley a casket containing a golden crown ready for the day when he should be proclaimed Emperor of Morocco, and who had sketched the sermon which Father Fernão da Silva was to deliver on that extraordinary solemnity.

He wrote the will himself, dated 13th of June, and in order to invest his expedition with all possible brilliancy, he sent to the monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra for the sword and shield which had belonged to D. Alfonso Henry. Fortunately for the sword and shield of the founder of the monarchy, they were not sent from Coimbra in time, and thus these ancient historic relics were saved the fate of becoming lost amid the *débris* of the African battlefield. On the following day, the 14th of June, Lisbon presented one of the grandest spectacles ever seen—the blessing of the royal standard in the Patriarchal See of Lisbon.

All things being prepared, the King, as usual on such occasions. ordered the royal standard of the army to be blessed, in order that God should be propitious to the undertaking. This ceremony took place on 14th June, 1578, when the whole Court assembled at the palace to accompany the King; and so great was the concourse of the nobility of Portugal, that it appeared like a formidable army. Splendidly caparisoned the King brave and gallant, mounted his steed, and accompanied by his brilliant suite proceeded to the cathedral, where high mass was pontifically sung by the Archbishop of Lisbon, followed by the ceremonies usual on the occasion of blessing a flag. Then the King left the church in the same order of procession with unfurled banner carried by D. Luiz de Menezes, and proceeded to embark in the royal galley, where he partook of refreshments. He remained on board

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

during all the time of the embarkation of the troops, which was not concluded until the 24th, the festival of Saint John the Baptist.

On the following day, the 25th, the fleet set sail and passed the bar. It was an imposing, grand spectacle, notwithstanding an undefined presentiment of sadness which oppressed the crowds as from the shores they witnessed the departure of that brilliant fleet composed of over 1,800 vessels, and where, in his sumptuous galley, the youthful King, in whom the Portuguese had placed all their dearest hopes, was sailing away, never to return.

"Speed on, speed on to Africa," writes Pinheiro Chagas in his brilliant style, "ye fleet that carriest the fate of Portugal! A hundred and sixty-three before it had parted those same waters, following the same road to conquer Ceuta. In that fleet the fate of Portugal was likewise enclosed, but then propitious destinies filled those sails, and the syrens sang around the prows the future glories of the nation, while an aged white-haired king, the hero of Aljubarrota, was guiding on to victory and the conquest of the future a people full of youth and faith. To-day it is a youthful king who departs, but the people he leads on are already prematurely old.

"In the first it was all hope and enthusiasm, in the second all sadness and misgivings. Beneath the iron breastplates of the untutored soldiers of D. João I. beat hearts patriotic and robust, while beneath the silk and velvet raiment of the courtiers of D. Sebastian palpitated hearts which were about to spend in one last effort their whole vigour, reserving none to defend the nation against the foreigner. What a terrible contrast and lesson! The undertaking is the same, but how different the result! And to what is this difference due? To the moral depravity which succeeded the purity of customs; to the enervation by which tyranny and fanaticism succeeded in completely destroying the robust manhood of a whole nation.

"Sail on, ye brilliant fleet! sail on, ye that carriest the King and the fate of Portugal! sail on to perdition with the country and the crown! No longer doth the hand of Providence guide thy helm, and thy pilots in vain seek in the heavens by day the clear sun of Aljubarrota, and by night the solitary star which illumined the studious watches of the Infante D. Henrique on the promontory of Sagres."

We have reached to the epilogue of this sad drama.

Let us follow this brilliant fleet as it proudly quits the Tagus on the 25th June, 1578. Let us proceed with those royal galleys, those

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

inexpugnable *urcas*, those beautiful Venetian ships which are unfurling their flags joyously, and let us assist at all the details of the tremendous tragedy of Alcacer Kibir.

This enormous fleet reached Tangiers on the 7th July, and took on board Muley Hamed, the sovereign who had afforded D. Sebastian a pretext for his unfortunate expedition, and on the 10th departed to Arzilla. Here they awaited for twelve days the arrival of the baggage ships, and the army encamped on the outskirts of the city. During these days banquets and feasts were held beneath the showy tents.

The Moorish enemies of Muley Hamed, on learning that the King of Portugal was there with all his troops preparing to combat them, approached the camp to find out the strength of the enemy. D. Sebastian took this reconnoitring for a warlike demonstration, and leaping on his horse, sped with his men to encounter the Moors. The latter, who had only come to reconnoitre, retired after a brief skirmish, but this retreat filled D. Sebastian with pride, as he imagined that they had fled in terror inspired by his name.

Muley Moluk, who was far more prudent than the Portuguese King, although he was firmly resolved upon sustaining the war to the utmost, yet attempted one more honourable transaction with the enemy, preferring to make some concessions to the risk of leaving to the fate of battles the possession of the Crown. With this object he wrote to D. Sebastian proposing great advantages in order to desist from a war.

The Portuguese monarch at once accepted this letter and proposal as a tacit avowal of fear and cowardice, and did not even condescend a reply. Full of desires for the combat, he proposed to his council an immediate attack against Larache, and thus meet the enemy by land instead of by sea. The council at once protested against this senseless act, which would render the greatest strength of the expedition, the naval forces of this powerful fleet, useless. However, the discussion educed three opinions which were diverse: First, taking Larache by an assault from the sea; second, assailing it by land, but always in view of the fleet; and thirdly, that of the monarch, only by land, which was the most perilous and wildest of the three.

The latter opinion at length prevailed, as might be expected from the obstinacy of the King, and this opinion was upheld by Christovão de Tavora, but deprecated greatly by all the prudent and intelligent advisers of the youthful King.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

In truth, this opinion was senseless and disastrous to the last degree; because, besides rendering the aid of the fleet useless, it left to the enemy, who was in his own lands, the choice of the battlefield.

And as though Providence desired to hold back Portugal from the brink of the abyss, or Fate wished to throw the whole responsibility of the terrible loss of the crown on the shoulders of D. Sebastian, at the last moment before departing for Larache, the Portuguese King received a letter, full of prudent counsels, from an intelligent general, and signed by the Duke of Alba. D. Sebastian, who was in no humour to heed the letter or its contents, threw the letter aside, and ordered the army to march to Larache on the road to Alcacer Kibir.

This was on the 29th of July. The various corps were commanded respectively by D. Duarte de Menezes, Alvaro Pires de Tavora, the Colonel Pedro de Sequeira, D. Miguel de Noronha, D. Vasco de Silveira, and D. Francisco de Tavora. The Spanish division was led by D. Alonso de Aguilar, the German by Martin of Burgundy, the Marquis of Leinster (Thomas Stukeley) the Italians. Other corps were under the leadership of Gonçalo Ribeiro Pinto, Philip Tessé and Nicolau de Frias of the engineers, Captain Gama, and the Carmelite Father Estevão Pinheiro as representative of the Church Militant; Pero de Mesquito, a Knight of Malta, commanded the artillery.

The army departed from Arzilla to Larache, in the following order. First the artillery, then the infantry flanked the artillery by two wings, one commanded by the King in person and the other by the Duke of Aveiro, followed by Muley Hamed with his Moorish troops. Then came in order the Alcaides of the African strongholds, with the contingents of their garrisons, the rearguard being closed by the baggage escorted by a battalion.

As soon as the march commenced the Portuguese ranks began to suffer a terrible war from the enemy who appeared at every turn and as quickly disappeared, fearfully decimating the ranks. After four days' march provisions grew scarce, and want of water terribly tried the men. A river was sought for, and strangely enough one was found which was perfectly free. This was an evil presage of mischief, as the Marquis of Leinster observed, but D. Sebastian could see no danger in this fact, which any prudent general would take as a snare, and, moreover, judged it was one more proof of the fear inspired in the enemy by his presence in those lands. His vanity shut his eyes and closed his ears to all warning. On all sides news came of the enormous

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and terrible forces which the enemy had at command, but the only reply the King vouchsafed to those who brought the information was to apprehend them as traitors, and the heed he paid to his prudent counsellors was to proceed on with the march as though it was no more than a military tournament.

This senseless and reckless proceeding of the King, far from encouraging the army, only served to terrify and weaken it. It was sheer madness what was being done, and all the generals saw it and secretly spoke about it, until the Baron of Alvito went so far as to demand whether it would not be right to arrest the King, who thus was carrying on to destruction and death his country, his person, and his subjects. But the King continued obstinate. He had resolved to proceed by land to Larache, and on he went, despite the protests of his nobles, and even of his favourite, Christovão de Tavora. Meanwhile, so many invincible obstacles rose up that when about two leagues from Arzilla he was compelled, as it appears, to agree to the opinion of his council, and return to Arzilla to amend his plans and proceed to Larache by sea.

But when they reached Arzilla the fleet was no longer there. It is said this was done by secret orders from the King, who had not abandoned his original plan, but only pretended he had given in to his council of war. However, the advice of the Portuguese, Castillian, Italian, and German generals produced some good effect, because instead of crossing the River Huad El-Mhakzen, as he had intended, D. Sebastian proceeded along the coast, which was a more prudent act.

Meanwhile Muley Hamed, who was not aware of the change of plan of the King, continued marching on in the direction agreed upon, and sighted the squadron of the rebel Moors. He endeavoured at once to apprise D. Sebastian, who immediately departed from his second plan, and returned to his first idea, and full of the fever of combat, proceeded on to Alcacer Kibir.

Alcacer Kibir is bathed by the River Lukkos, the ancient Lycus, and to the north runs the River Makzen, which also flows into the ocean, close to the beautiful city which the Arabs call El-Arasih, the Garden of Flowers.

On the height of Alcacer Kibir the two rivers diverge and leave a vast plain between them. It was on this plain that the terrible battle was fought.

When the Portuguese army, on the 2nd of August, reached the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

right margin of the Makzen, D. Sebastian summoned a council of war to arrange the plan of attack. After much discussion the flatterers of the King won the day, and their plan, the most reckless and imprudent of all, was followed by D. Sebastian, and on the next day the army crossed the Makzen and camped on the vast plain between the two rivers and awaited the hour for battle.

The position occupied by the Portuguese was most advantageous, and the Moors, who perceived this, were reluctant in accepting battle. The plain was by nature defended by the two rivers, which served as moats.

The reluctance manifested by the enemy afforded one more pretext for D. Sebastian to infer that it was due to the terror inspired by his name and the renown of his army, and he at once assumed an attitude of offence. The Count of Vimioso, the Bishop of Coimbra, and the Duke de Aveiro strongly urged him to desist, but all in vain.

Muley Hamed, who was himself so intimately interested in the issue of the battle, endeavoured to dissuade D. Sebastian from taking the offensive, but all to no purpose.

On that same night a brother of Muley Hamed, called Muley Naçar, and three renegade Portuguese fled from the enemy's camp, and came to offer their services to the dethroned Scheriffe or Xarife, and made some important declarations respecting the forces of the enemy, which were simply colossal. They also revealed that conspiracies, intrigues, and treacheries reigned triumphant in the camp. That Muley Moluk was being slowly poisoned, and could not possibly resist the effect of the poison many more hours, and therefore it would be wiser for the Portuguese to delay the battle for a few days, when the victory would be assured by them, because the camp was divided into rival bands, and on the death of the chieftain these bands would rise up one against the other, and the triumph be an easy one for them.

D. Sebastian listened, and then replied in a manner which induced a suspicion that his mind had become unbalanced. He would not wait. He did not care to win without combating, because it was an inglorious thing to do. What he desired was to meet his enemy strong and vigorous, and not a dispirited army with no chieftain.

And whilst the King of Portugal was thus affording a sad spectacle of obstinacy, the Moorish king, Muley Moluk, was taking every precaution, despite that life was ebbing away, to render every possibility of victory on their side, and at the very moment of starting he altered the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

commanders in order to avoid any treachery in the camp, and, with eternity in view, nevertheless issued all orders as a prudent and wise general would do.

At length the fatal 4th of August dawned, that day which had been marked by Fate to witness the ruin and abasement of Portugal, once so strong and free. The King was brimming over with enthusiasm and the glory of conquest, the soldiers were sad, down-hearted, spiritless—a prey to sad forebodings.

The very nobles who on the eve had flattered the opinion of the King were to-day terrified, and piteously besought the King to delay the battle

Muley Hamed, who saw positive disaster in store, likewise besought D. Sebastian to desist from his intention and wait. The King would not listen at first, but when he was about to yield to the petition of Muley Hamed to delay the battle until at least after sunset, on account of the fearful heat of the August sun on the African plains, which would be insupportable to the Portuguese and foreign troops unaccustomed to tropical climes, the Captain Aldaña of the Spanish contingent rose up and protested against the delay in such intemperate language that he really seemed as though he had been instigated by his master, King Philip II., in order the more easily and sooner to clutch poor hapless Portugal in his fangs.

D. Sebastian took advantage of this protest to order his army to march forward. D. Duarte de Menezes then at once disposed the army in three divisions, and formed a closed column, the vanguard being composed of the corps of adventurers, the Italians, the musketeers of Tangiers, the Germans and Spaniards; the centre of the troops from Lisbon and Alemtejo, and the rearguard was formed of the troops from Santarem and the Algarve. The pioneer troops and the artillery went in front of the column.

The King commanded the left wing of the horsemen, the flag with the arms of Portugal being carried at his side by D. Luiz de Menezes, followed by a brilliant staff. In this way did the Portuguese army march on towards the enemy.

The Moors were not accustomed to fighting by rule, but their skilful general, Muley Moluk, commanded them to do so, without, however, restraining their warrior impulses. He placed himself on a hill-top with some of his forces in ambush, and his artillery covered and assisted at all the manœuvres of the enemy, who worked a frightful havoc with the fire from their artillery.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The plan of battle proposed by Muley Moluk was to surround, like an iron circle, the Portuguese army with their numerous troops and then crush them; meanwhile that the cavalry, by repeated skirmishes, drew out the Portuguese to fatigue them and divert their attention.

When the first sound of attack was given by the two armies, the Portuguese, surprised by the ambushed artillery of the enemy, hesitated. The Spanish Captain Aldaña at once perceived that a defeat was inevitable, and counselled the King to place himself in safety.

The King hesitated for a moment. It was just the occasion when a moment of indecision would be ruinous. The army thus remained without guidance at the very moment when it was most needed.

The King recovered his presence of mind, and ordered that the signal of war be given at the tolling of the Angelus. The Jesuit Alexandre de Mattos raised aloft a crucifix, the soldiers bent the knee to the ground, the horsemen bowed down their uncovered heads, and D. Sebastian, feeling within himself the fire and warlike enthusiasm of another Godfrey de Bouillon, drew the sword from its scabbard, and full of sublime courage and ardour, reined his horse, and fearlessly flung himself upon the hosts of the enemy.

As a soldier, D. Sebastian behaved like a true hero; as a general, he forgot his army, and never more issued an order. He fought like a god of war in front of his cavalry, and sowed terror and death among the enemy's vanguard. D. Duarte de Menezes, who perceived that the King had ceased to be the commanding general in order to battle like a simple soldier, assumed his place, and led the manœuvres. Muley Hamed did likewise. The enemy was thrown into an incredible confusion, and fled terrified at the impetuous attack of the Portuguese. Victory appeared certain. At that very moment, when the cries of triumph from the Portuguese were being echoed throughout Alcacer Kibir, Muley Moluk felt he was about to die, as the poison was working its last deadly action. However, beholding the disorder which reigned in his army, this brave, brilliant general made a last effort, and leaping to his horse, encouraged his men by the force of his example and presence. But this supreme effort was his last, and the great general fell lifeless from his horse, not slain by the enemy's fire, as might be imagined, but by the base treachery of his own soldiers.

It was a supreme moment for the Portuguese to secure the victory.

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The news of the death of Muley Moluk, taken advantage of by a skilful enemy, would have cast the infidel troops into a hopeless state, and at the same time redoubled the courage and moral force of the aggressing army. D. Sebastian, however, took no notice of this news—he fought on like a soldier without profiting from the good augury which Fate was assigning to a skilful general. Nevertheless, although all the advantages offered by Fate were not made use of, the bravery and impetus of the Portuguese continued as great as ever, and the battle was all but won, when one of the captains, fearing lest in the fury of the combat his men would become involved by the enemy's ranks, and thus imperil the issue of the combat, cried out in a thundering voice, "Stay, stay!" with the object of somewhat keeping back their impetus. This order proved the misfortune of the Portuguese. On hearing this cry, the soldiers judged that it had been provoked by some disaster unknown to them, and completely disheartened, began to retreat. The cavalry seeing this action, also withdrew; while the enemy, witnessing this retreat of the Portuguese, took heart and fresh courage, and recovering moral force, the fate of the battle took a complete turn. The Moors assumed the offensive, and attacked the Portuguese, the Germans, the Italians, and the Spaniards, with so complete a success that panic took possession of the greater bulk of the forces of D. Sebastian, and terror-stricken, fled. The King being now convinced of the defeat, signally and brilliantly redeemed by a moment of epic courage the mistakes of all his life.

On beholding that all hopes were lost, he only thought of dying, but nevertheless making death pay heavily for his life. In front of his valiant, heroic nobility, D. Sebastian charged upon the enemy which attempted to take his artillery. Many nobles fell during this attack, and the Prior of Crato, thinking more of the King than of himself, while fighting like a lion himself, indicated to the King surnamed the "Desired" an opening in the ranks of the enemy through which he could fly and be saved. But D. Sebastian was far from thinking of flight. He had the consciousness that he alone was the author of that catastrophe; and to his honour be it said, he did not endeavour to fly from it. He knew that by remaining death was inevitable, nevertheless he remained firm and resolute and terrible, as he spoke to his faithful, heroic nobles, "Nought else remains to us but to die, but let it be slowly." And with superhuman calmness he attacked the ranks of the Moors, leaving wherever he passed a trail of blood, and driving the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

enemy terror-stricken, for they well knew the sword of that horseman who had made them flee with terror.

Having disbanded the Portuguese, the Moors now turned towards that group of indomitable, invincible knights who repeated in Alcacer Kibir the heroic deeds of Mazagão. But these were few, very few, and they saw themselves surrounded by an enormous victorious army. The moment was a supreme one, and the bravest fell by the side of their King, until at length Christovão de Tavora besought the King to surrender. "Never," cried the King; "royal liberty can only be lost with life!" And setting spurs to his steed he flew, with drawn sword, right into the enemy's ranks, cutting down every one that opposed him. The few remaining nobles endeavoured to follow him, but he was soon lost sight of. Never again was he seen or heard of. None could tell what had become of the King. No one saw him fall; no one witnessed his death.

A few days after the battle a dead body was found on the field, which, it was said, was that of D. Sebastian, but it was so disfigured that no one could recognise or identify him.

From this mysterious disappearance of the King rose the celebrated legend of the "Sebastianistas," but likewise arose another and a terrible history, called the domination of Spain.

Whilst the King was thus disappearing, his army, completely routed, sought vainly its salvation by flight. The river Maksen, swollen by the currents, was not easy to cross, and the Arab peasants came down in bands like vultures to feast with the conquerors upon the prey of the battlefield. Muley Hamed, the luckless pretender, after fighting with fearless bravery, seeing that all was lost, fled at full speed, with despair depicted on his countenance, and endeavoured to cross the river. Sidi Musa and Abd-el-Kerin, who accompanied him, observed to him that the swollen waters were flowing like a torrent, and urged him not to attempt to cross, but their words were met by a look which silenced them. He sped his horse into the river, and for a few brief moments struggled against the rising waters, but when close upon the opposite shore, he was carried away by the force of the current, and thus met his death, which his companions judged was due rather to suicide than to accident.

In this ill-fated battle perished the three sovereigns who had assisted at it—Muley Moluk, Muley Hamed, and D. Sebastian.

The losses on the Portuguese side were enormous, both during the

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

battle and subsequently. Many were drowned in attempting to cross the river, while others, when endeavouring to proceed to Arzilla to seek the fleet, were slain on the road by the enemy who pursued them in their flight.

The flower of the Portuguese nobility lay dead on the battlefield. Among the slain were the Duke of Aveiro, D. Jayme de Braganza, the Count de Vimioso and his son D. Manuel de Portugal, the Count da Vidiguiera, D. Rodrigo de Mello, the eldest son of the Count de Tentugal, the Bishop of Coimbra and the Bishop of Oporto, the Count de Mira, the Baron d'Alvito, the Colonel Francisco de Tavora; the favourite, Christovão de Tavora; the Commander of the Artillery, Pedro de Mesquita; the two sons of Pedro de Alcaçova, and many more too numerous to mention. Of the highest nobility alone, Diogo Barbosa Machado enumerates over a hundred whose names are the most illustrious of Portugal, not only by nobility of blood, but also by glorious deeds performed during the wars of Africa and India.

Among the principal foreigners were D. Alonso de Aguilar, Francisco Aldaña, and Martim of Burgundy.

The number of prisoners taken was enormous, the greater number being the nobility, among them D. Antonio, the Prior of Crato; the Duke of Barcellos, D. Duarte de Menezes, the Colonel D. Miguel de Noronha, Belchor de Amaral, Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho, who, when the battle was at its height, gave his own horse to the King; also the Ambassador of Castille, D. Juan de Silva; and, in truth, so many were the prisoners, that at nightfall of the 4th of August, 1578, the enemy could find no more cords to bind them.

Such was the disastrous battle of Alcacer Kibir, the lugubrious ending of the epopee, the first canto of which was intoned amid the clang of victory in Aljubarrota, and carried on throughout the known seas and climes; now resounding in the virgin forests of Brazil, or written with the point of the sword on the rocky cliffs of the Himalayas, or by the lances of the border-people on the ramparts of Fez. Here Portuguese glory expired, because in the fatal blow levelled in Alcacer Kibir it was hurled to the ground, never more to rise.

Yet this expression is hardly just. Alcacer Kibir for the Portuguese was what Waterloo was to Napoleon—the thundering epilogue of a ruin which had been long prepared. On the African sands was consummated the ruin of this great Empire. The scimitar of the Arabs severed the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

last thread which bound together the varied pearls of this immense girdle, which encircled the seas and adorned the Portuguese nation. But the fall of a powerful Empire is not explained by one individual reverse. Had no previous causes of dissolution existed, the mere frown of Fortune might make the world tremble like to the Jupiter of Homer, but could not thus suddenly engulf a colossal Empire. These causes did exist, and are not difficult to trace in the vast widening of an Empire which depended in Europe on a small basis—an Empire which, moreover, had been founded by force of right, and was held marvellously —nay, almost miraculously poised on the edge of the sword of those heroes that year by year left the mother country without leaving behind any compensation for that continued exodus of its bravest population. It can be traced in the enervation of the warrior spirit of the Middle Ages amid the pleasures and delights of the unveiled East and the surroundings of artistic renaissance; in the corruption produced by wealth, in the idleness of a whole people which seemed to live, like the Roman plebs, upon the dole received and begged for at the gates of the noble houses and from the convent wicket; and lastly, in the indifference with which Portuguese policy treated Europe.

Portugal took no heed of the strifes that were taking place in Europe, and which were completely changing the aspect of the nations. She did not perceive the Spanish colossus rising up at her side, disdaining Francis I. of France, and withholding from strengthening herself by alliances and serving the common cause of Europe, to be in its turn helped by Europe. Portugal slumbered, soothed by the songs of the poets and the murmur of the ocean, until she awoke to find herself manacled in the arms of Philip II. and compelled to listen in the solemn strophes of Camões to the epic poem of her lost grandeur.

Let us not, therefore, cast upon D. Sebastian the whole burden of the anathema, nor attribute to Alcacer Kibir a greater influence than it really had in the misfortunes of Portugal. If, in truth, she was condemned to irremediable ruin, this reckless expedition cast on the clouds and rays of its setting sun all the magic colouring of an epic poem. The nobility which was consuming itself in unworthy idleness and enervating pleasures had in Alcacer Kibir an arena wherein to fall with glory, and add one more sublime page to the military records of their ancestors. The greatness of Portugal, which had its birth on the plains of Aljubarrota, instead of dissolving away by putrefaction, as it was threatened, at least was slain by one fell blow from destiny on the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

battlefield of Alcacer Kibir. Portugal expired enveloped in the armoury of a soldier. Camões had finished to inscribe in immortal verses her testament of glory, and D. Sebastian, the wittless instrument of fate, carried this adventuresome people to a last and reckless adventure, and assigned as its bed of agony the battlefield, and fanned the sleep of death with the clangour of arms as it had done at its birth, meanwhile enwreathing around the camp blood-stained laurels, because history does not withhold its just meed of praise for bravery and heroism, although in an unfortunate cause.

END OF FOURTH BOOK.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

1578—1580.

CARDINAL D. HENRIQUE.

Consternation caused in the kingdom by the disaster of Alcacer Kibir—Fate of the prisoners—Coronation of the Cardinal King—The measures taken at the commencement of his reign—The ransom of the noble prisoners—D. Francisco da Costa is left as a hostage—His death in exile—Machinations of Philip II.—The people rise up against the ransomed nobles—Reports are spread that D. Sebastian is not dead—Policy of D. Philip II.—Pretenders to the throne of Portugal—Corruption of the Portuguese alcaides and nobility—D. Christovão de Moura—The treasury of Castille becomes exhausted—Philip II. issues Cedulas—The Cardinal D. Henrique solicits dispensation from Rome—A marriage is projected—D. Antonio, the Prior of Crato—Refuses the offer of Philip of Spain—The Duke of Braganza declines the kingship and possession of the Algarve—D. Henrique summons a council to declare his project of marriage—Claims of Philip II.—D. Henrique summons a Cortes in Lisbon—Hostilities manifested by the representatives—Project of marriage again broached by D. Henrique—Approval of the Cortes—Departure of Christovão de Moura—His return as Ambassador of Spain—The Cardinal summons to the palace the three arms of the State—They are constrained to take the oath prescribed by the Cardinal King—Proposals of the Prior of Crato to Philip II.—A Junta is formed and sentence of illegitimacy is given against D. Antonio—He is sentenced to exile—Appeals to Rome—Proposals of Christovão de Moura—The Governors of the kingdom are elected—Intrigues of Castille—Famine and pestilence—Irresolution of D. Henrique—Five governors are appointed—Philip II. prepares for war—Dangers of an Iberian union—England seeks an alliance with France—Sends an ambassador to Portugal—Interference of the Court of Rome—Philip II. replies to the Pope—The Prior of Crato is summoned to the Court—Refuses to obey—Is deprived of all rights and privileges, and exiled—Negotiations with Philip II.—The Duke of Braganza is offered Brazils in compensation for the kingship of Portugal—The elections—Cortes opened in Almeirim—Phebus Moniz—Public manifestations in favour of D. Antonio—Declaration of D. Henrique in favour of Philip II.—Attempts at a reconciliation with the representatives of Lisbon, Evora, Oporto, Coimbra, and Santarem—The Duchess of Braganza solicits and obtains an audience from D. Henrique—Enthusiastic reception of the Duchess by the people—Last moments of the Cardinal King—His death—Impressions caused by his death—Difficulties of the Governors—Efforts of the pretenders—Queen

Digitized by Google
Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Elizabeth of England is besought as an ally—Her reply—Dissolution of the Cortes—Pope Gregory XIII. claims the crown of Portugal—Philip II. prepares for war—The direction of the campaign is entrusted to the Duke of Alba—The governors of fortresses are suborned—Threats of Philip II.—Foreign aid is invoked—The governors become terrified—Attempt to sell the Crown jewels—Phebus Moniz endeavours to reconcile the Portuguese pretenders—Philip II. departs from Madrid to the frontier—Reviews his troops—Surrender of various strongholds—Tumult in Santarem—D. Antonio demands the surrender of the castle—Flight of the governors—The army of the Duke de Alba enters Portugal—Solemn entry of D. Antonio—Proclamation of Philip II.—Victory of the Spanish army in Alcantara—D. Antonio flies—His efforts to reorganise another army—Illness of Philip II.—Death of the Queen of Castille—Pursuit of D. Antonio—His adventures—Takes refuge in France.

As soon as the disaster of the battle of Alcacer Kibir was consummated on the shores of the Rivers Makzen and Lukkos, the news was conveyed to the strongholds of Ceuta and Arzilla. The governors of these fortresses despatched couriers to apprise the rulers of Portugal of the event, and arrived in Lisbon at the moment when a vague presentiment of impending sorrow was getting abroad. Hence the rulers or governors of the kingdom, to allay apprehension, judged proper to keep the news secret until further corroboration, but privately informed the Cardinal D. Henrique. The aged prelate at once quitted Alcobaça and reached Lisbon on 16th of August, when the sad news had been confirmed, and the details of the defeat had arrived. Great indeed was the general grief, because scarcely was there a family which had not lost a dear one in the battle, while those who had not been wounded in their family affections had been wounded in their patriotic sentiments, as all foresaw that this blow had been levelled at the whole nation. The squadron of Diogo de Sousa had returned to Lisbon, bringing the relics of the brilliant army which had left the Tagus but ten months previously, and in the pale faces and crestfallen countenances of the fugitives of Alcacer Kibir, the people of Lisbon read with anxious curiosity the immense depths of the disaster. Even Diogo de Sousa himself manifested a sad spectacle, and seemed to hide himself from the gaze of the people, whose King he had taken in his galley, and who in vain asked him news of the imprudent but nevertheless sympathetic youth who had left them so full of martial enthusiasm. Because there still hovered a mystery around him, increased by the desire that the people entertained that he was not dead, and which affectionately impelled them to discredit the sad news.

The Cardinal D. Henrique, although he coveted the kingship, yet

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

did not dare, in view of the mystery which hovered around the death of D. Sebastian, to declare the throne vacant, hence he appointed a Council of Ministers to resolve upon the best way to relieve the situation of the kingdom. The Council decided that his sacerdotal character did not preclude his ascending the throne, and secondly, that while waiting definite and trustworthy news respecting D. Sebastian, the Cardinal should assume the government of the kingdom under the title of Curator of Portugal. Despite his small popularity with the masses, the people willingly acceded to this decision, because the Cardinal was the only legal plank upon which to lean to save itself from anarchy or foreign domination.

D. Henrique assumed the title of Curator on the 24th August, 1580. He at once summoned together the most notable fidalgos, such as the Duke of Braganza, Count de Tentugal, and others, to deliberate with them what was best to do. A few days later a letter arrived from Belchior de Amaral, a prisoner of the Moors, wherein he affirmed having identified the body of D. Sebastian.

On the 27th the shields were broken amid general sorrow, and on the 29th the Cardinal was crowned King. The people with sad faces gazed on that weak, spare old man, who, vested in his cardinal robes, and mounted on horseback, was proceeding to the Church of the Hospital of Todos os Santos to be consecrated, surrounded by the nobility, which were composed only of the aged, bending down with the weight of years, of childless parents, because the youth and hope of the country had been cut down on the fields of Alcacer Kibir, or were prisoners in the hands of the Moors.

As soon as he assumed the crown and sceptre, D. Henrique began to give vent to his mean odiums which he had hitherto repressed until he should be certain of reigning. Pedro d'Alcaçova, who was a prisoner in his house, was summoned at a chapter held, to reply to the accusations brought against him of having contributed by his counsels to the disaster of Alcacer Kibir; and Luiz da Silva, on his return from Africa, where he had been ransomed, found a similar accusation preferred against him. The people, ever ready to wreck its vengeance on some individual to whom the evils of Fate had stricken, and attributing to Ministers the errors of the monarch, applauded his acts; but it was not a difficult matter for the accused to prove that it was solely D. Sebastian, who, against the advice of all, had prepared the catastrophe of the fall of Portugal, and it was soon perceived that these acts of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

D. Henrique were solely due to his deep-seated odium against many of the favourites of his nephew.

Wishing to flatter public passions, D. Henrique took some measures which were received enthusiastically, because they destroyed oppression. He abolished the decree of 1st of September, 1578, respecting the salt duty, and ordered the coffers of the foundlings to be restored of the sums drawn from them, and to poor monasteries the subsidies they had contributed. Meanwhile he decreed that the goods and properties of the victims of the tribunal of the Holy Office be anew confiscated, notwithstanding that the needy new Christians had been for ten years relieved of this by a heavy donation.

But the people stupidly rejoiced at this infamy, and in truth the first measures taken by D. Henrique most decidedly won public sympathies. It was likewise to satisfy general petitions that he sent to Morocco D. Rodrigo de Menezes and four religious of the Trinitarians to negotiate about the ransom of the captives. But the nation was impoverished, and the negotiation became a difficult one to accomplish.

The brother of Muley Moluk, who succeeded him on the throne, possessed a share of his political genius, and while treating his prisoners fairly, nevertheless judged that he ought to enrich himself with the ransom. Some of the nobles had from their private purse ransomed themselves, like the Prior of Crato, who, by concealing his high rank, paid only a small sum. In this way some eighty prisoners clubbed together and promised the new Emir 400,000 cruzados ransom money if he allowed that five of their people should proceed to Portugal to obtain the sum. Leave was granted, and D. Duarte de Castello Branco, D. Fernando de Castro, D. Jorge de Menezes, D. Miguel de Noronha, and Luiz Coelho departed for Lisbon, where their arrival gave rise to sad and fresh tribulations. At a great sacrifice they were able to collect together 280,000 cruzados, and with these they departed for Morocco, taking a new envoy in the person of D. Francisco da Costa, who was charged in the King's name to stand surety for the payment of the remaining 120,000 cruzados. The Emir accepted the surety, and D. Francisco da Costa remained as a hostage, and the eighty fidalgos departed for Portugal.

We blush with shame when we write the words: no one ever gave a thought to D. Francisco da Costa, who, after eight years of exile, died in Morocco in 1586, having passed these years in the midst of enemies, a victim to his imprudent confidence in the promises of eighty nobles and the word of a king!

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Philip II. of Spain, who was striving in every possible way to win partisans in Portugal, sent an envoy on his part to Africa to investigate the position of the Portuguese prisoners, and to negotiate the ransom of some, while in his secret negotiations he promised a large sum for ransoming captives.

But many never could obtain the money needed to free themselves from their chains, and ended their days in Moorish prisons. Many heart-breaking dramas did this ill-starred expedition give rise to. During many years there appeared from time to time in the streets of Portugal aged men, emaciated and bent, who in Alcacer Kibir had been brilliant, gallant warriors, and their families, who had long judged them dead, scarcely dared to recognise them, and, like to Magdalena de Vilhena, what should have been a supreme joy was turned into an irremediable disaster. These scenes and unexpected returns of phantoms which thus appeared excited the people in Lisbon, and, joined to the constant prayers offered in the temple, and the heavy burden of misfortune which hung over the country, produced a grave agitation and even revolt against the nobles who had returned from Africa, safe out of the battle, or ransomed after being made captives, for having forsaken the King, and had not died ere they had allowed a single hair of the head of their gallant monarch to be injured.

The nobles thus threatened then began to spread a vague report that the King was not dead, and in this way endeavoured to shield themselves from the wrath of the crowd. It was these vague, uncertain replies which began to induce an idea, which later on assumed strength, that the King had escaped from the battle and was living. This idea began to gain ground in proportion as the fall of the nation grew imminent, and there were not wanting those who fostered these popular dreams. Adventurers rose up, whose history we shall have to narrate further on, who said they were the veritable D. Sebastian, until some loyal Portuguese, repelling the constant disallusions, admitted the supernatural, from whence arose the sect called Sebastianistas, and the luckless monarch, who had dragged Portugal to its fall, was hailed by the oppressed Portuguese who remained faithful to his memory, as the longed-for saviour of his people. This belief was continued through ages, and for a length of time inspired hopes that God would break through the laws of nature, and send them in the person of D. Sebastian a helper to deliver them from the evils of slavery and bondage under a foreign dominion.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The reign of the Cardinal King was no more than the *entr'acte* which divided the scene of Alcacer Kibir from the great drama which was about to commence, wherein the fate of Portugal was definitely to be decided. The Cardinal King, an ecclesiastic in declining health and aged sixty-six, could not leave a direct successor to the throne and crown, hence it became necessary that during his lifetime should be decided who was to inherit the throne which was so soon to become vacant.

Philip II. had watched with deep anxiety, ever since D. Sebastian quitted Lisbon, for news. We are unable, with any certainty, to affirm what part he actually took in the disaster, but we have no doubt he foresaw a result similar to what occurred. As soon as he learnt at the Escorial the result of the battle, he at once ordered the usual prayers prescribed by etiquette, and hastened to summon the Duke de Alba to a private interview. He apprised him of the news, and bade him order the exequies of D. Sebastian to be celebrated. "The Duke," says Rebello da Silva, "who was unaccustomed to disguise his thoughts, observed to the King, that the ceremony had better be delayed, until he should, as King of Portugal, order it to take place in the splendid Monastery of Belem; but Philip, more prudent and crafty, perceiving the allusion, retorted, 'You will soon be convinced by time that there is danger in anticipating events.'"

In the advice and reply of these two accomplices in so many State crimes, these two assassins of the submitted people to the Spanish Crown were faithful to their characters. The Duke de Alba desired to sever all difficulties by the sword, while Philip the Prudent sought first to have recourse to corruption and intrigue.

In order to form a party in Portugal, Philip II. left nothing unturned. The fleet of the Marquis de Santa Cruz despatched to protect the Portuguese strongholds of Barbary, and the Captain Francisco de Zuniga sent out to Morocco to protect the prisoners of Alcacer Kibir and to restrain the ambition of the brother of Muley Moluk, should he, carried away by the result of the battle, desire to transform the defence into aggression—all was calculated to show the Portuguese how paternally the honest King of Spain watched over the interests of his neighbour.

Side by side with these ostensive demonstrations, Philip II. did not forget to take every secret means to secure the victory. Fate placed in his hands an instrument to sow corruption in the already demoralised

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

nobility of Portugal, which seemed to have lost in the last effort of Alcacer Kibir the little honour and spirit it possessed after having gone through the delights and pleasures and temptations of the East.

This instrument was D. Christovão de Moura. It is necessary that we should thoroughly know this Portuguese renegade, whose name, which is considered the symbol of treachery and vileness, sounds so dismally in the sad history of this period. Let us say, however, a thousand times more vile were those who yielded to the temptations he spread, those who sold the country in exchange for a handful of gold, and who, with Castillian doubloons in their purses, proceeded to the councils of the King, pretending to be patriotic, while they levelled all the difficulties in the path of the ambitious Philip II.

D. Christovão de Moura, in truth, wore no mask. He had from his boyhood served the Court of Spain, had openly contemned his country, and openly had accompanied the foreign King, and placed his vast intelligence and truly fiendish astuteness at the service of his chosen master.

Christovão was the son of Luiz de Moura and D. Beatriz de Tavora, nephew of the renowned statesman Lourenço Pires de Tavora, to whose protection was due that he entered as page into the service of the princess D. Joanna, mother of D. Sebastian. When she withdrew to Castille after the premature death of her husband, D. João, Christovão accompanied her in the capacity of equerry. He developed so much intelligence that Charles V. held him in highest esteem. A wily courtier, he won the confidence of Philip II., who confided his greatest political secrets to him. Although his vocation was certainly diplomacy, he nevertheless distinguished himself on the field of battle.

Being related by birth with some of the highest families of Portugal, Philip II. perceived how useful he would be in a mission to that kingdom, and therefore entrusted to him the conquest of Portugal by means of intrigue, while he assigned to the Duke of Alba its conquest by the sword.

One was the hand to administer poison and corruption, the other to hold the knife which cuts down, and in both is summed up the darksome aspect of the policy of Philip II., the wily Tiger of the Escorial. The ostensible mission of Christovão de Moura was to salute D. Henrique, the secret one to prepare in every way the people to favour the pretensions of the King of Spain to the inheritance of the Portuguese throne. He was furnished with gold to convince the venal

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

spirits, and with demonstrations of right, drawn up by the first jurisconsults of Spain, in order to convince pure consciences.

D. Christovão, on reaching Lisbon, disguised the secret motive of his mission, and offered his condolence to the Cardinal King for the death of his nephew, and at the same time his congratulations on his accession to the throne. He placed at his service the resources of the kingdom of Castille, in the event of D. Sebastian not being dead, but a prisoner of the Moors, and meanwhile treated the nobles with extreme courtesy, and often visiting them and hinting that Philip II. judged he had a right to the succession of the throne of Portugal, while at the same time he did not raise the question, but simply observed what passed at the Court, where this question was already debated.

D. Henrique manifested himself perplexed, but he did not conceal from his councillors his predilection for the Duchess of Braganza, his niece, not only owing to personal affection, but by the particular friendship he had always felt for her father, the Infante D. Duarte.

This predilection was manifest in the welcome he vouchsafed to all of the House of Braganza, and in the desire to summon the Cortes in order to proclaim D. Catherina, Duchess of Braganza, the heiress to the throne of Portugal. Unfortunately her husband, the Duke of Braganza, was proud, discourteous, and generally disliked. Hence this prevented the Duchess from gathering a large party around her whose legitimacy to the throne was uncontested, and who had the greatest chance of being elected by the aged monarch.

Another pretender to the throne rose up, who was simple, sympathetic, and amiable, immensely popular, but who was blindly disliked by the Cardinal King. This pretender was the Prior of Crato. D. Antonio was born in 1531, and was the illegitimate son of the Infante D. Luiz, brother of D. João III., by a beautiful lady called Violante Gomes, surnamed on account of her beauty "the Pelican." His father and his uncle, the Cardinal, had destined him to follow the ecclesiastical life. D. Antonio, called by his lofty spirit to more ambitious aims, always resisted the wishes of his uncle, and at length went over to Castille, where he avoided taking Holy Orders, and only became Prior of the Military Order of Crato.

The Cardinal never forgave him this, and the affection he had felt for him during his early years, when he watched over his education, was turned into a profound odium which continued to his death.

These were the two most important pretenders to the Crown which

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Christovão de Moura had to combat against. One favoured by the people by whom he was beloved, and the other favoured by the Cardinal and all prudent spirits who saw in her nomination as heiress to the throne the only hope of salvation of the monarchy. The first was D. Antonio, the Prior of Crato, and the other the Duchess of Braganza.

These were, so to say, national pretenders, and as a consequence the most dangerous opponents of Philip II. When, however, the death of D. Sebastian was acknowledged throughout Europe as a fact, and that the Cardinal D. Henrique was endeavouring to assure the succession to the throne, from all sides rose up pretenders. Those who assumed to have a right to the Crown of Portugal were as follows: Ranucio, the Duke of Parma, who was the son of the princess D. Maria, eldest sister of the Duchess of Braganza and daughter of D. Duarte. The Duke of Savoy, Manuel Felisberto, son of the Infanta D. Beatrice, daughter of the King of Portugal, D. Manuel. Catherine of Medicis, who was said to be a descendant of Alfonso III., by his son's marriage with Mathilde, Countess of Boulogne. But all these pretenders did not occasion any anxiety to Philip II., because the only ones he considered dangerous were the Portuguese ones, and in order to combat them he gave wide instructions to D. Christovão de Moura, and allowed him to distribute largely Castillian gold and promises.

It was then that the deep demoralisation of the country was manifested. Few nobles resisted the bribery of the wily minister, who was not daunted by the purest characters; indeed, he met with few who justified their reputation. Corruption was deep seated, and the manner of D. Christovão, with his Mephistophelian tactics, soon broke down all barriers. He searched out the weak points of every conscience, and thus won over some by cupidity and others by resentments. In this way he brought over to his party the former Secretary of State of D. João III., D. João de Alcaçoba, honoured for his long career of good and loyal services. He had been treated by the Cardinal with deep contempt, and he desired to take his revenge. It was not difficult for De Moura to incite him to oppose the Cardinal in his pretensions for the Duchess of Braganza, without, however, openly siding for Philip II. The shrewd emissary could well foresee that once the first step was taken down the declivity of the precipice, it would not be long before the former minister would become one of the most decided auxiliaries of the Castillian King, and to whom,

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

later on, he owed the ignominious favour of being created Count of Idanha. But a greater ignominy was, however, that of the heroic defender of Diu: D. João de Mascarenhas allowed himself to be bought. Covered with well-merited favours and rewards for the services he had rendered his country with his sword and by his prudent counsels, he nevertheless, in the last decades of his life, tacitly acknowledged that the virtuous pride of a stainless name was of less value than gold! It was the lowest phase of degradation, and nevertheless this example was followed by so many others that the treasury of Castille became exhausted, and was unable to meet the demand. It became necessary, in order to continue this policy of barter, for Christovão de Moura to issue documents called *cedulas*, wherein were stated the recompense Philip II. bound himself to pay when he should take possession of the revenues of the kingdom. It suffices to say, to the shame of the Portuguese, that in these *cedulas* were found inscribed, not only the names of nearly all the Alcaides of strongholds and fortresses, but likewise the most illustrious names of Portugal. The proudest houses could show amid their deeds these shameful *cedulas*, but fortunately for their honour, let us say it, the offsprings of these traitors to their country tore in twain these documents with their brave swords when they fearlessly brandished them in the sunshine of liberty, on the 1st of December, 1640.

Yet it is our sad duty, as historians, to say more. D. Antonio, himself the Prior of Crato, actually entered into negotiations with Philip II. to sell his claims, and if this vile barter was not effected, it was because the King of Spain did not deem his rights were worth the price placed upon them. Yet this was the man who ambitiously desired to act the *rôle* of the former Master of Aviz! This was the man who was the only hope and bulwark of Portuguese nationality! How else could the Portuguese nation desist from falling into the hands of the Spaniards? How could it avoid falling when thus it was deeply corrupted, never more to rise fully, amid such a storm of villany and degradation?

Let us, however, console ourselves after writing the above and revealing these deplorable facts, that a few Portuguese—very few—maintained unstained their escutcheons of fidelity and were above being corrupted. These were the Count of Vimioso, Scipião de Figueiredo, Pedro Barbosa, Diogo Botelho, and a few others.

In effect, the Prior of Crato, despite that he reckoned on his

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

popularity, ventured to listen to the proposals of Castille. He was probably influenced in this resolution by the opinion of a jurisconsult of Coimbra, that his rights were null. Besides this, he was urged by his great confidant, the Marquis de Villa Real, who had secretly gone over, or rather sold himself to Spain; and the Prior, who confided in his supposed fidelity, told him all his projects and thoughts. These he at once treacherously transmitted to D. Christovão Moura.

Philip II. offered him the dignity of Prior of Leon and Castille, but D. Antonio judged this too insignificant and refused, trusting to his popularity that he should be freely elected King by the people.

The Duke of Braganza was offered the possession and title of the kingdom of the Algarve, but he likewise refused, feeling certain of wearing the crown of Portugal, owing to the decided favour his pretensions met from the Cardinal King, and which were also favoured by the Jesuits. It was the latter who, in combination with D. Catherina, the Duchess of Braganza, suggested to the Cardinal the ridiculous expedient of marriage.

The idea was truly a ludicrous one, but the circumstances of his proceeding alarmed Christovão de Moura, who, fearing some hidden plot might be combined, hastened to apprise Philip II. and manifest his apprehensions.

The King of Spain at once, through his ambassador at Rome, D. Juan de Zuniga, endeavoured to raise obstacles to this project, by urging the Pope to refuse the desired dispensation. He also sent to Lisbon Father Fernando del Castillo, who, in severe terms, laid before him the scandal in the Church such a proceeding would give rise to, besides affording no good to the nation, as at his advanced age it would give rise to doubts respecting the legitimacy of the heir to the throne, which would only induce grave disturbances.

The Cardinal was not convinced by these counsels and arguments, which, although interested, were nevertheless in good sense. This idea of obtaining a dispensation from Rome from his priestly vows was fostered and strengthened by the solicitations of the people of Lisbon, who, knowing the efforts made by the King of Spain to prevent the marriage, and urged by the odium felt against Spanish domination, represented to the King that if he were resolved upon effecting a marriage to do so without loss of time, reminding him of the disastrous state the kingdom would be left at his death.

D. Henrique summoned a Council of State on the 31st of January,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

1579, in which he declared his resolution to enter into the holy bonds of matrimony, as he had been counselled to do. The traitors, who by that time had been purchased with Castillian gold throughout the various Government offices, at once informed Christovão de Moura, who transmitted the advice to Madrid.

Efforts were redoubled at Rome to induce the Pope to refuse the desired dispensation. The Pope who occupied the chair of Saint Peter at the time was Gregory XIII., who, judging that this demand of the Cardinal King for a dispensation from his priestly vows was a singular one, suspected that there might be some natural son of his whom he desired to legitimise and name his heir to the throne. This suspicion was utterly unfounded, and Christovão de Moura, who was instructed from Rome to ascertain the truth, gave a most unqualified denial, as never had the Cardinal D. Henrique during his whole life ever been guilty of any indiscretion which could stain his spotless name or the integrity of his priestly vows. This he affirmed while stating that the idea of effecting a marriage with the sole object of securing succession to the Portuguese throne had proceeded from the Jesuits. The General of the Order of Jesus, Eberhard Mercurianus, was solicited by the Spanish ambassador to recommend the Portuguese Jesuits to abstain from interfering in political affairs. Orders to this effect were expedited to Lisbon, but Eberhard was not obeyed, because the emissary of Philip II. continued to complain of the energetic opposition which the Jesuits were making against the Castillian pretensions. To their honour, be it said, the Jesuits were ever staunch supporters of the Portuguese monarchy and ever remained faithful to her, and far from favouring the invasion of Philip II., the Spanish monarch never had bitterer enemies.

Finding that the people continued firm in their odium against the Spaniards, D. Christovão de Moura renewed his activity, and did not cease to remind Philip II. that notwithstanding all diplomatic intrigues, it was necessary to prepare and have ready an army, in order to invade Portugal as soon as the death of the Cardinal, D. Henrique, should take place, which could not be long delayed, because his health was fast failing him. This was in February, 1579.

Philip II. heeded the counsels of his skilful favourite, which were prudent ones, and ordered preparations to be made in Naples and Sicily; meanwhile that he desired the Italian fleets to join a Spanish squadron of some 30 galleys which were ready equipped and lay at the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Andalusian ports. These preparations alarmed M. Debain, the French ambassador at Rome, who advised his King, Henry III., and said that it was the general opinion that these preparations were made with the object of invading Portugal. Furthermore, two Spanish engineers came secretly to Lisbon to study the defences of the bar, and how best to force an entry. In order to better arrange and take plans for a naval invasion, Christovão de Moura succeeded in enlisting to his interests Contreras, a Spaniard employed in the Portuguese navy.

Moreover, Christovão de Moura maintained a constant correspondence with Madrid, not only directly with the King, but also with a junta organised in that capital with the object of exclusively discussing Portuguese affairs, and which was to keep the King well informed of all that took place.

With this junta corresponded also the Duke of Ossuna, the Spanish ambassador accredited to the Court of Portugal, who kept aloof from the secret negotiations established by D. Christovão so as not to compromise the name of the Catholic King, and thus afford a pretext of complaint against his proceeding. Hence the Duke limited himself to official acts and formalities, while it was D. Christovão who, as a fact, directed the policy followed, yet always under the vigilant eye of Philip II., from whom he received frequent instructions, notwithstanding the plenary confidence he had in his fidelity and skill. And, in truth, he fully merited this confidence. There was no State secret in Portugal, however hidden, but which was made known at the Escorial.

Intimidated by the preparations for war which were being made, D. Henrique hastened to convoke in Lisbon the Cortes which he had previously decided should be held in Almeirim. D. Philip II., who did not disdain to take any means which might favour his cause, charged Christovão de Moura to work in such a way as to induce the elections to fall on men devoted to the interests of Castille, or who could be easily bought over. In effect, he induced that the election of the members for Lisbon should fall to Alfonso de Albuquerque, who had already stained his brilliant name by going over to the party of Castille, and on Jorge da Cunha, who was a personal enemy of D. Henrique.

And in proportion as the representatives of the districts and councils began to flock to Lisbon, Christovão de Moura noted with joy that although the majority were unfavourable to the pretensions of his

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

master, nevertheless they were not disposed to acknowledge the Cardinal King a competent judge in a cause of such vital interest to the nation, and which was to be decided by the representatives of the people. This was a complication of affairs which greatly pleased the minister of Philip II., because it would be a serious opposition to the plan of D. Henrique, who had fully decided to declare the House of Braganza successor to the throne, and with this object had already secretly charged Pedro Barbosa and the chancellor to draw up a memorandum advocating the rights of D. Catherina. Moreover, Christovão, faithful to his system of persevering corruption, had already suborned various learned in the law, among them Doctor Cemtil, Henrique Simões, Philippe Diniz, and the learned Costa. At the price of heavy gold did De Moura obtain from these jurisconsults—who were not behind the nobles in villany and corruption—justifiable minutes of the rights of Philip II. These minutes were carefully preserved by the King of Spain, and when D. Henrique desired to strengthen the claims of the Duchess of Braganza by the votes of the Portuguese jurisconsults, the men he consulted, and who were entangled in the mesh of D. Christovão de Moura, would not, nor dared to do aught but maintain the rights of Philip II. in presence of the Cardinal King.

At this period the Duke of Ossuna arrived to Portugal as Ambassador Extraordinary of the King of Castille, and in an audience with D. Henrique, on the 18th of March, 1579, he introduced his master as a pretender whose rights were unquestionable, and vaguely threatened him by reminding him of the power of the Spanish sovereign, and of the grave inconveniences which would result to Portugal were the incontestable rights of a pretender be not attended to, who was fully prepared to maintain his claims at the force of arms.

D. Henrique avoided giving a direct reply and delayed the answer, but at length wrote to Philip II. and declared anew that he would be the judge of the cause, and therefore bade him send his allegations of right, which he would judge with the utmost impartiality, and in his favour, should his claims carry the greatest weight.

D. Christovão de Moura found himself seriously embarrassed. If Philip II. acknowledged the right of D. Henrique to be the judge of the cause, he subjected himself to his decision, which was more than probable would be unfavourable to the Catholic King. Should he refuse to acknowledge his competency, he ran the risk that the other

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

pretenders should assume the pretext that the justice of the claims alleged by Philip II. were so doubtful, that he dared not to dispute his rights with the other claimants in the open field. Hence, despite his prudence, D. Christovão continued to counsel the King that when all other means should fail, to question the legitimacy of the Cardinal King to the throne of Portugal, and openly to expel him.

The Cortes were opened in March, 1579. It was the wish of D. Henrique that they should simply nominate him the judge of the cause, and approve the measure he had decided upon of appointing governors for the kingdom and then separate.

The Cortes, however, were, on the contrary, desirous of arrogating to themselves the decision of the contention, and especially of knowing the names of the governors of the kingdom. Therefore, the King, finding the Cortes would not do so, exacted that they should follow the system adopted and inaugurated by the Cortes celebrated in Coimbra in 1473, that each order should elect a certain number of procurators (*procuradores*) among their members, and these be invested with their authorisation. By following this system, which limited the number of *procuradores*, it was an easier task for the Government to influence their decisions. This proposal was rejected, and the King then threatened to dissolve the Cortes. The members, in order to avoid this, at length decided to elect *definidores*, but instead of ten, as was customary, they elected forty.

In these elections were manifested the deep dissensions which existed throughout the kingdom. The representatives of the people were in the majority hostile to the Spanish domination, but they were also unfavourable to the pretensions of the Duke of Braganza, from which resulted that the *definidores* excluded all the *procuradores* from places which were under the Duke's dominion.

D. Henrique, finding himself opposed by this adverse manifestation against his favourite pretender, resolved, in order to crush the hopes of all the other pretenders, to insist on his project of marrying—a project which was at once seconded by the Cortes, and it was resolved upon to send an ambassador to Rome, who would lay before the Pope the desires of the nation, and implore the necessary dispensation in the interests of the country.

Another resolution was likewise adopted. The Cardinal King was declared judge of the cause of succession, but the sentence was not to be published until after his death, or in the event of the projected

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

marriage not taking place, or its proving unfruitful. It was further resolved, after a heated discussion, that in the event of the Cardinal dying before having given sentence, the suit to be decided by a tribunal composed of eleven judges selected by the King from twenty-four names sent in by the Cortes. Also the Cortes to present a further list of fifteen names from which the King to nominate five as governors of the kingdom.

Philip II. was perfectly conversant with all the political events of Portugal, but wishing to arrange the safest plan respecting an affair which was so intimately to his interest, he summoned his confidential minister to Madrid.

The departure of the latter was interpreted as a fall in favour and greatly rejoiced the adversaries of the Catholic King, but this idea was soon dispelled, because he returned to the kingdom as Ambassador of Spain to the Court of Portugal.

On the eve of the return of Christovão de Moura, the Cardinal D. Henrique was assailed by a fainting fit, which prostrated his strength in an alarming manner, but recovering himself, he summoned to the palace the three arms of the nation on the 1st of June at night, and receiving the above-mentioned lists, ordered the Secretary, Miguel de Moura, to propose the motive for this convocation. The object was to bind over the representatives of the people, the clergy, and the nobility by solemn oath to acknowledge as sovereign of Portugal none other but the Prince upon whom should justly be assigned the crown, under pain of disloyalty and treason, any such being reputed an enemy to the country. Another oath was also exacted. To resist to the utmost of their power all and every pretender who by means of force or in any other illegal manner should attempt to oppose the legal decision. The Cortes further pledged to obey the governors nominated by the Cardinal from among those proposed by them, as likewise to respect the decisions of the judges elected by the above-mentioned form.

In a loud voice the Secretary read out distinctly the formula of the oath, which was repeated, first by the representatives of the clergy, then by the nobility, and lastly by the people.

"As witnesses assisted," says Rebello da Silva, "the Doctor Simão Gonçalves Preto, the Chief Chancellor, the *desembargadores* Gaspar de Figueiredo, Paulo Affonso, Pedro Barbosa and Jeronymo Pereira de Sá, the Chancellor of Suplicação Gaspar Pereira, and the Chancellor of the Civil Law, Jorge Lopes."

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

"By constraining the Cortes to join their legitimacy to his, and binding liberty and the future to the absolute caprice of the ruler, the aged sovereign judged he had secured peace for his latter days."

"The nation was submissively abdicating into his hands the rights which at the beginning they had tried to defend, and consenting that even from the tomb a monarch incapable of elevated and resolute opinions should continue his dismal dictatorship, which he had assumed in the midst of public misfortunes."

"After death the shadow of D. Henrique would still haunt the throne, reigning through the voices of his chosen judges. Through inexcusable levity, or corroded by the leprosy which invaded the epoch, the States accepted these monstrous conditions, renounced their rights, and quitting the scene, gazed on the shadows of the coming night as though from the darkness around could possibly arise for the nation, which allowed itself thus to be manacled, the radiant aurora which signalised the period of D. João I."

"The results of this erroneous step were soon made evident. Carried away by his odium against the Prior of Crato, which did not allow him to behold in him simply the son of the Infante D. Luiz, but only the detested enemy of his authority, and moved by the affection vouchsafed to D. Catherina de Braganza, upon whose head it was his dearest wish to place and secure the crown, the Cardinal imagined that by binding consciences in the presence of God by an oath dictated to the States, he would more easily restrain the ambition of Philip II., who had the majority of the people against him, and the impatient aspirations of D. Antonio, who, although he might enlist some bands of the people to favour his cause, yet forsaken by the nobility, the clergy, and by the principal provinces of the kingdom, would be unable to supplant the House of Braganza, summoned to the throne by a sentence."

The Cardinal persisted in alienating the Prior of Crato from the throne, while endeavouring to draw nearer the Duke of Braganza. With this object he insisted upon the Prior taking the oath of obedience to the judges and governors which he should appoint, and in order to dispel all suspicions of partiality, he exacted a similar oath from the Duke of Braganza, who at once consented to the wish of the sovereign that so greatly favoured him.

The Prior, however, before taking the oath, attempted to offer some objections, which were not consented to, that the envoys of Castille take a similar oath in the name of their king. D. Henrique indignantly

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

replied, and the Prior, repressing his wrath at this manifest injustice, pledged his word. He then proceeded to the residence of Alexandre Frumento, the Nuncio, to protest against an act which had been effected under a moral coercion. This violent act of D. Henrique displeased all impartial men, and excited the indignation of the friends of D. Antonio. It was known that D. Henrique would only nominate governors who were of the party of the Duke of Braganza, and it was surmised that D. Christovão de Moura with gold and promises would corrupt some, if not all, and the victim be the Prior, who had only his popularity to reckon upon. The masses of Lisbon were, therefore, agitated and dissatisfied.

D. Christovão de Moura had become acquainted with the names of the list of the future governors, and had sent a copy to Philip II. Among the crowd of Lisbon floated vague rumours which no one knew whence they came, and agitation increased. There then arose accusations against the Ministers and against the Cortes. There was a moment when it seemed as though the heroic days of 1383 were returning, when the people manifested anew the conscience of its rights, and rose up to defend them. The shoemaker, Martim Fernandes, and the oil-presser, Antonio Pires, proceeded like the tanner and the tailor in the former days of D. Leonor, to raise their voices in the Convent of the Carmelites, where the arm of the nobility had gathered together, and to their dismay informed them that the machinations of many of their class were well known to sell the country over to Castille, but nevertheless that the inhabitants of Lisbon looked to the arm of the nobility to support the people in the defence of their independence.

The nobles, among whom were few stainless consciences, dared not to raise their voice against the noble daring of the mechanics, and limited themselves to simply replying that it was just and laudable of them to come forward in defence of the autonomy of the nation, and that they were quite one with them in its defence.

Martim Fernandes and Antonio Pires retired, pleased at the result of their attempt, which, in truth, bore small results. The traitor nobles only took greater precautions to conceal their intrigues. The Cardinal King was greatly alarmed, and feared revolutions among the people of Lisbon led by the Prior of Crato, while D. Christovão de Moura, faithful to his system of corruption, judged it would be a good expedient to descend from the nobility and corrupt the people. It is sad to

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

have to record the result, but even among the people, rude, honest, and straightforward, D. Christovão found consciences which allowed themselves to be bought, and in this way was able to crush the germ of insurrection, securing, at the heavy price of gold, the influence of some of the popular leaders.

This movement only served to terrify the Cardinal King, who, supposing that the revolt had actually taken place guided by the Prior of Crato, determined to strike down at one fell blow the arrogance of the pretender, by advancing against him a sentence of illegitimacy.

In order to judge the cause without coercion of any kind, the Cardinal King determined that the two Portuguese pretenders should withdraw a distance of thirty leagues from the capital. In obedience to this order, the Duke of Braganza departed to Villa Viçosa, and the Prior of Crato for Coimbra.

It was on that occasion that the Prior, in view of the obstinate enmity of his uncle, turned towards Castille, and made known that he was ready to yield up his claims in exchange for real and solid advantages. But in these negotiations with Philip II., D. Antonio was not loyal, and the man he sent to Madrid with his plenary powers, Antonio de Brito, was charged rather to investigate and explore the aspect of the Court of the Catholic King than to enter into any serious negotiations with him. D. Antonio then revealed himself to friends and adversaries what he was in reality—ambitious, faithless, and without honour, who was ready to sacrifice his party and his country to satisfy his cupidity; incapable of elevated thoughts, and, in a word, an individual unworthy of any confidence.

The propositions which Antonio de Brito was charged to make to the Catholic King were as follows :—

In the event of D. Henrique proffering a sentence in favour of D. Antonio, D. Philip II. was in no manner to attempt to oppose his accession to the throne.

Should the sentence be given in favour of Philip, D. Antonio would at once acknowledge him the legitimate sovereign of Portugal.

But were the sentence to nominate the Duke of Braganza, D. Antonio would then combat for the cause of Philip II., but in this case he was to receive rewards equivalent to the services he should offer.

Philip II. was not the man to yield to the Prior of Crato These first negotiations, wherein he desired to treat him as an equal, were

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

quickly put aside, and Philip, fearing little from his rival, followed up the affair of succession by organising another junta in Lisbon, similar to the one of Madrid, a secret conclave, composed of Christovão de Moura, the Duke of Ossuna, the Duke of Guardiola, the Count of Portalegre, and other traitor Portuguese nobles, also Molina and Rodrigo Vasques, jurisconsults who had come to Lisbon under pretext of sustaining the claims of their master, but in reality to delay in every possible manner the promulgation of the sentence—a sentence which would necessarily be unfavourable to Philip II., and which, after being given, he could not appeal against by force of arms with any plausible pretext.

Had D. Henrique possessed a moment of energy to resolve upon doing what he desired to do, which was to secure the crown for the Duchess of Braganza, the independence of Portugal would have been saved, but the Portuguese sovereign wished only to secure peace for his latter days, and hence favoured the plans of Philip II. by resorting to the expedient of delays, which was of such advantage to Spain.

But his whole energy was directed against the Prior of Crato, and while protracting the cause of the succession to the throne, he hastened with feverish impatience the verdict against the legitimacy of the Prior. The judges elected to constitute the tribunal which was to pronounce sentence were all known enemies of D. Antonio. But even were it not so, and even had D. Henrique not manifested such bitter aversion towards his nephew, the sentence must necessarily be given against him, because it was well known that the relations between D. Luiz and D. Violante Gomes were never sanctified by marriage. Therefore D. Antonio, like D. João I., the Master of Aviz, had no other means to resort to in vindication of his rights but his good sword and the vote of the people. D. João I. never attempted to prove the legitimacy of his birth: the will of the people was the only right he alleged, and the salvation of the country his strongest argument.

It was clearly shown during the process that the Prior of Crato could not possibly prove his legitimacy, hence sentence was given against him without any injustice, to the great joy of Christovão de Moura.

After sentence was pronounced against him, D. Antonio nevertheless employed every effort with the Roman Curia to advocate his cause. In this he was supported by the nations adverse to the aggrandisement of Philip II., principally France. The French ambassador accredited

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

to Rome, M. Debain, when communicating to his Government what passed in respect to Portugal, remarked upon the delay of granting a dispensation for the marriage of the Cardinal, and the indifference with which the Portuguese Court viewed the preparations and armament of Spain, and explained these facts by an evident secret understanding existing between Philip II., the Cardinal, and the house of Braganza. In another despatch, this same minister said that the Pontiff had decided to concede to D. Antonio the appellation of his cause, and explained these condescensions as a Castillian subterfuge in order to foster the hopes of the Prior, because meanwhile that this was pending, he would not attempt any more important acts.

And while affairs at Rome were proceeding ostensibly in favour of the son of D. Luiz, in Lisbon the implacable odium of his uncle continued to follow him. In a junta constituted of the jurisconsults who had voted the first sentence, the Cardinal King arranged a plan of inflicting a heavy punishment upon his detested nephew. The result of the conferences of the new tribunal, wherefrom were excluded the bishops, who could not in their sacred character decide criminal cases, was the sentence against D. Antonio of perpetual exile, and the deprivation of all titles, honours, and revenues.

D. Christovão de Moura, who knew all that passed, applauded the severity of the Priest King, assuring him that the partisans of the Prior were withdrawing from him in proportion as fortune frowned on the restless pretender.

The unquiet, daring character of D. Antonio terrified the timid Cardinal, who likewise feared the military preparations of Castille, and despite his affection for D. Catherina de Braganza, and of being intimately convinced of her rights to the Portuguese throne, he did not hesitate to sacrifice justice and affection to his own peace by entering into negotiations with Philip II. This resolution D. João de Mascarenhas, his intimate councillor, favoured; and in the communication of the most intimate secrets of State with Christovão de Moura, he hypocritically explained the sudden change of the Cardinal as an inspiration of Divine Providence, adding that the King was deliberating about inquiring from the Spanish ambassador which were the privileges and exemptions his master was disposed to concede to Portugal should he be declared heir, and this dishonourable old man cynically observed that it would not be difficult to buy over his colleagues in the Government.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Some days later the Portuguese ministers, Miguel de Moura and Francisco de Sá, presented themselves to the Spanish ambassador and sounded him respecting the intentions of the Catholic King. Christovão de Moura openly declared to them that as soon the rights of Philip II. to the Crown of Portugal should be acknowledged, he would subject himself as far as possible to the conditions which might be imposed by the Cardinal.

Astonished at such extreme condescension, the ministers judged they ought to take advantage of the goodwill of the ambassador to obtain some further concession. They urged that as the Catholic King was certain of the benevolence of the Cardinal in his regard, he ought, on his part, to give an example of moderation, by declaring that he would conform to the sentence he might give, as most certainly it would be pronounced in his favour. The favourite of Philip II. was sufficiently astute to unravel the web they sought to weave and entangle him in, and replied that were the Cardinal the only actual judge, his master would not hesitate to subject himself to his decision, but it might possibly occur that the cause be finally delivered over to judges whose impartiality they could not rely upon. The ministers further urged that whereas the Cardinal had ordered the citation of the various parties, he could not possibly yield up the judgment of the cause. To this the ambassador replied that his master would accept the judgment had he safe guarantees that the sentence would be in his favour. In effect, nothing was arranged or decided at the time; nevertheless, it was not altogether unfruitful to the Catholic King, because his confidential minister took the opportunity to buy over the negotiators, and which he partly effected. D. Francisco de Sá quitted the ambassador's house fully bent on favouring the Spanish pretender.

It was a sad and shameful position, that of the councillors of D. Henrique, who were secretly bound to favour the pretensions of Castille, but at the same time did not wish to provoke public animadversion by openly manifesting themselves partisans of Castille, and declared enemies to the independence of Portugal. Hence they strove in every possible way to conciliate both parties, and at length proposed as an only means of doing so, that the Cardinal should choose as heir the Infante of Spain, the second son of Philip II. But Christovão de Moura at once rejected the proposal, which was confirmed by Philip, as may be imagined, because the fact of accepting such a proposal was

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

tantamount to the annihilation of his ambitious plan of joining together the two kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula.

While these negotiations were pending, the ailments of the aged Cardinal increased, and towards the end of June, 1579, his health gave way, and caused serious apprehensions. He therefore hastened to solemnly declare the regents of the Kingdom in the event of his death. These were D. João de Mascarenhas, the Archbishop of Lisbon, D. Jorge de Almeida, Francisco de Sá, and D. João Tello de Menezes.

If the state of the Cardinal was serious, no less deplorable was the state of the kingdom. Famine and pestilence were afflicting Portugal, whilst awaiting that a third scourge, in the shape of war, should complete the triple manifestations of the wrath of the Almighty. The crops were scarce, the fields of Portugal had not proved fruitful under the efforts of the agriculturists, and 2,000 labourers were proceeding to Spain to find more grateful soil.

The pestilence was working such fearful ravages in Lisbon that D. Henrique became terrified, and his spirit grew weak at the moment when he most required power and energy to resist the insinuations of Spain. D. Christovão de Moura, to the contrary, preserved a stoic serenity in the midst of the desolating scourge, and coldly informed his master that one good effect of the pestilence was the rapid diminution of the partisans of D. Antonio.

D. Henrique was daily more inclined to favour Castille, nevertheless he felt remorse of conscience, which induced him still to offer some resistance to the arguments and tactics of D. Christovão de Moura. He urged that he could not compel the Portuguese to accept the yoke of a foreign monarch, to which Christovão replied that the Portuguese would accept the King he should give them so long as they retained the privileges, liberties, and exemptions to which they had a right. D. Henrique argued that the party of D. Antonio was very strong. D. Christovão refuted this by saying that Spain would take upon herself to subdue the pretensions of the Prior. Again the Cardinal King alleged that the kings of Christendom would never consent to the union of the two crowns, which argument De Moura met by saying that the fact of this jealousy existing among foreign nations was an evident proof of the strength of the Iberian union, since Europe feared it so much. His weak spirit found no arguments with which to combat the skilful emissary of Philip II., and the

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cardinal King was silenced, although he did not resolve upon acceding to the desires of D. Christovão.

In view of the irresolution of D. Henrique and his failing health, Philip II. judged it expedient to resort to force of arms, and at once prepared for war, by gathering together in Spain and in other nations the greatest number of soldiers, and instructing Christovão de Moura to suborn in Portugal all the commanders of strongholds, the officers of the militia, and with gold to paralyse all resistance which might be offered. The minister fulfilled his orders, and asked for ten or twelve thousand ducats to buy over subaltern leaders.

Meanwhile the Cardinal de Granvelle, the celebrated minister of Philip II., and the same who was so detested by the Dutch, was arriving with 24 galleys and 1,200 soldiers to Rosas, in Catalonia, while a similar levy was actively carried on in Italy. In Spain the Dukes of Medina, Sidonia, and Arcos; the Marquises of Viana and Ayamonte; the cities of Badajoz, Toro, Merida, Plasencia, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Jerez; the towns and places of the Chief Commander of Leon, and the districts of Ornachos and Alcantara; the lands of Valencia, Sierra de Gata, and Brasas were ordered to prepare recruits and levies.

All these preparations and intrigues, persevered in by Philip II., could not be viewed with indifference by foreign powers, who foresaw the danger which would result to Europe from the union of the two nations of the Iberian Peninsula, and the further aggrandizement of the already vast dominions of the son of Charles V.

The first to take the initiative was England, not only because on the throne sat the wise Queen Elizabeth surrounded by enlightened statesmen, but because England aspired to be a powerful maritime and colonial power, and therefore could not view with favour the union of the two most powerful seafaring nations of the time, which would close for ever against all other nations the paths opened by Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus.

Lord Burleigh saw the impending danger, and at once projected to form an alliance with France to oppose the ambitious plans of Philip II. Sir Henry Cobham, the English ambassador at Paris, received instructions to propose an alliance to the French Government, and to manifest to the King, Henry III., the advantages which would result from this alliance; and which, moreover, would favour Catherine de Medicis, who had come forward as a claimant to the Crown of Portugal.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

But in the frivolous court of Henry III. there was no one to second the political plans of the English minister, not even the monarch, who was valiant in the battlefield, but timid to risk an open strife with Spain, more especially as the incipient League, directed by the ambitious Duque de Guise, was threatening the stability of his throne.

Catherine de Medicis likewise followed with anxiety the menaces of intestine agitations, and was too preoccupied to attend to exterior complications, which the working out of the drama unfolding in Portugal might bring on Europe.

It was with some jealousy, however, that the King of France viewed the aggrandizement of the Catholic King, and although he did not wish openly to challenge him, he nevertheless employed diplomatic intrigues to embarrass him. The Duke of Anjou, who ardently desired to wear a crown, had lost all hopes of ascending the throne of Poland and of Flanders, and he now turned his gaze upon Portugal. The King of France instructed his ambassador in Lisbon, the Bishop of Comingues, to favour this project, and to come to an understanding with the two Portuguese pretenders, and, by offering them both large sums of money, destroy their adversaries against the King of Spain.

In effect, the French ambassador, following the denouncement made by Christovão de Moura to Philip II., incited D. Antonio to rise up with the nation as soon as the Cardinal's death should take place, promising aid in money and men from his master. It is suspected that the Duke of Braganza was offered an alliance of marriage between the Duke of Anjou and one of his daughters, thus joining in this manner the rights of niece of D. Henrique to the supposed claims of Catherine de Medicis. The Bishop, who desired in every way to further his mission, besought D. Henrique to consent that the mother of the King of France should present her allegations in defence of her rights.

Queen Elizabeth, finding that her project of alliance was rejected by Henry III., nevertheless did not cease to place obstacles to the plans of Philip II., and sent Edward Wotton on a special mission to Lisbon to offer the Cardinal King the aid of England to react against the pressure exercised by the Castillian King.

The fanaticism of the ex-Inquisitor neutralised all the efforts of England. Not wishing to receive aid from Protestants, yet undesirous of offending the English ambassador, because he feared a nation which was growing so powerful, he found a means of refusing the proffered

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

aid. The two pretenders, however, felt no scruple in interviewing Edward Wotton, which caused some apprehensions to D. Christovão de Moura who faithfully informed his master of what passed.

But the skilful emissary saw in the unpopularity and selfishness of the Duke of Braganza, and in the volatile character of D. Antonio, only frail elements to oppose Philip II., and when writing to Sir Francis Walsingham, he prophesied what unfortunately proved true, that Philip II. would easily effect the conquest of Portugal.

The Court of Rome was likewise disquieted by this enormous increase of power of Philip II. Notwithstanding that he was a monarch essentially religious, and who prided himself on his title of Catholic and Defender of Christianity, the Pontiff Gregory XIII. was amazed at the preparations and armaments made by his orders throughout his empire, and thought fit to remind him that his rights to the throne of Portugal had barely been sustained by his own vassals learned in the law, and therefore it would be more to the service of God to employ the forces he was collecting together against the infidels. He furthermore urged that he was ready to intervene with the King of Portugal in order that the choice of judges should be made from individuals of acknowledged impartiality.

Philip II. parried this blow by respectfully declaring to the head of the Church that he was sincerely convinced of the good intentions of the Cardinal D. Henrique, but that, should he judge the intervention of his Holiness desirable, he would at once demand it, hoping to obtain it. In this way he stayed the proceedings of the Pope.

Meanwhile the Cardinal King went from Lisbon to Almeirim for change, because his bodily ailments were daily increasing. On reaching Almeirim, he ordered D. Antonio to appear at the Court; but the Prior of Crato, not knowing what fate awaited him, did not obey, and the Cardinal, pursuing his implacable dislike against him, fulminated a sentence in which he deprived him of all privileges and charges, denaturalised him as a Portuguese subject, banished him out of the kingdom, and confiscated all his goods. Philip II., who viewed with satisfaction this rigorous proceeding, aided the intentions of the Cardinal by promising to arrest the Prior of Crato as soon as he should set foot on Spanish soil. The Prior of Crato, however, succeeded in evading all dangers, and the attempts of the Spanish monarch, joined to the vindictiveness of the King of Portugal, only served to produce a reaction in favour of D. Antonio among the people, who rallied around

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

him, and rose up in agitation, and proceeded to the palace to protest and complain against the blind partiality of the King.

D. Henrique was terrified at the agitation his acts had called forth, and now feared that D. Antonio, by means of some conspiracy, might attempt his life. He therefore had the palace more strictly guarded, and, like the infamous Cæsars among the Pretorians, trembled at the slightest noise, judging he was the object of concealed vengeance.

It was then that, overcoming his egotism and affection for the Duchess of Braganza, and his remorse of conscience, the terror-stricken monarch flung himself into the arms of the Catholic King to avoid the dangers which he judged threatened him.

The pretext for this evolution was afforded by a letter of Philip II., written in the Escorial on 24th August, 1579, to the Duke of Ossuna, in which the Catholic King greatly enhanced the advantages which both nations would receive from the union under one sceptre; and he enumerated the privileges which he would grant the kingdom should the Cardinal agree to nominate him and have him solemnly declared prince, heir, and successor to the throne of Portugal. Knowing the affection felt by D. Henrique for the daughter of D. Duarte, he also promised advantageous concessions to the House of Braganza, while at the same time he insinuated the small claims of his cousin D. Catherina.

This letter was intended to be read to the Cardinal, and was sent with that object; however, it was first shown to Christovão de Moura, who judged it was inexpedient to make so many promises (a great number of which would later on be difficult to fulfil) at a moment when D. Henrique spontaneously and decidedly was inclined to favour his master, and therefore it was senseless to purchase at so high a price what could easily be obtained gratis. He counselled the Duke of Ossuna to keep the letter and confine himself to simply narrating the context of it to D. Henrique. This was in effect done.

The Spanish emissaries then entered openly into negotiations with the Cardinal, who, grieved at thus sacrificing the rights of his niece, to whom he was sincerely attached, endeavoured to compensate her in some manner. He conferred with Philip II. on the subject, and it was not a difficult matter to obtain from him a project of accord, which he judged sufficient to satisfy D. Catherina.

The King of Spain promised the Duke of Braganza the land of

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Brazil with the title of King, the Mastership of the Order of Christ in perpetuity, and his son in marriage to one of his daughters.

Although Brazils was not at that epoch the flourishing State which it is at the present day, it was, nevertheless, a very promising province, but could not compensate for the loss of the Crown of Portugal, though it offered a large indemnification.

"This liberality of the Catholic King proves," says Pinheiro Chagas, "that had Portugal organised an energetic resistance, Philip II. would have recoiled from the idea of subjugating the Portuguese by force, because the attitude of Europe was causing grave disquietude, and, moreover, he had been weakened by the prolonged conflict of the revolt of the united provinces."

D. Henrique forwarded this proposal to D. Catherina, who, trusting to the friendship of her uncle, had never expected such a disillusion. She replied in a haughty, dignified manner that she did not market her rights, the legitimacy of which he, her uncle, had acknowledged. That the only concession she could make in order to avoid the spilling of blood would be to renounce the crown in favour of her eldest son, or one of her daughters, should the former marry an Infanta of Spain, or the latter the Spanish prince-heir.

This arrangement did not meet the approval of Philip II., and the negotiations fell through. The Duke of Braganza in his disappointment vociferated against the designs of the Cardinal, and the Prior of Crato meanwhile took this opportunity to excite the populace.

The emissaries of Castille judged it opportune and expedient to publish numerous opuscles, not only upholding the claims of Philip II., but also to prove the great advantages which would accrue to Portugal from the union of the two kingdoms.

In opposition to these publications appeared numerous others, some in defence of the rights of the Duchess of Braganza, others in favour of D. Antonio, but one and all declared the falsity of the promised advantages, and endeavoured to rouse the national patriotism and the courage of the people, by reminding the nation of the victory of Aljubarrota. But it was in vain to appeal to the spirit of patriotism; the corruption of Castillian gold had produced its effect, and the noblest spirits felt disheartened by the surrounding depression.

The Bishop of Silves wrote to all the cities and towns of the kingdom advising submission to Philip II. The virtuous prelate, who saw those who should offer an example of abnegation and honesty

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

dominated by sordid interests, the kingdom divided into factions, impoverished, desolated by famine and pestilence, judged it was temerity, and even sheer insanity, to combat against the colossal power of Castille. The voice of the Bishop rising up with authority, because sincere, sank deeply into the hearts of many who saw with disgust the selfishness and the rampant corruption, the ambitions of power so meanly brought forward sacrificing the humble merely to gratify the powerful.

Meanwhile the Prior of Crato was developing a fear-inspiring activity against the partisans of Castille, who, dreading lest he, protected by popular enthusiasm, should endeavour to conquer the throne by means of a seditious acclamation, urged the Cardinal to summon a Cortes, in which to ratify the election he intended to make of Philip II. as his heir.

The Councils were advised to nominate representatives. On all sides the dominating faction at the palace exercised extreme violence. It will suffice to state what occurred in Coimbra and in Lisbon.

Coimbra elected as its representative Ayres Gonçalves de Macedo, a decided partisan of D. Antonio. The Cardinal King rejected the election, and moreover ordered him to be apprehended. The Senate of Coimbra submissively bent to the royal will, and nominated instead Gaspar Fogaça, a person of distinction, but who was more condescending to the desires of the monarch.

In Lisbon the deputies chosen were, Diogo de Salerna and D. Manuel de Portugal, who were not only of the party of the Prior of Crato, but not even partial to D. Henrique who did not hesitate a moment in rejecting the election. The capital of Portugal followed the example of Coimbra, and proceeded to a new election, which fell on D. Manuel de Sousa and Phebus Moniz. This election was quite to the heart of the Cardinal, for had it not been so, he had the remedy at hand, and he would have repeated the expedient he had resorted to in the previous election. The events which followed quickly convinced his majesty that oppression and intolerance do not always constitute the best system of governing.

The new Cortes were opened in Almeirim on the 11th of January, 1580. The opening session was spent in formalities, and at its close the Cortes removed to Santarem, as it afforded better accommodation. The meetings were held in the Convent of Saint Francis, and little disposition was manifested of acceding to the wishes of the sovereign.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The first speech from the opposition was delivered by Phebus Moniz, the member for Lisbon, elected in the place of Salema.

Moniz was a Knight of the Order of Christ, Chamberlain to the King, and over sixty years of age. But age and its consequent weakness had not broken down the rigid austerity of his character, incapable of bending to what his conscience reprobated. It was his right to preside in this assembly of deputies, and at first he was viewed with suspicion by the friends of independence; but he succeeded by the decision of his acts to win their sympathies.

Lifting his voice in the midst of the deliberations, and contemning the consequences of odiums which he challenged, he never hesitated between duty and truth.

As soon as the first insinuation was attempted to move the members to vote with the ecclesiastical state and the nobles the election of Philip, there sprang up within the heart of the veteran knight all the slumbering bravery of his youth, and he rose up to bitterly lament the session of the 13th of January that he should thus have been taken from the peace and tranquillity of a private life for this sad office, and in vigorous language he reprobated the want of faith in some, and the complicity of others. He bitterly bewailed that in presence of Portuguese they should dare to eulogise the foreign domination, always cruel and heavy for a country proud of the liberties conquered by the sword.

He then appealed to the King and invoked the ancient valour of the Portuguese, and bade him take compassion of the kingdom, and not forget the victories and brave deeds of his predecessors in order to give it up to captivity to a foreign prince, and turn a deaf ear to the cries of the people and to the dictates of his own conscience.

The voice of the member for Lisbon awakened those who, in the house, had commenced to slumber, soothed by the promises and seductions of D. Christovão de Moura and the ministers of the Cardinal. Many now rose up ashamed of their apathy, others through jealousy of influence did not wish to allow Moniz to stand alone, hence the majority confirmed the motion that it was essential to insist on the opinion that to the people alone belonged the right of electing a king in the event of an acknowledged successor to the throne being wanted.

This movement of the Cortes was echoed by the public; it was therefore an excellent occasion for the fusion of the two Portuguese

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

pretenders, because it would be only by joining the forces of both that the nation could be placed in a position to resist the foreign aggression. An attempt was made to effect this by taking as the basis of the concord the marriage of D. Antonio with one of the daughters of the Duke of Braganza. But this negotiation was not continued owing to the incompatibility of character of the two pretenders. The Duke was haughty and rigid, and could not agree with the volatile, inconstant temper of D. Antonio. Only one circumstance—which did not unfortunately exist—might have dispelled the discord existing between them: this circumstance was, should their proceeding be actuated by the sentiment of the common good of the country. But this was not the case. Each was actuated by personal interest, by the vain ambition of wearing the crown, and not by the noble thought of maintaining the independence of the nation.

The Prior of Crato, who was sincerely popular, especially among the classes throughout the country, was disheartened at the persistent persecution received from the Cardinal, and instead of taking advantage of the strength which his popularity afforded him to win the purple as João I. had done before him, preferred to make use of it to negotiate with Philip II., judging that he had a right to treat with him as an equal, and make the most absurd conditions.

The French ambassador at the Court of Madrid, M. Vivonne de Saint-Goard, having obtained a copy of the official letter of D. Christovão de Moura, wherein he communicated to the Catholic King the proposals of D. Antonio, cautioned Henry III. against entering into any negotiations with the pretender, because he was a man capable of treachery with his allies, after selling himself as he was actually doing. Besides the discredit in the Court of France, the contempt of the Court of Madrid was the only result derived by Antonio from his baseness.

The proposals were rendered unacceptable owing to the hard conditions imposed by D. Antonio, but it likewise was despicable on account of the demands which accompanied it. He asked 300,000 ducats rental, and the nomination of governor in perpetuity of Portugal and her dominions, adding in justification of this, that he desired the governorship simply in order to satisfy a number of personal vengeances!

This declaration astonished Christovão de Moura, not only on account of its baseness, but from the foolishness it revealed. From that moment he felt secure, and wrote to Philip II. that an individual such as the Prior of Crato might be a troublesome adversary, but

Digitized by Google Origina from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

never a terrible foe. That he might raise obstacles in the carrying out of the Spanish policy, but not paralyze it. He was active and ambitious, but had no firmness in his actions, nor dignity in his ambition. The partisans of Castille counselled the Cardinal to forbid anew, under severe penalties, that any one should offer hospitality or conceal D. Antonio in their houses.

The Cardinal followed the advice, which was in conformity with his own sentiments, but no one took heed of his orders, which were attributed to fear, personal enmity, and the imbecility of old age. Public manifestations in favour of the cause of D. Antonio took place in Coimbra, and assumed such proportions that it nearly became a tumult. An inquiry being ordered by the Cardinal in order to punish the insurgents, the magistrate who was charged to carry out this thorny mission judged it more prudent to retire ere the commission met. Meanwhile that this retirement was effected, due to great prudence and a sign of small power, the Bishop D. Antonio Pinheiro was declaring to the states, in the name of the King, that no pretender to the Crown, except Philip II. of Spain, and D. Catherina de Braganza, could allege any admissible claims.

In view of what had taken place in the Cortes of Lisbon a year previously, wherein the wishes of the Cardinal were received with the most submissive condescension, it was expected that a similar form would be taken in the Cortes of Almeirim, owing, moreover, to the greater efforts and stringent action assumed by the ministers in order that the representatives of the councils should be selected men who would not be likely to resist.

But very quickly were these hopes dispelled. As soon as the courageous, austere voice of Phebus Moniz resounded in the assembly, the message of the King was received with cries of indignation. But the King had gone so far in the path of selfishness and odiums that he could not possibly retreat. Hence he determined to proceed, even at the expense of greater violence.

The first message was followed by a second, delivered also by the Bishop Antonio Pinheiro, in which the King declared to the representatives of the people that Philip II. was the claimant to the throne he acknowledged as having the legitimate right.

"On hearing this message," says Pinheiro Chagas, "Phebus Moniz rose up full of indignation and in a paroxysm of grief, addressing the crucified Christ, as the highest representative of Justice, protested with

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

face bathed in tears and plucking his beard in despair, against such base treachery."

On that same night many of the members held a meeting, and instigated by this ardent patriot, sent couriers to the places they represented, advising them of what was being done, and urging them to resistance and opposition.

Irritated at this unexpected resistance, the Cardinal resolved that the arm of the nobility should proceed to Almeirim to receive his orders. As soon as the nobles entered the palace the Count of Tentugal and the Commandeur of the Order of Christ were expelled from the assembly, and D. Manuel de Portugal arrested for having declared themselves disaffected to the party of Spain.

This persecution, as usually happens, only served to turn the indifferent into enemies, and as a consequence increase the embarrassments of the position.

The Duke of Braganza solicited and obtained an audience from the Cardinal, in which, after expressing astonishment at his proceedings, concluded by demanding whether he really desired him to yield up his right, and if so, to grant him the following favours.

First—That he should make public the testament of D. Sebastian; secondly—To moderate the sentence proffered against D. Antonio; and thirdly—To nominate him a Portuguese prince.

"And my niece and your wife?" the Cardinal asked in alarm.

"I will see that she consents," replied the Duke.

The King was silenced.

Among the nobility there was also great disquietude, although the gold and promises of Castille had won over many adherents, nevertheless in their meetings there were serious conflicts, provoked by the venality and imprudence of those that voted in favour of Castille who on the previous day had manifested themselves adverse.

Yet what produced a great impression on the public spirit, taking into account the ideas of the time, was the solemn act practised on the 22nd of January, when nearly all the representatives of the kingdom assisted publicly at the holy communion, and when receiving the Blessed Sacrament swore to prefer death to pledging obedience to Philip II.

The indefatigable activity developed by the Prior of Crato was producing its effects, and despite the violence practised at the elections, he fondly hoped to find support. He was not mistaken.

When the chamber of deputies had been constituted, he sent them a

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

letter in support of his pretension. As soon as the Cardinal King was apprised of this daring act, he immediately summoned Phebus Moniz, the president of the people's representatives, demanding that the letter be delivered up. The president Moniz calmly replied that the letter was closed and sealed, and besought him not to exact from him to do what was contrary to his honour, because he would not do it.

The Cardinal did not insist, but dismissed the honest member with evident signs of displeasure. The displeasure of the King did not make the heart of Phebus Moniz quail, but on the contrary he continued the path he had traced out for himself, and with his colleagues discussed openly in the assembly, whether the election of the successor of the crown should be decided by the representatives of Lisbon only, or by the votes of the whole kingdom. It was decided that it should be done by the representatives of the whole kingdom. This decision was communicated to the King.

D. Henrique resented this bitterly, and sent an explanation through the Bishop of Leiria, that the assembly was to limit itself to debates upon important affairs, in order to end their labours as soon as possible, while at the same time he bade them understand that he judged it was to the good of the kingdom that Philip II. should be heir to the throne.

It may be easily imagined how much this contempt for the deliberations of the national assembly embittered the spirit of its members. They decided to reply with similar contempt, by again informing his Eminence of the former resolve, without alluding to the last message.

The second deputation was headed like the first one, by Phebus Moniz, whose spirit was still irritated by the former proceeding of the King. It appears he exceeded in words, which afforded a pretext for the Cardinal to end the conference, by saying that a monarch could not brook that his subjects should speak to him in this manner.

But the Cardinal perceived that if he continued his violent action he would only embitter his subjects and increase difficulties, and he resolved upon employing a more gentle system. He informed the deputies that the last message could not have been delivered to them in the terms he had dictated.

The deputies replied that if their right of electing a King was acknowledged, they were resolved upon leaving the election in the hands of his Highness, provided he bound himself to nominate a Portuguese prince.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

As a last attempt at conciliation the Cardinal summoned the representatives of Lisbon, Evora, Oporto, Coimbra, and Santarem, and urged them to adopt the resolutions of the ecclesiastical arm and of the nobility who had already favourably voted.

A dialogue ensued between Phebus Moniz and the King, who became at length impatient at the opposition shown by the energetic member for Lisbon, and bluntly asked him, "What is it that you require?"

"That your Highness should hear the people, and if they have a right to elect, to elect a Portuguese King; because if a Castillian one be elected, he will neither be accepted nor obeyed."

Unfortunately events later on did not correspond to these noble words. It is indubitable that if at the head of this national resistance there had been a leader worthy by his intelligence and character to direct the destinies of the nation at that juncture, the King of Spain would most probably never have worn the diadem of Portugal.

Meanwhile the ailments of the Cardinal King were becoming aggravated, and inspired grave fears. The Duchess of Braganza, who was now disillusioned of the affection of her uncle, nevertheless still retained some hopes. When, however, the Duke apprised her that the King had directed the Cortes to recognise the King of Spain as the heir to the crown, and, moreover, had shown towards himself great resentment, owing to his supposed alliance with the Prior of Crato, she judged that it was needful to make a supreme effort.

She resolved upon presenting herself at the Court and solicit an audience from her uncle, whom she had not seen for a long time. She proceeded with a numerous suite, and all the splendour for which the House of Braganza was renowned. She herself was robed with majestic elegance, and escorted by outriders and horsemen. The people welcomed her enthusiastically, and with cries of "Here comes our Queen." The Cardinal King received her shedding tears—possibly of remorse—and to her pleadings he replied by broken words and sobs, until he desired her to retire, because the deep commotion her visit had caused was exhausting him.

It was indeed true. D. Henrique had been unable to avoid this visit, and was compelled to receive the princess whom he had disinherited, yet whom he had always loved, and who now came to take an account of his perjured promises!

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Such was the dramatic scene which D. Henrique, already with the shadow of death over him, was unable to avoid. He had employed every effort to avert complications in his last days, yet all his delays and perfidies had only served to range all parties against him, the pretenders and the Cortes, the people and the foreigners. He had exposed himself to the recriminations of D. Catherina, to the obstinate opposition of D. Antonio, whom he had ill-treated, and even to the accusations of Philip II., whom he had at first opposed, yet in the end had sacrificed all for him, while still he held him in odium. Sad contradictions of a weak spirit!

The end of January, 1580, was approaching, and the hour was nigh when D. Henrique should be cut off from the living. His last moments were truly bitter. He was well aware that the only person for whom he had felt affection and who had truly loved him was embittered and disillusioned, and from her retirement was uttering curses upon him. He knew that D. Antonio, despising his orders whom no one respected, not only had not left Portugal, but had dared to come to Almeirim to assist *incognito* at the entry of D. Catherina. He knew that the people had gathered in crowds around the palace, and did not repress expressions of wrath, and even disturbed his death-agony by insulting epithets.

Writhing with remorse on the bed of thorns which he himself had prepared, D. Henrique delivered up the administration to the five governors of the kingdom, and conscious that his last moments were near, he prepared to die.

The governors, on witnessing the popular agitation, surrounded themselves with soldiers, fearing that some revolution should take place; meanwhile that the Duke of Braganza clamoured against the injustice done to his wife. D. Antonio summoned his partisans, and the Castillians joined together to deliberate whether to order the troops of Philip II. to enter without delay. It was in the midst of all these rumours of war and conflict, the echoes of which resounded in the solitary chamber of death, that D. Henrique breathed his last sigh at eleven at night of the 31st of January, 1580.

It is said he died peacefully. After being silent for a considerable time, his breathing becoming laboured, he suddenly turned round and said to the priests who surrounded his bed, "The hour has come." The prayers for the dying were recited, but he no longer could hear them, for he slept the eternal sleep.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

His death was not mourned or wept over, excepting by those who in sadness beheld that the only barrier—frail, it is true, but legal—which sustained the kingdom on the brink of the precipice of foreign domination, had fallen into the abyss. Who can tell but that weary of an existence which had become so bitter during his last days, he sighed for death as supreme bliss?

But the death of the Cardinal King, although it surprised none, nevertheless produced a general misfortune. For a year and a half had his government lasted, yet during these months the various parties had been unable to assume any definite attitude, and all were anxious that his existence should be prolonged in order to effect some radical movement. D. Antonio was dissatisfied, because he had had no time to organise his party. The Duke of Braganza, because he had lost all hopes of the King yielding to the influence exercised over him by the Duchess, and even Philip II., because he had not succeeded in obtaining from D. Henrique a sufficiently explicit declaration of his rights, and found himself at this moment deprived of his alliance and face to face with the rebel Cortes and the people menacing and discontented.

The five magistrates of the kingdom were not the men capable of steering the bark of the State in such difficult waters In the first place they did not possess a sufficient prestige, for it was well known that, with one exception, they had been bought over by the gold of Castille, and, moreover, the decree dated 12th of January, 1579, did not even invest them with sufficient powers for them to take an energetic action. They could neither reward nor punish—an essential prerogative, without which supreme authority is rendered completely null. Yet this faculty was conceded to them in the event of the country being in imminent danger. These governors were, as we know, the Archbishop of Lisbon, D. João de Mascarenhas, Francisco de Sá, D. João Tello de Menezes, and Diogo Lopes de Sousa.

Their position was truly embarrassing. They were conscious of being detested by the people, they felt they were dependants of the Spanish ambassadors, and they feared a great opposition from the Cortes, wherein still predominated the patriotic eloquence of Phebus Moniz. Hence they endeavoured to win the sympathy of the public in their first acts, by addressing a letter to all the cities and towns, urging them to concord, and promising that they would endeavour to carry out faithfully the laws, and judge impartially the question of the succession

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

to the crown. The assembly sent Martim Gonçalves da Camara, in the name of the Government, to the deputies of the Councils to assure them he would watch their rights to nominate a successor, and the resolving of this question in all justice, and he would engage to search for any writings or documents which might be required from the archives. The regents also urged their impartiality in the cause of the succession, and exhorted the representatives to use all their efforts to preserve the public tranquillity.

This message was received with visible manifestations of distrust bordering on hostility. Phebus Moniz replied for all, and his violent reply, which at times became a formal accusation, concluded by advising the deputies to nominate another regency.

Martim Gonçalves, who was not in the secret of the insidious plans of the Government, retorted, with the best intentions, that at the present juncture it would be dangerous to make a change, and that they could easily depose the magistrates, should their actions confirm the complaints of the people.

Moniz refuted this specious argument, although a sincere one, by alleging that as they should soon have to be divided, on account of the expense, it would not be difficult to take this measure, the only efficacious one, and which circumstances rendered urgent.

The vote of the President was received by the assembly with signs of approbation, and it was expected that in the next session it would be adopted. But, to the surprise of Phebus Moniz, the opinion prevailed of those who reputed it a great scandal and dire example to disobey the governors, and still more elect others.

In order that this decision should not appear inspired by fear or venality, the representatives resolved upon severely admonishing the regency and bidding them take note of the following measures.

First—That the governors exchange their residence from Almeirim to Santarem, where the Cortes were assembled, in order to be more at hand.

Secondly—That they dismiss the soldiers who had been summoned around them, because they were incurring expenses which would be more advantageously spent in defending the country against the foreigner.

Thirdly—That efficacious measures be taken for the defence of the nation.

Fourthly—That an embassy be sent to the Pope, in order to beseech

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

him to urge upon Philip II. not to attempt to resolve the contention by force of arms.

Fifthly—That the seducers be punished who worked in the interests of any pretender.

Sixthly—That all those whom the Cardinal had given appointments to from the time when he had definitely turned to the party of Castille, should be exonerated from their charges.

Seventhly—That envoys be sent to Philip II., to assure him that entire justice should be done to the various pretenders.

These articles were consigned to writing and forwarded to the regents, who were tranquillised in view that they were offering a truce at the most opportune moment for taking the energetic resolution counselled by Phebus Moniz, and which would be approved by the public.

They trusted that the gold and promises of Castille would have still sufficient power to withdraw from the burning tribunal those who had followed it, and allow them to remain alone with their patriotism and honesty. They were not deceived in their hopes.

The regents elected by the Cardinal were men of experience and of the knowledge of the times. From the moment when the deputies allowed the only occasion to escape them, when they might have changed the aspect of events, they knew they had nothing to fear from that quarter. It was sufficient for them to gain time, and the rest was in the hands of the Castillian seducers. To the above-mentioned articles they sent the following replies:—

First—That they would soon quit Almeirim (nevertheless they did not designate the city or town selected for their residence.)

Secondly—That it would not be well to dismiss the troops summoned by D. Henrique to guard the Court.

Thirdly—That orders had been already sent to the Alcaides and captains of strongholds, to withdraw to them under penalty of losing their appointments, and steps would be taken to continue the repairs of fortresses which guarded the entrance of the bar of Lisbon and the shores of the Tagus.

Fourthly—That it was unnecessary to send envoys to Rome so long as Philip II. did not offer any manifestation of hostilities.

Fifthly—That they would punish with the full rigour of the law such as should be convicted of the crime of bribery and corruption.

Sixthly—That the Bishop of Coimbra and Manuel de Mello would soon depart for Madrid.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The article wherein was demanded the surrender of the appointments given in recompense for treachery to the country was passed over in silence.

Meanwhile the two pretenders did not desist from their efforts to win the diadem they so yearned to wear.

The Duke of Braganza presented himself to the governors and declared that he subjected himself to the decision of the judges nominated to decide the cause of the succession, but at the same time insinuated that should his rights be unattended to, he would insist on his claims being respected. This insinuation, however, did not cause the smallest alarm to his rivals, who well knew that the Duke was not the man to risk in the chances of fortune the security of his person and property. It is true he aimed at winning the crown, and he would rejoice that they should place it on his head, but he would not gain it by seditious means nor on the battlefield. Furthermore, he would not risk the certainties of the present for the eventualities of the future, the wealth he enjoyed and the honours and dignities of which he was invested.

The Prior of Crato was more active and daring, and inspired graver fears. As soon as the death of the Cardinal took place he proceeded to Lisbon, intending to take up his residence in the palace. He was well aware that the authorities were unfavourable to him, but he counted upon the popular classes to uphold him.

Taking up his residence near the city, he asked the magistrates to come and receive him, meanwhile that his partisans sought to rouse up the people by tumultuous manifestations in the streets. These efforts were counteracted by his opponents, who had numerous adherents in the city. The magistrates sent the captain of the forces to invite him to retire from the place and its suburbs. D. Antonio treated disdainfully both the message and the bearer, but later on yielded, in view that the tumults he had expected to take place were not exhibited, and moreover the rulers were firmly resolved upon apprehending him if he resisted.

He withdrew to Belem, from whence he wrote to the States to the effect that he had come to be present at the funeral ceremonies of the deceased King, but that finding this was not so soon to take place, he remained with the saintly monks to pray with them for the repose of the soul of his uncle; that were it not for other duties he would linger, and desired the Cortes to assign to him the place of residence; that by his behaviour he would prove the injustice of their conduct

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

towards him and the right he had to succeed to the throne. He concluded by declaring that he was about to depart for Santare m confidently trusting himself in the hands of those whose duty it was to protect him.

The Cortes were not pleased at this message, and feared the turbulent spirit of the Prior might promote discords. However, they disguised their fears and replied to the pretender that he was welcome to come as he desired, and would be lodged in a manner due to his rank.

On arriving at Santarem and taking his quarters in the convent of Saint Francis, he presented the pontifical brief which invalidated the sentence of the Cardinal against the legitimacy of his birth, and endeavoured to promote a new process.

In accord with him, his partisans on all sides declared that until this point should be decided the cause of the succession could not be resolved with equity.

The activity of the Prior disquieted the regents, but whom they feared was Philip II., who was bringing to bear a great pressure upon them, not only on account of the power of the army which he had ready for invading Portugal, but by reason of the conspiracies which had been brewed in secret during the lifetime of the Cardinal, and of which they themselves had been the principal agents, impelled by the bribery of Castille.

As soon as the exequies of D. Henrique were concluded, D. Christovão de Moura and the Duke of Ossuna solicited an audience of the governors, and plainly asked to know the true state of affairs.

The governors avoided to give the desired information, by alleging that as they had their attention taken up by affairs of such urgency they were unable to do so at the moment. They were thus forced to obtain their information by the hidden channels which they so well knew. They learnt that the declaration said to have been made by D. Henrique in favour of Philip II. had disappeared. That in the testament dated 27th of January, 1580, the Cardinal did not name the person to succeed him, and only limited himself to order his vassals to offer obedience to the pretender who should be acknowledged heir by the judges appointed by himself to decide the question.

Miguel de Moura, the Secretary of the Cardinal, and his confessor had, after the death of the King, burned all the papers they judged proper to suppress.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

D. Christovão saw clearly all this. The governors had destroyed all papers which had any reference to the negotiations plotted during the lifetime of D. Henrique with the Spanish ambassadors. These negotiations had been minutely recorded in a document of Philip II· traced as a memorandum, and which time has respected. Carried away by a natural feeling of indignation, D. Christovão counselled that all obstacles be levelled by publishing a manifesto in which would be revealed the duplicity and dishonourable conduct of the governors. This resolution of D. Christovão had been foreseen, and the governors in terror despatched to Madrid the Bishop of Coimbra and Manuel de Mello as envoys extraordinary, with the ostensible object of officially participating the death of D. Henrique to Philip II., and to beseech him to concur in the nomination of the judges appointed by the Cardinal to pronounce sentence in the cause of the succession, in the plenary confidence that impartial justice should be shown in the judgment.

Secretly, however, they were charged to dissuade Philip II. from adopting or following the advice which should be offered by D. Christovão, who, angered at the timidity and inaction of the governors, was about to propose to his master to reveal the occult negotiations which had taken place with the Cardinal, thus exposing the regents as double traitors to the indignation and opprobrium of the people.

It was due to the prudence of the Catholic King, rather than to the reasoning and eloquence of the ambassador, that the regents were saved from this great ignominy, and which would have resulted in loss of life. The son of Charles V., with his clear intelligence, saw that to act thus would only bring discredit on the traitors without deriving any advantage for his cause; rather, to the contrary, he would lose much, because the discredit would reflect on himself.

Such was the internal state of the country and the dismal situation of the governors. Placed between the exigencies of the King of Castille, who invoked the promises made, and the threats of the pretenders and the people, the regents would gladly have availed themselves of the system adopted by the Cardinal King of delay and protracting as far as possible the conclusion of the affair. But events were hastening the end, and Philip II., ever imperious, would not allow that the men who had bartered their consciences should slip away from his iron grasp.

External policy in relation to Portugal was not more hopeful in the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

eyes of the true friends of the country. The foreign powers who would gladly place obstacles to the ambition of Philip II. had not sufficient confidence in the regents to risk their armies in a country where, instead of an energetic resistance, they found only treacheries and despondency.

The governors of the kingdom, who strove to find allies in order to deliver themselves from the terrible responsibility of surrendering the kingdom to the foreigner, addressed Elizabeth of England, invoking the ancient alliance which, from the time of D. João I., united both nations, and besought the Queen to protect in Portugal the liberty of election of its sovereign, and not permit the country to fall defenceless into the hands of a foreign monarch.

How else could they speak to the Queen of England but in vague terms? They could not tell her that it was especially against the King of Spain that they besought her protection. Nor could they pledge to her that they would be the first to promote the resistance of Portugal against the ambition of Philip II.

Hence Elizabeth replied in equally cautious terms to the message which was presented by the ambassador in London, D. Antonio de Castilho, and counselled the Portuguese to end the discords at a moment when the independence of the nation was imperilled.

But although Elizabeth and other sovereigns did not dare to promise formally to the Portuguese their aid, they nevertheless endeavoured to prevent Philip II. from realising his plans.

Henry III. urged the Pope not to permit, by employing his spiritual authority, that Philip II. should by force of arms take possession of a Catholic kingdom. Gregory XIII. was quite ready to aid him, and ordered the Nuncio to forbid the governors of the kingdom to elect a king so long as the question of the legitimacy of D. Antonio remain undecided.

On the other hand, the Protestants, who viewed Philip II. as their capital enemy, feared lest he should increase his power and forces, and therefore used every indirect means to prevent the conquest of Portugal. The Huguenots of La Rochelle bound themselves to defend the cause of the Portuguese, provided its ports were opened to them. Elizabeth of England after mature reflection, judging that the Duchess of Braganza had the greater chance of gathering together a large party, asked Catherine of Medicis through her ambassador at Paris, if she was disposed to yield up her rights in favour of the Duchess, and

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

although the suspicious Florentine did not reply in a decided manner, nevertheless the French ambassador at Rome pleaded warmly the cause of the Duchess. The latter also wrote to Elizabeth of England wishing to win the sympathies of foreign nations. This was done through the intervention of the Portuguese ambassador in Paris, who delivered the letter to the English ambassador, Sir Henry Cobham. In Madrid likewise D. Rodrigo de Lencastre communicated with the French envoy, M. Vivonne de Saint Goard, in the name of the Duchess, in order that the pleadings of D. Catherina should be transmitted to Henry III.

The projected marriage, but which was never realised, of the Duke Francis of Anjou with Elizabeth of England appeared to favour the plans of the Duchess of Braganza, by more firmly binding the two nations, whose interest was to keep down the growing increase of Spanish power.

The indecision and hesitation of Henry III. lost the cause: this weak sovereign welcomed the Portuguese ambassador, Francisco Geraldes, authorised his minister in Madrid to confer frequently with the emissaries of the Duchess of Braganza, but this only served to disquiet Philip II., while he imagined he could prevent him from aiding the League which was being organised in France under the direction of the Duke de Guise, and with this he was satisfied.

While the foreign nations were delaying to muster together to oppose the ambition of Philip II., and were unable individually to combat with their insufficient forces against the Spanish monarch, Philip II. continued fearlessly the realisation of his plans, and made use of any means he imagined might be of service.

The Duke of Barcellos, son of the Duke of Braganza, who had been made a prisoner in Alcacer Kibir, was now released from captivity in Africa, and passing through Spain on his return was received by his relative the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and by orders of Philip II. entertained with feasts and amusements under a species of captivity, until at length he manifested his intention in such a manner that the youthful Duke complained in a letter he wrote to Portugal. His parents were very wrath at this violation of the laws of hospitality. The Cortes took his part, and likewise protested; but Philip II. was not disposed to release his prey, probably judging that the Dukes of Braganza, in order to win back their son, would desist from their pretensions. However, the Spanish junta of Lisbon represented to

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

him the folly of this proceeding, which only served to irritate the kingdom without any useful result. Philip II. yielded, and the Duke of Barcellos departed for Portugal.

The entry of the Duke de Barcellos into Portugal afforded a plea for the reconciliation of the two Portuguese pretenders, a fact which would have been a happiness for the country, but once more was it proved that ambition never yields to patriotic sentiments.

The Prior of Crato sent a message of courtesy to the young Duke, which was meant as a means of opening a path to reconciliation, but this was not replied to, and the two parties continued separated and detesting each other more than they did the foreigner.

Meantime a sullen strife existed between the governors and the King of Spain. The former endeavoured to recover their former independence, which they had lost long ago by yielding to bribery, while Philip II. strove to render more heavy the chain, albeit of gold, with which he had bound them.

Some envoys were despatched to Castille charged to beseech the King to subject himself to the sentence which the judges should give in the suit for the succession. These were D. Manuel de Mello and the Bishop of Coimbra. Philip II., like an astute politician, received them with all the formalities demanded by Court etiquette. Without, however, affording them any other proof that he recognised the independence of Portugal, he dismissed them.

This condescension on the part of Philip II., from whom they expected a decided hostile attitude, gratified the governors, who, by resorting to the policy of delay, were bringing upon them the odium of all parties. They had neither prestige nor power to grasp the situation, and they trembled before all parties. They feared D. Antonio, who addressed insolent letters to them, and who appeared publicly in Santarem complaining of the anti-patriotic proceeding of the Government. They trembled before Philip II., or rather before Christovão de Moura, who was ever to them a living remorse, a permanent threat; and they trembled in presence of the Cortes, which they at first had despised, but which now had become importunate in their demands that a resolute attitude be taken in the question of the succession.

The Cortes, however, were becoming of small moment to the Spanish pretender, because the number of the partisans of Phebus Moniz was growing less day by day, and the eloquence of the fervent patriot only succeeded in inspiring decisions of small importance. The corruption

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

of these Cortes of Almeirim, which at first had come forward so loyally, was being openly manifested under the baneful influence of D. Christovão. It was then, when the Cortes were assuming this dismal aspect, that they received a letter from Philip II., upholding his rights to the Crown. Phebus Moniz lifted his voice against the foreigner, the majority voted enthusiastically for the means necessary for the defence of the kingdom, but subsequently, when their enthusiasm cooled down, the voice of self-interest rose with greater force. The clergy positively refused to pay the new subsidy, the representatives hesitated, and the greater number, ashamed of thus openly contradicting themselves, preferred to depart to their homes and forsake the Cortes.

D. Christovão de Moura promoted and counselled this desertion of the House, hoping by this means to weaken the renitent assembly, but he did not foresee that the members who persisted in remaining were the very ones who were against the Spanish policy, and meant to fight to the last for the independence of the nation. He even attempted to seduce these last defenders of Portugal, but he did not succeed. He then resorted to his influence over the governors, an influence they in vain sought to escape, and compelled them to strike the decisive blow by dissolving the Cortes.

The governors obeyed, and in order to colour somewhat their subservience, they decided upon that ten representatives should continue in the exercise of their charges. But the dissolution of the Cortes of Almeirim was virtually the act of abdication of the nation.

The son of Charles V. judged that this energetic measure would suffice to level the difficulties which prevented him from taking pacific possession of a kingdom he was so ambitious to join to his already extended dominions, but one he would not resort to the force of arms to subjugate except as a last resource. However, unexpected complications arose to dispel the bright illusion, and constrained him to send the sword of the Duke of Alba to sever the last weak obstacles which still hindered his design.

As he had emissaries in all the Courts of Europe, who kept him informed of what took place, Philip II. was soon apprised that the supreme Pontiff Gregory XIII. was coming forward as a pretender to the Crown of Portugal. The claims he alleged were founded on the right of the Holy See to gather all the spoils of an heirless Cardinal; moreover, in this case his claims were rendered more grave from the need to maintain the peace and liberties of Catholic kingdoms.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Philip II. took the needful precautions, and while he was enjoining his captains to enlist and prepare the forces, he was soliciting Father Diogo de Chaves, one of the most noted theologians of the kingdom, to enlighten his conscience respecting the case in point. Whether, being certain of his rights, he could, without sin, compel the subjects who denied this right to obedience, and invade the kingdom by force of arms.

The reply from the theologian was an affirmative one, supported by many arguments and texts. He proceeded to consult other eminent doctors in case the above-mentioned father should be mistaken. The second conference was likewise in his favour after much deliberation and adding further texts in support. He further consulted the University of Alcala and many religious and theologians. All these, without exception, maintained the same opinion as Diogo de Chaves.

Although at the present day this proceeding may seem to have been a comical scene, we are fain to confess that this was necessary to the political ends of Philip. From the moment that the chief of the Church manifested a possibility of coming forward as a rival, it became necessary to furnish himself with spiritual arms, and cover his ambition with a species of dogmatic definition, a theological consecration.

But ere the doctors of law and learned theologians of the Church had commenced to range their squadrons of arguments, their armies of texts, the Spanish monarch had actively forwarded all the preparations for war, and to such an extent that in January, 1580, he had mustered together in the Andalusian ports nearest to Portugal 68 galleys and 19 ships, furnished with some 10,000 soldiers and 2,400 *gastadores* with all necessary ammunition and provisions. In Gibraltar arrived 7 ships with 12 companies of Italians, to Alicante 10 ships with 5,000 German soldiers and 100 artillerymen. These forces, later on, were increased by 4,000 Spanish infantry and 4,000 men recruited in Lombardy and Tuscany.

In order to prevent Portugal from receiving any foreign aid, the western coast of the Peninsula was swept by a squadron under the command of D. Pedro Valdez, with 4,000 soldiers from Biscay, Asturias, and Galicia. The road from Seville to Badajoz had been repaired and rendered transitable for artillery, and for a length of time the construction of bridges and landing-piers and barges had been actively pursued.

When all preparations were concluded, and the moment had arrived

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

to strike the last blow, Philip II. entrusted the direction of the campaign to the most skilful general of his army, the Duke of Alba. Smothering the resentment felt against him, he ordered him out of his semi-exile in Uzeda, and without even permitting him to come to the Court, he desired him to depart without loss of time to Lerena, which was the headquarters.

Three of the Portuguese regents, João de Mascarenhas, Diogo Lopes de Sousa, and Francisco de Sá, were decidedly in the interests of Castille, but as public opinion suspected them of being traitors, they feared to provoke the wrath of the people, while not daring to take any measures of defence, dreading the vengeance of the Catholic King. In truth, the situation was a critical one. The Archbishop of Lisbon, while manifesting himself undecided, nevertheless was known to incline towards the pretensions of Philip, but he never went so far as to allow the Spanish ambassadors to exercise any pressure upon him. D. João Tello de Menezes still preserved his name stainless, but he was easily illuded by his colleagues, who took advantage of his mediocre intelligence. But his intelligence was sufficient for him to perceive the necessity of looking to the defence of the country. He worked upon his colleagues in such a manner that in order to disguise their calculated inertion, they were forced to make a show of taking some unimportant measures in relation to the exigencies of the circumstances. They nominated D. Diogo de Sousa, D. Duarte de Menezes, and D. João de Vasconcellos frontier governors of Alemtejo, Algarve, and of Beira, but without allowing them soldiers or arms. They also appointed Antonio Moniz governor of Setubal, and Tristão Vaz da Veiga of the town of S. Julião.

These appointments were made with the double intention of diminishing the suspicion of treachery from the public mind, while at same time withdrawing from the Court persons hostile to the foreign dominion. They endeavoured to illude the people by defending the frontiers with governors without forces, meanwhile favouring the plans of the adversary by revealing the paucity of the strength of the country, and even indicating to him an easy victory.

The country was indeed in an impoverished state, and the Castillian gold, distributed by Spanish agents, soon corrupted the governors of many strongholds, such as Guarda, Montemor-o-velho, Arronches, Olivença, Campo Maior, Serpa, Moura, Ferreira, and Landroal, and even the castle of Villa Viçiosa, on the lands of the Duke of Braganza,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

surrendered to bribery, and allowed itself to be conquered at an opportune moment by Spanish arms without offering the smallest resistance. Lisbon, which at the time was suffering the scourge of pestilence, was in a great measure already in the power of Castille. In Coimbra it became a more difficult matter to win adherents, because the students were on the side of the Prior of Crato, and the professors and Jesuits were of the party of the Duchess of Braganza, and exercised supreme influence on the people; but at length some of the principal people became seduced, and through them it was not difficult to paralyse the action of the University.

None seemed to escape the bribery of Castille. Pedro d'Alcaçova, the honest minister of D. João III.; Luiz da Silva, the intimate friend of D. Sebastian; the enlightened Antonio Pinheiro, Bishop of Leiria; D. Antonio de Castro, the Lord of Cascaes, and many others; and even ladies, such as the Duchess of Aveiro and the Countess of Vidigueira, competed among themselves who should practise the greatest villanies and meanness in order to obtain a reward from the Catholic King, or a smile from his representative, D. Christovão de Moura.

These underhand negotiations, which assured the possession of the kingdom to Philip II., rendered him more haughty and imperious in his transactions with the official envoys of Portugal. He positively declared to them that he did not admit any discussion respecting his rights, which were incontestable: that either the governors of the kingdom acknowledge these rights without delay, or the sword of the Duke de Alba would hasten the solution of the question. The ambassadors in terror besought at least for time for them to summon the Cortes. Philip II. replied that they might do what they pleased, but if by the 8th of June they had not proclaimed him Sovereign of Portugal, he would hold, after that date, all Portuguese citizens who should refuse obedience to him as rebels and traitors.

This declaration terrified the governors, who perfidiously had endeavoured to delay the barbarous contingency. Once again they had recourse to foreign aid, and secretly sent Francisco Barreto to Rome, and D. Manuel de Portugal to France, to beseech the Pope and Henry III. not to allow the Catholic King to employ force when taking possession of Portugal.

These efforts were seconded by the ambassadors of England and France in Lisbon, who represented to their respective sovereigns the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

expediency of supporting the pretensions of D. Antonio, because the Duke of Braganza, by reason of his indecision, want of energy, and of sympathy with the nobility, as with the people generally, offered less guarantee of succeeding to the throne. Meanwhile, complications had arisen in the home policy of France, and these prevented Henry of Valois from effecting any useful results.

Elizabeth of England, failing to effect an alliance with France, hesitated to risk her forces single-handed against the power of Philip II., from which had likewise recoiled the Pope, who limited himself to resisting the pleadings of the Spanish ambassador, that his Holiness should order the Portuguese, in his spiritual authority, to accept the Catholic King for their sovereign. A similar resistance he opposed to the ambassadors of Portugal and France, who besought him to excommunicate Philip II., should he have recourse to arms in order to maintain his rights.

From his cabinet or semi-monastic cell of the Escorial, Philip II. followed all these intrigues and toils, and fully comprehended that the hour approached in which he must strike the decisive blow to prevent further and graver complications from arising.

When the news was communicated to the people it fell like a thunderbolt, which astonished the governors, who feared lest this solution would excite popular wrath against themselves, and they fall the first victims. Hence they besought time to summon a Cortes, from which they hoped to obtain the proclamation of the powerful monarch, and in this manner colour their treachery. But the son of Charles V. at once cut short these expedients of delay, by saying, the only solution which the regents could adopt was to pledge their obedience and allegiance as subjects as their legitimate king.

Threatened by the energetic attitude assumed by the Spanish monarch, the governors, while taking a few measures to resist Philip II., thought right to excuse their conduct to D. Christovão de Moura, alleging the necessity of deceiving the multitude by an appearance of patriotism, in order not to be deposed by a popular revolt. They had descended so far that they confessed their cowardice. They knew how to feign patriotism, but not courage, without moral force to repulse the insulting recriminations of the ambassadors of Castille, who daily flung their duplicity at their faces; they were, nevertheless, powerless to resist the instigations of Martim Gonçalves da Camara and of D. João Tello, who had determined upon selling the Crown jewels in order to

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

supply the impoverished treasury and meet the urgent needs of the moment. As soon as this resolve was known to D. Christovão de Moura, he protested against it, and in the name of the Catholic King threatened the intended purchasers with the severest penalties. This sufficed to drive away all those who intended to derive a profit from this sale.

Meanwhile some of the representatives had gathered together in Santarem, where the Prior of Crato resided. Among these was Phebus Moniz, who encouraged them to resist the pretensions of Spain. He endeavoured to reconcile the two Portuguese pretenders, in order to preserve the independence of the country, but which he was unable to effect owing to the haughty, timid character of the Duke of Braganza, who was advised by D. João de Mascarenhas to submit unless he wished to lose his properties and the titles he held.

From the moment that Philip II. was convinced that it was impossible to unite the two Crowns in a pacific manner as he so greatly desired, he resolved upon resorting to the force of arms.

A few days after the departure of the Duke de Alba from Uzeda to Lerena, on the 13th of March, 1580, the Catholic King quitted Madrid to proceed to the frontier, accompanied by his fourth wife, the Queen D. Anna, his eldest son D. Diogo, and the Court. On the 12th of May the Duke de Alba joined him in Merida, and on the 21st both arrived to Badajoz. On the 13th of June mustered together on the field of Cantilena, distant a league from Badajoz, the army destined to conquer Portugal, and was there reviewed by the king.

Rebello da Silva describes in his graphic style the gorgeous spectacle, and concludes by saying "the whole force of the Spanish army and the three divisions of Italian and Tuscan soldiers together did not exceed 18,800 men. This force was utterly disproportionate for so important an action; moreover, this force was greatly diminished by the numbers sent to garrison the various strongholds, and by those who deserted from the camp before sighting the enemy, and by the staff in the service of the galleys of the Marquis de Santa Cruz."

Hence, as Pinheiro Chagas adds, "the army of Philip II. was not in effect as powerful as might be expected after the formidable preparations which had been made. Moreover, by the manner in which these hosts diminished may be seen the vices which corroded the Spanish monarchy, and even at that time prognosticated its decadence; but greater even than the corruption and enervation of the Spanish

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ministers was the incurable cancer of Portugal. Therefore an army smaller and inferior to that which had mustered in the camp of Cantillena, and commanded by a general of less military repute than the Duke de Alba, would have sufficed to disperse the Portuguese legions and smother any attempt at resistance."

When the army of the Duke de Alba approached the frontiers of Portugal, the governor of Alemtejo, D. Diogo de Menezes, who had vainly solicited means of defence, unexpectedly appeared in Setubal and demanded an audience from the governors, and upbraided them with unworthy and traitorous conduct in thus forsaking the defences of the frontier, and demanded money, soldiers, and ammunition.

The reply of the governors was to the effect that they could not afford what he asked for. Meanwhile news arrived from Elvas which deeply moved the people. The surrender of that stronghold had been long planned. It had been left undefended and exposed to the incursion of the enemy. The inhabitants had lost heart, and the *corregidor* (mayor), on being told to surrender the fortress, asked for eight days' time to reply, expecting to obtain aid, but ere the time had expired D. Sancho de Avila marched upon it with a company of archers, and Antonio de Mello, finding it useless to offer any resistance, as he was surrounded by traitors, delivered up the keys.

Suffice it to say that these scenes were repeated in Elvas and Campo Maior. The people mutinied and wrenched the keys from the hands of the Alcaides to deliver them up to the Spaniards. In a similar way other places and strongholds of the Alemtejo, Arronches, Serpa, Moura, and Portalegre submitted without offering resistance. But it was not here alone that the party of Castille could reckon upon the aids of treachery. Christovão de Moura was acknowledging in the name of his master the goodwill of D. Antonio de Castro, the lord of Cascaes, who had promised to deliver up the lands of which he was the patron.

In Lisbon the jurisconsult Rodrigo Vasques d'Arze laboured to convince the magistrates and influential citizens to declare themselves in favour of Philip II. This was promised by many as soon as it should be insinuated to them by the regents. The fury of the various parties embittered the passions and rendered the administration of justice an impossibility. Independently of the corruption which prevailed, the people were disheartened, and paralysed the action of brave men to put down anarchy. When personal sacrifices were most needed

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the indifference of the wealthier classes left the country defenceless, deficient of arms and soldiers. The laws were disobeyed with impunity, and the magistrates closed their eyes to the crimes which were being practised in the open daylight, and in the most public places, fearing that were these punished it would bring upon them the vengeance of the delinquents.

Under the existing circumstances and state of society, the glorious sword of the Duke de Alba would easily win the honours of triumph without the perils and work of the battlefield. The news that the Spanish army was opening the campaign, and the surrender of Elvas and Olivença, caused at first a feeling of terror which was changed into a burst of popular indignation throughout the land at the venality and cowardice of the rulers. In Santarem, where the Prior of Crato resided and actively laboured in his cause, taking advantage of all circumstances which could be favourable to it, a report was spread that the Duke de Alba was passing through the country without meeting any great resistance, and would soon approach that city in order to cross the Tagus. Was this really the plan made in Badajoz, or was this report forged and circulated in Santarem by the partisans of D. Antonio? But whether it was so or not, there is no document to prove either hypothesis, and one result was the idea of erecting a new fortress to defend the town. With this object the Bishop of Guarda convoked a meeting of the clergy, nobility, and people, and magistrates to discuss the imminence of danger, and urging the proposed measure, and it was unanimously decided to elect a commission to carry out the work in all brevity.

This decision, skilfully prepared by the Bishop of Guarda in combination with the Prior of Crato, was of paramount importance for carrying out the design he had projected. On the 19th June a second meeting was held in the Hermitage of the Apostle, to which were invited all the partisans of the Prior. At the appointed hour the Bishop celebrated Mass, invoking the Holy Spirit, and the prelate made an exhortation in which he deplored the abandonment of the kingdom, which would soon be overrun by the enemy, owing to the want of a leader to oppose its triumphal march.

The words of the Bishop were received with applause, the most enthusiastic being those who were in the secret of the plot, and who at once declared that this was a divine inspiration, and that it was only D. Antonio who could save and defend the kingdom. Other voices

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

rose up to say that such an acclamation would be illegal, and a tumult and uproar ensued. In the midst of the confusion the hoarse voice of a mechanic of Villa Franca was heard roaring above the tumult, "Vive D. Antonio, the King of Portugal!" while he waved aloft a sword, to the end of which he had affixed a white handkerchief. The Alcaide and Mayor (*corregedor*) attempted to put down the uproar by arresting the daring operative. The populace rushed to rescue him, and the disorder would have assumed grave proportions had not the Prior appeared at this juncture and calmed down the excited people by crying out, "Not King, but Defender, only Defender!"

The crowds acclaimed him with such wild enthusiasm that he would most certainly have lost his life, crushed by the people, for he had stumbled to the ground in the midst of that surging multitude, had not the Bishop of Guarda raised him from the ground, and taking him into the church, closed and barred the door. In the church likewise had taken refuge the *corregedor*, and the people fearing lest their victim should escape their clutches, mutinied outside and attacked the doors of the temple to break them down. The Prior quitted the church by a side door, and appeared on horseback surrounded by an escort of 40 musketeers and accompanied by the Quartermaster of the town, Manuel da Silva Borges, and proceeded to the spot where the fort was about to be erected, and amid enthusiastic cheers laid the foundation stone. While the multitudes were thus engaged, and their attention withdrawn from the actual scene, the Alcaide secretly escaped out of the church and quitted the town.

This act being concluded, the Prior returned to Santarem, meeting everywhere with tumultuous enthusiasm. Many nobles and knights followed him on foot, as a mark of respect, and preceded by the Quartermaster, who in all seriousness assumed the *rôle* of ensign. At the church the new sovereign was received with due honours. Here he prayed for a short space of time, and then proceeded to the castle, demanding the surrender of the keys. The slight resistance he met with easily yielded to the force of the multitude, who broke down the doors. While thus taking possession of the fortress he appropriated 4,000 ducats which the Alcaide had left, either through forgetfulness or because in the hurry of flight he had no time to save the money. D. Antonio then went to the palace of the Council and took the oath of fealty to the laws of the kingdom. None of the aldermen were present at this solemnity, because none made an appearance.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

"The proclamation," says Pinheiro Chagas, "was purely a tumultuous one, and it would not be a difficult matter to contest the legality of the election. But in troubled times like these the sword was the true legitimacy of kings, and the fate of arms consecrated their rights. Had victory smiled on D. Antonio in the ravines of Alcantara, his proclamation would have been as legitimate as was that of D. João IV. later on in Montijo."

Taking counsel from the Bishop of Guarda, Manuel da Silva Coutinho, Manuel Pereira, D. Luiz de Portugal, and a few other nobles of his party, the Prior resolved upon departing for Lisbon on the evening of the 22nd of June. He was accompanied by the infantry and 150 horse. On the road he was reinforced with some divisions of militia, and his triumphal march was only marred by an incident in Sacavem, when a nobleman in the act of kneeling to kiss his hand was shot dead by a ball and the assassin never discovered.

On the 23rd, D. Antonio entered Lisbon, amid a clamorous ovation from the people. The better classes and the nobility, probably fearing the excesses of the populace, and the authorities feeling that they had no power to render themselves respected, retired from the city. The new monarch then went to the cathedral to pray, and from thence to the palace of the Ribeira. He took possession of the arsenals, custom-house, and the India house; he appointed new authorities, and lastly entered the Casa da Camara, in order to be proclaimed with all due solemnity. This act was commenced by a discourse delivered by Manuel de Fonseca Nobreja amid great applause, and concluded by appearing at the window of the Camara, waving the standard of the city and proclaiming D. Antonio King of Portugal.

He then wrote to all the principal nobles, without excepting the Duke of Braganza, inviting them to aid his cause. No one replied. On the following day the Count de Vimioso departed for Setubal, as emissary of the Prior, to intimate to the governors that he be acknowledged king.

The regents of the kingdom were considerably alarmed, and knew not what to do to crush the revolt. They besought counsel from D. Christovão de Moura, but were afraid to follow his advice which was to issue at once a manifesto to all cities and towns throughout the kingdom, declaring Philip II. the only legitimate sovereign.

They were terror-stricken, and all they wanted to do was to fly and take refuge with the army of the Catholic King. This expedient,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

however, did not meet with approval from the Spanish ambassador, who feared, with good reason, that were the kingdom left without government the rebellion, favoured by anarchy, would assume alarming proportions. Impelling the governors to attend without delay to the defences of Lisbon, because it was probable the pretender would come to the capital, D. Christovão despatched a courier to the King to apprise him of what was taking place, and represented to him that the only way to stay the danger would be to send the fleet of the Marquis de Santa Cruz to the Sado.

The four governors who were in Setubal wrote to their colleague in Lisbon, D. João Tello, who, under the plea of attending to the defence of the city, had withdrawn from the Government, and to D. Pedro da Cunha, the captain of the galleys, to oppose the entry of D. Antonio into the capital. But neither of these affected the party of Castille, and hence they took but little heed of the orders sent.

On the day following the entry of the Prior, there arrived to Setubal, said to be flying from Lisbon, D. João Tello, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, Martim Gonçalves da Camara, and other nobles. D. Christovão insisted with the governors that D. João Tello be arrested, but although this was their wish, they did not feel equal to taking such a measure, and which would only result in hastening the rising they were threatened with. The difficulties of the situation were further aggravated by the arrival of the Count de Vimioso, who, after much hesitation, urged by the demands of the Castillian favourite, was ordered to be arrested.

The result of this act proved that the fears of the regents were not unfounded. They ordered the doors of the city to be held by soldiers in order to prevent the departure of the Count, but the people, instigated by the so-called fugitives of Lisbon, and by the Count himself, revolted in such a manner that the governors were unable to trust even their own guards. Full of terror, they decided to fly to the Algarve, despite the remonstrances of Christovão de Moura, who ran equal risk with them, but who manifested himself more intrepid in danger. He was only able to persuade them to retire to Montemor-o-Novo, where he promised to rejoin them. But an unexpected event prevented him from keeping his promise. It appears that the preparation for the flight was not carried out with the due precautions, and a report was spread that the regents had withdrawn. A great crowd assailed the house, tore down the doors, and would have taken their

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

lives, had they not appeared and declared they had no intention to desert their post. By dawn the excitement subsided, and the people dispersed. Taking advantage of the restored tranquillity, the regents took refuge in a caravel and sailed to the Algarve.

When the fact became known that the regents had escaped, popular agitation again commenced, and the people proceeded this time to the Spanish ambassador's house and assailed it furiously, and he would have fared badly at their hands but for his courage and haughtiness. The favourite of Philip II. rose up, and threatened with the vengeance of the Catholic King those who insulted the representative of Spain. He was greatly protected by the influence of the Count de Vimioso, who persuaded the crowd to retire.

Apprised that the governors had fled, and with them the principal nobility who were of the party of Philip II., Christovão de Moura judged it would be sheer temerity to remain. He therefore proceeded, accompanied by the Duke of Ossuna, to Alcacer, where as a fact they remained but a short time, because the people tumultuously drove them out on the following day, and took refuge in the hermitage of S. Thiago, from whence they sent servants to prepare a residence in Montemor, but the people would not allow the servants to enter the town. The ambassadors then resolved to await at the hermitage for further instructions from the Court. These instructions were not long delayed, and were to the effect that Philip II. judged that as all negotiations had been broken, they should withdraw to the camp of the Duke de Alba.

Hostilities were about to commence in effect, and the Duke of Braganza at that date had already written to the Catholic King, willing to join him against D. Antonio, and had declared to D. João de Mascarenhas that the triumph of the Prior would be one of the greatest affronts to his name and rights.

This fact explains why Villa Viçosa, the residence of the House of Braganza, which was well guarded and garrisoned, and could have sustained a lengthened siege, surrendered in presence of a few soldiers without the loss of a single life. This was effected at night, when the gates were opened to the Spanish troops, and when the sun rose it shone on the standards of Philip II., waving in the wind from the turrets.

On the first of July the army of the Duke of Alba encamped near Estremoz. From thence the Spanish general demanded from its

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Alcaide, D. João de Azevedo, the surrender of the castle and town. But no inducements would persuade the youthful Alcaide to perform such a cowardly act. It was only when he found himself forsaken that he yielded, and desired to enter into negotiations; but his garrison had deserted him, and the Duke de Alba refused to enter into any negotiations, and he was apprehended and imprisoned in the Castle of Villa Viçosa until he should expiate on the scaffold the crime of loyalty. Fortunately the intercession of the Provincial of the Dominicans, and the influence of Christovão de Moura saved this brave youth, and prevented the ignominy of his death to be laid to the general of Philip II.

Confiding the guarding of the Castle of Estremoz to Simão de Sousa, the Duke de Alba continued his march, crossing some open places which surrendered without difficulty. On the 8th of July he was before Montemôr, which had been abandoned some days previously, and now unresistingly opened its doors. Later on Alcacer do Sal also surrendered. From Elvas to Setubal, with the exception of a small skirmish with the troops of the party of D. Antonio, he enjoyed a triumphal march of twelve days, and had not even to spend shot in order to take possession of so large a tract of land. It was only in Setubal where a few shots were heard.

Let us now turn to see what the fleet were effecting. On the 7th of July the fleet commanded by the Marquis de Santa Cruz, consisting of 62 galleys, 40 ships, and 30 shallops and caravels, quitted Cadiz. This fleet was divided into three squadrons. The first was commanded by D. Francisco de Benevides, the second by the Count de Villasorres, and the third by D. Francisco Colona. On the 9th they arrived to Ayamonte, where the various Spanish fidalgos and the governors who had fled from Setubal had taken refuge with the Portuguese nobles of their suite. At this time Castro Marim and Tavira had already acknowledged the King of Spain. D. Duarte de Menezes, the Governor of the Algarve, delayed the surrender of Faro only until the Lord of Cascaes and D. Alvaro de Bazan demanded it of him. Villa Nova was well provided with artillery and ammunition, and could well dispute the victory; however, it preferred to deliver it up, imploring the protection of the Marquis de Santa Cruz, in order that the son of Charles V. should enlarge its ancient charter of honours and privileges of the land. Lagos imitated the example. Sagres voluntarily delivered up the keys, and likewise the castle erected on the Cape Saint Vincent.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

After taking possession of the whole of the Algarve without meeting resistance, nor once drawing the sword, the Spanish Admiral, leaving eight galleys to guard the coast, turned sail towards Setubal, where the Captain-General was summoning him.

Here in effect was concentrated the resistance of the troops of the Prior of Crato. This resistance did not promise to become protracted, because the tumultuous government of D. Antonio annulled all the efforts of his most faithful partisans, and gathered together around his throne enmities and difficulties. Surrounded by unscrupulous men who only thought of enriching themselves by appropriating a goodly portion of the money destined to defray the expenses of the war, he found himself often deficient of resources. In order to obtain these he resorted to every means at hand, even those which would greatly prejudice his cause. Demands were made upon the people, and the merchants, who would not, or could not pay these exactions, were apprehended and ill-treated, and were not even allowed to quit Lisbon, lest by this means they should avoid the exactions of the agents of D. Antonio. But his exactions did not end here. He drew from the royal treasury the Crown diamonds, he spent the sums destined for ransoming the prisoners at Alcacer Kibir, and he confiscated the church plate and the sums deposited in monasteries. Moreover, the followers of D. Antonio practised robberies of all kinds.

Ill-will began to be manifested by the nation, which, deeply stricken, followed the standard of the Prior of Crato. No one enlisted willingly, excepting men of the lowest ranks and malefactors. He wished to fortify the shores of the Tagus, but he found no skilful engineers to do the work. Finding himself forsaken by the honest part of the population, he was forced to cast himself into the hands of the scum of the kingdom, and as it became impossible to maintain order amid these tumultuous hordes, a terrible anarchy ensued, which quickly tore up the capital. Lisbon became the theatre for fearful scenes. D. Antonio, wishing to increase his army, revoked the law which forbade the use of arms to slaves, and this horde, suddenly liberated, swarmed the streets of the city, taking arms and horses wherever they could find them, and resorting to violences which no one had power or authority to repress. The monks also quitted the monasteries, and taking arms, formed battalions, which presented an aspect both scandalous and ridiculous. The anarchy which was rampant in the public places reigned likewise in the councils of t

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Government. The ministers were seldom in unison, and the measures they took were carried out in an uncertain, hesitating manner. If the councillors of the Pretender were irresolute and hesitating, he, on his part, aggravated the evil by his own incapacity.

A few days after the revolt, and flight of the governors from Setubal, D. Antonio made his solemn entry into the town, being received by the authorities and people with enthusiastic demonstrations of joy, which were maintained during the whole time the monarch remained, but which were, however, cut short by the news of the rapid progress made by the Spanish army. After holding a council, in which the opinions of his councillors were divided as to whether it would be expedient to concentrate the whole force in Setubal to resist the invader, or return to Lisbon, where it would be easy to succour the city, owing to its garrison being large enough to prevent the approach of the enemy until better defences be organised. The last opinion prevailed. The insurrection of Santarem was also of advantage to D. Antonio. Coimbra was one of the first to openly declare for the son of D. Luiz. Braganza, Villa Real, and Tentugal followed. Oporto and Braga did not disguise their wish to join the party of the Prior, notwithstanding that the first was held back by the magistrates, and the second by the efforts of the Archbishop Bartholomew dos Martyres. Cascaes also voted for the Pretender, and with it some other places on the margins of the Tagus.

The fortress of S. Julião at the entrance of the bar of Lisbon, which was of greatest importance to hold, was sold to the Prior by its governor, Tristão Vaz da Veiga, in return for an annual rental of 4,000 ducats. This was a clever step to take, but it is a subject of astonishment that D. Antonio should continue to trust the keeping of the fortress to a man of such easy conscience, knowing that his adversary could outbid him, and most certainly would not be repulsed. The insurrection of Setubal aroused the patriotic sentiments of many towns, but, on the other hand, the stroke effected by the governors who had already passed Ayamonte to Castro-Marim, withdrew the indifferent and the lukewarm who had begun to incline to the party of D. Antonio, and induced many secret partisans of Castille to manifest openly their adhesion.

Protected by the arms of the Catholic King, D. João de Mascaranhas and his two colleagues, Francisco de Sá and Diogo Lopes de Sousa, expedited letters patent dated July 17, 1580, in which, after narrating

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

all the most important events which had taken place since the death of the cardinal, concluded by declaring D. Philip King and legal lord of Portugal. This being notified to the nobles and grandees of the kingdom, prelates, justices, alcaides of castles and fortresses, towns and places, in order that they should all acknowledge and obey him as their sovereign, all being held disloyal and rebels who should not take notice of this decree from that date.

As we said, the Spanish army had traversed the Alemtejo without wasting a shot, and had encamped near Setubal, which was preparing to resist, a resistance which could neither be long continued nor vigorous. As soon as the Duke of Alba commenced to set the artillery, an English adventurer presented himself offering to deliver up the town on the following day, should they promise to spare his life and those of his people, with what goods they possessed. This was agreed to on condition that the surrender be effected before sunset, because after that term he would not admit capitulation, and the inhabitants would be put to the sword.

The work of entrenchments was begun and the first round was discharged, leaving some dead and wounded on both sides. But while this was going on the gates of the town were opened to the Spanish troops, who sacked it. Meanwhile, the fortress which closed the entrance to the bar, and was defended by two galleons and a ship (*urca*), offered an energetic resistance, and Mendo da Motta, who defended it, was as inaccessible to seductions as to threats. This resistance irritated the Spanish General, as it considerably altered his plans, because it was impossible to obtain aid from the squadron so long as this obstacle existed. Fortune, which had smiled on the Castillians from the commencement of the campaign, even now favoured them. One of the galleons which defended the fortress, as soon as she sighted the fleet of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, deserted for the enemy. Mendo da Motta ordered fire to be made on the deserter, but the other ships yielding to fear, endeavoured to escape and were captured outside the bar.

Surrounded on land and by the fleet by sea, the fortress could not but surrender, but the bravery of the commander was duly appreciated by the enemy, who permitted Mendo da Motta freely to depart with the soldiers that remained to him.

After the surrender of Setubal, Palmella and other places south of the Tagus did not await an attack, but immediately submitted.

The news of these successes produced an impression of terror in

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Lisbon which increased the danger. One night a report was circulated that the Spaniards were entering the city, and whilst the peaceful citizens prepared to fly, the populace, left unrestrained, began to slay helpless and defenceless people, whom they accused of being traitors. However, this was a false alarm, it was not the enemy who was beating at the doors, but only a party of horsemen that were devastating the fields of Almada. D. Antonio sent against them a company of black slaves, who quickly returned terror-stricken to Lisbon, and panic took possession of the populace.

On the 27th of July, 6,000 Spanish soldiers on board the squadron of the Marquis de Santa Cruz landed in Cascaes. When these fired the first round, the Portuguese cavalry fled without replying. The infantry, instead of preventing the disembarkation of the alien troops, awaited themselves to be attacked, and then fled in disorder to the town, which was traitorously given up. The aged D. Diogo was arrested and put to death by order of the Duke de Alba. This infamous act only produced fear, but did not excite indignation, or increase resistance.

D. Antonio then nominated the Count of Vimioso in place of Diogo de Menezes, and decided upon wielding a decisive blow. He collected all the forces he could to prevent the inroad of the enemy. He mustered together some ten or twelve thousand men, many of which were undisciplined, and commanded by officers who were ignorant of the first rudiments of military science. Meanwhile, the Duke de Alba established his headquarters in Olivas, and ordered the fortress of S. Julião da Barra, which was still governed by Tristão Vaz da Veiga, to be assailed, whilst he held secret negotiations with him. The result of these negotiations ended in the barter of the fortress for an annual rent of 3,000 cruzados, and the gift of Machico in the island of Madeira.

As soon as the Spanish flag was raised aloft on the ramparts of S. Julião, the garrison of the tower, called at the present day Do Bugio, withdrew to Lisbon, and sixty ships of the enemy entered the waters of the Tagus. All these events succeeding one another so rapidly disheartened D. Antonio, who again attempted to enter into negotiations with D. Philip II. But these negotiations did not please the Duke de Alba, who sought to captivate the good graces of his sovereign by conquering the crown he was so ambitious to wear, hence he treated the son of D. Luiz most rudely.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Following the counsels of Sforza Orsini, an Italian adventurer, but an intelligent and experienced officer, D. Antonio placed his army in an excellent position on the left margin of Alcantara. The manner he ranged the camp for the defence drew eulogiums from the Duke de Alba. But his ranks were daily diminishing owing to desertion. In vain did the Bishop of Guarda send to Alcantara levies of recruits, many of these never reached the camp, or took advantage of the first opportunity to desert.

The veteran general of Charles V., who well knew the enemies he had to combat, sent by night on the 24th of August a volley of consecutive shots to disturb the camp of D. Antonio. The stratagem had its desired effect. The Portuguese soldiers kept wide awake the whole night, and in the morning were weary and exhausted from want of sleep, whilst the Spanish army enjoyed a tranquil sleep, and were refreshed ready for the combat.

Towards break of day the Duke of Alba, surrounded by his staff, calmly sat on a chair on an eminence from whence he could dominate the whole camp, deliberately intending to direct from thence the battle, without even mounting his horse, or deeming the enemy of sufficient importance to lead his army in person. After observing the camp, he perceived that the defence would become concentrated on the bridge to the left, because the right was completely unoccupied, therefore he ordered an attack to be made, or rather simulated, on towards the part of the bridge held by the Italian division under Prospero Colona, while D. Fernando de Toledo, protected by the accidents of the ground, manœuvred with 2,000 men opposite the right flank of the Portuguese, and D. Sancho d'Avila, with a division of a similar number, crossed Alcantara far above the bridge, intending to effect an entry between the entrenchments and attack the rearguard.

The plan was carried out in its entirety, and despite the bravery of D. Antonio and the nobles with him, an hour after the battle commenced the victory of the Spanish arms was proclaimed. The hosts of the pretender, broken and in disorder, fled in all directions in a panic of fear. The Portuguese squadron, which could have afforded good service, unresistingly surrendered, because the commanders had been bribed on the eve. The son of the Infante D. Luiz, finding that his cause was lost and his army routed, cast himself into the centre of the enemy's squadrons seeking death, but on becoming wounded he feared he would be taken prisoner, and fled precipitately towards Lisbon, followed by

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the Count de Vimioso, D. Diogo Botelho, D. Duarte de Castro, and D. Manuel de Portugal.

He stayed at S. Antonio do Tojal the time needed to have his wounds dressed, and immediately departed for Santarem, with the object of organising another army; but the people who had acclaimed him so enthusiastically now received him coldly, and as soon as he departed sent their authorities to tender their submission to the Duke de Alba.

In Coimbra he was more successful: the students mustered around his standard, to which were added some volunteers. With this small force and some forty others who had followed him from S. Antonio do Tojal, led by the Dean of Evora, Simão de Mascarenhas, he departed for Monte-Môr, and ordered the restoration of the city castle, and confided its defence to Diogo Botelho. He continued to enlist soldiers and raise tributes, and succeeded in collecting an army of five or six thousand men, who were as little martial and disciplined as the troops which had been defeated in Alcantara. With these he marched on to Aveiro, where he met some resistance. Twice he attempted to take it by force, but was repulsed. At length some of his partisans appealed to the patriotism of the inhabitants, and the doors were opened to him.

Impelled by a feeling of mean revenge, D. Antonio took advantage of this easy victory to practise most reprehensible excesses. Wherever he entered the lower classes took the ascendency, because he always sought popularity. He would not learn by experience that the crowds were cruel and overbearing towards the peaceful citizens, and always cowardly in presence of danger. This was one of his greatest errors, and one which withdrew the adhesion of the many from his cause who were against the foreign dominion, but who at length desired it as a guarantee of order.

As soon as Philip II. received in Badajoz the official despatches which announced the victory of Alcantara, he immediately ordered the Duke de Alba not to treat Portugal as a conquered country, but to endeavour to win the affection of his new subjects.

The Duke was not inclined to gentleness, but in obedience to the commands of his sovereign, forbade the soldiers under heavy penalties to enter the city without leave.

On the 11th of September, when order had been completely re-established in Lisbon, the aldermen and corporation took the oath of fidelity to Philip II. at the hands of the veteran general; and on the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

following day the ceremony of the proclamation of the sovereign was performed, without any pomp and amid perfect quiet.

The difficulties of the position of the general in carrying out his master's orders were now further aggravated, and threatened the Spanish monarchy with grave consequences. This was the fact that Philip II. had been stricken with the pestilence which was desolating the kingdom, and his life was in danger. His days were not yet numbered and he grew better, but his consort was likewise stricken, and on the 26th of October she died.

On the 5th of October, Philip II. had expedited from Badajoz a royal letter, countersigned by Nuno Alvares Pereira, his secretary, in which he already entitled himself King of Portugal and the Algarves, wherein he offered a large reward for the apprehension of the Pretender, dead or alive.

The Duke de Alva had, during the illness of the King, occupied himself in the defence of Lisbon, in case of an eventuality, but now that he was reassured with the convalescence of Philip II., he turned his attention to the insurrectionary movement, which the partisans of D. Antonio had promoted in the provinces of Minho and Beira. In order to put this down he sent to the north an expeditionary division of 3,000 men, commanded by D. Sancho d'Avila.

Coimbra was the first important town that surrendered without offering any resistance. Aveiro was the next to follow. From the latter place had departed a short time before, the Prior of Crato, and proceeded to Oporto, where his people had prepared an enthusiastic reception. The entry of D. Antonio in Oporto, writes Rebello da Silva, was, as is usual on such occasions, an ovation of enthusiastic shouts from the crowds, and then after the first burst has subsided, silence, followed by regret, when illusive hopes disappear and a stern reality commences.

The conquerors, defying punishment, fell on their adversaries. Some were arrested, others ill-used, and the houses invaded of such as were accused of being royalists; thus they proved, by the violence and cupidity employed, their ardent enthusiasm for the standards they dishonoured. The action of the administration corresponded to the people's violence. For ten days anarchy reigned in the streets of Oporto—days of terror, of disturbance and sacking. All who were suspected, or whom envy and odium singled out as enemies, were subjected to violence. The ministers of the Prince seized all merchandise

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

from the depôts and warehouses, and loaded ships, which were likewise sequestrated and despatched to France.

The people paid a forced contribution of 100,000 ducats, wrenched from them under pretext of a loan; while denouncers were actively betraying merchants and wealthy persons and despoiled them of their riches.

The division under the command of D. Sancho d'Avila continued its march, while the Bishop of Guarda departed to Vianna with the intention of effecting a rising in the towns of Alto Minho, and obtain means.

The Spanish general, on reaching opposite Oporto, encountered the greatest difficulty to cross the Douro; its shores, backed by steep cliffs, were occupied by the army of D. Antonio, who held excellent positions. This army was 10,000 strong, composed of raw soldiers, badly armed and undisciplined, nevertheless their position was admirable for defence. These advantages were, however, annulled by the want of forethought of D. Antonio and by treachery.

D. Sancho d'Avila, protected by the shades of night, placed his guns against the city, and succeeded to gain the opposite shore without opposition. But the news of this act soon spread, and fear took possession of not only the peaceful inhabitants, but of those who a short time before had boasted of their intrepidity, and had sworn to repel the foreigner or die for the defence of the country. Feeling that defence was an impossibility with such people, D. Antonio, with despairing heart, resolved to forsake the land, and abandon it to the enemy, and he fled, accompanied by a few of his own. When the Castillian general was preparing to commence the attack, which he quite expected would be bravely resisted, owing to the well-fortified state of the city, he was surprised to see raised aloft a white flag from the tower of the fortress, desiring capitulation. He understood by this that the Pretender had placed himself in safety. Whilst he listened to the deputation of magistrates, he was sending parties of light cavalry on all sides in pursuit of the Prior of Crato, and reminding the officers in command of the important service they would render the Catholic King should they succeed in capturing the rebel vassal.

"Whilst D. Sancho d'Avila," writes Pinheiro Chagas, "was entering Oporto, D. Antonio, disheartened at the fate of war, was crossing

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

as a fugitive the province of Minho, and commenced the Odyssea which was to end in a foreign land.

"Closely pursued, and ever in dread that the reward put on his head by the Castillians might tempt the fidelity of the people, D. Antonio was constantly changing his place of abode, waiting for an opportunity to cross over to France. He met with no less adventures, and proved the loyalty of his friends in a no less brilliant way than was afforded by England to the various princely Pretenders of the House of Stuart. At one time he was hunted so closely on the margins of the Lima by the enemy that he was in imminent danger. A citizen of the name of Thomé Cochoeiro, robust and loyal, took him on his shoulders and swam across the river. A coat of arms conceded from Paris to this friend in peril by the King without a kingdom was the reward for his act of courageous fidelity. In Vianna he ran such risks that he had to fly disguised as a labouring man, but always accompanied by his faithful friends the Count de Vimioso, the Bishop of Guarda, and Diogo Botelho. The town of Vianna manifested more loyalty to the Pretender than other places of Portugal, because, without any hopes of being able to resist the Spaniards, the inhabitants nevertheless kept them at bay opposite the ramparts a sufficient time to enable D. Antonio to escape.

"For months this life of trials was continued. At times taking refuge in the huts of the poorest labourers, or in monasteries and convents, he never once repented the confidence he placed in those who offered him a refuge; never was he betrayed, although the high premium of 80,000 ducats was offered by the King of Castille for his capture.

"It is a subject of consolation to find such beautiful examples of loyalty and disinterestedness among the noblest sons of Portugal, at an epoch signalised by so much corruption."

Whether as a fugitive in the mountains, or concealed in the houses of his adherents, or in monasteries, he always succeeded to elude the vigilance of his implacable persecutors. The Portuguese authorities inferred that he had taken refuge in a foreign land, when the cabinet of S. Lourenço was informed from Paris that the Pretender was still in the kingdom. They knew that an individual called Pedro de Alpoim was charged to freight a vessel for him. He was apprehended and tortured, and confessed the plan of flight, but never revealed the place of refuge of his master. This silence cost him his life. After

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

various attempts which were frustrated, D. Antonio succeeded at length to embark for France on the 6th January, 1581, in a vessel commanded by Captain Cornelio d'Egmont.

We shall further on in our history have occasion to seek him in his exile, in order to narrate the attempts he made to recuperate the crown he had lost, and which he only manifested himself worthy to wear when it was no longer the time to save it. We must now follow the victor in his triumphal march across the kingdom he had conquered

END OF FIFTH BOOK.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

1580—1598.

PHILIP II. OF SPAIN.

(FIRST OF PORTUGAL.)

Entry of Philip II. into Portugal—The Cortes of Thomar—First expedition to the Azores against D. Antonio—Departure of the Pretender from Belle Isle—Second expedition under the command of the Marquis of Santa Cruz—Naval battle of Villa Franca—Victory of the Spanish arms—Return of Philip II. to Madrid—Government of the Archduke Albert—The King of Penamacor—The King of Ericeira—Relations are severed between England and Spain—The Armada—The last undertaking and death of D. Antonio—The pastry-cook of Madrigal—Death of Philip II.—The government of Philip III.—Popular discontent—The Colonies—India—Brazils—Reforms—Instructions of the Catholic King to his successor.

On the 5th of December, 1580, Philip II. quitted Badajoz and entered Elvas. He was then convalescent, and still grieving for the loss of his consort. As soon as he retired to the palace, he received the homage of the Archbishop of Evora, the Bishop of Leiria, the Prior of Thomar, and many abbots as representatives of religious orders and dignitaries of the Church. It was not alone the higher clergy who hastened to kiss the hand of the Catholic King, but the most exalted personages of the nobility also performed this act of submission, such as the Marquis of Villa Real, his son the Count of Alcoutim, the Counts of Castanheira and Tentugal, the Admiral Count D. Antonio de Cascaes, and many other lords; but those who merit a more especial mention being the Dukes of Braganza and Barcellos, who came in the afternoon accompanied by a brilliant escort of nobles and servitors of their houses. This former pretender, less courageous, if not less dignified, than his rival, who was a fugitive on the mountains and huts, bent humbly before his fortunate competitor, and shamefully kissed the hand which had robbed him of the sceptre, in order to implore favours from him. The Duchess of Braganza, possessing a more haughty spirit, while resigning herself to suffer humiliations, nevertheless knew how to keep

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

her dignity. Philip II., who was a skilful diplomatist, never suscitated difficulties by being wanting in etiquette. Therefore he proceeded to visit D. Catherina with all the ceremonial proper to a crowned head. This visit was rendered celebrated on account of the display which the Duchess employed, and which, no doubt, afforded the King a lofty idea of the power of a house which aspired to the throne without knowing how to conquer it; and also by the extreme delicacy of the Catholic Sovereign in dispelling the resentments of D. Catherina, who in effect, despite her masculine spirit, was unable to resist the blandishments of the astute son of Charles V.

The King remained in Elvas a length of time to receive the deputations of his new subjects, who, however, did not neglect to remind his Catholic Majesty of the promised favours, these being so numerous that at length the King of Spain judged he had purchased his new kingdom at a very high price. But in the midst of this financial liquidation Philip II. did not forget to attend to an affair of greater moment, which was first of all to legitimise by the vote of the Cortes the victory won by his arms. For this object he expedited, on the 4th of January, a royal letter to the Camara of Lisbon, ordering them to proceed to elect the members for Lisbon, and enjoining on the aldermen (*vereadores*) that the elections should not fall on declared adversaries, nor even suspected of friendship or inclination for the Prior of Crato. The first elections not proving to his ideas, he ordered a second one, when members more to the taste of the monarch were elected. Other places followed the example set by the capital, and the elections fell to persons of orthodox policy.

On the morning of the 27th the King proceeded to the Monastery of San Domingos at Elvas, and after hearing mass, commenced his journey towards Thomar, in order to be present at the opening of the Cortes, which were to meet in that place, and where he should be sworn King. Throughout his triumphal progress he was received with rejoicing, and in order to leave a good impression, he largely distributed alms and released prisoners convicted of lesser offences.

On the 1st of March he entered Arronches, and from thence to Portalegre, Crato, Alter do Chão, and Ponte do Só, and reached Abrantes, where he was received with great festivities, which cost the inhabitants a large sum, some of whom were even ruined. The good citizens of Abrantes appeared to wish to obliterate from the memory of the Catholic King the good services they had rendered his adversary.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

But Philip II. was not the man to forget his resentments, although he knew how to disguise them when it suited his policy to do so, hence he prolonged his stay, and signalised his munificence by large bequests.

On the evening of the 16th of March he entered the town of Thomar, where the Military Order of Christ gave him a brilliant and ostentatious reception. The Cortes had been convoked for the 25th, but owing to inevitable delays in the elections of members of some far-distant places, and their appearance at the national assembly, the Cortes did not meet until the 16th of April. The monarch, however, was not idle meanwhile, and employed every endeavour to win the good-will of the Portuguese by granting them frequent audiences, and distributing with generous hand favours and distinctions. The number of those who claimed rewards was so great that, although his spirit was a generous one, the King found it impossible to satisfy every demand Not only did those apply who from the commencement had followed the cause of the Catholic King, but likewise those who had accompanied D. Antonio alleged as important services their desertion and perfidy to him. The first rewarded was the Duke de Braganza, whom the sovereign with his own hands invested with the Toison d'Or, and delivering up to him at the same time the sword as Constable of the kingdom. The aged Pero da Alcaçova Carneiro had all his honours and charges restored to him which he had been despoiled of by the Cardinal D. Henrique. D. Christovão de Moura was nominated Controller of the Exchequer. Francisco de Sá, besides receiving the title of Count de Mattosinhos, obtained a confirmation of his appointment as Head Chamberlain. D. Francisco de Noronha received the title of Count of Linhares, and D. Jorge de Menezes the appointment of Chief Ensign. D. Antonio de Castro, Lord of Cascaes, received the coronet of Count, and D. João da Silva succeeded to the charge of Chief Mayordomo, left vacant by the death of D. João de Mascarenhas. The services of the Count of Ossuna were remunerated by the viceroyship of Naples, and those of Luiz de Molina by a seat in the Privy Council. Such were the principal favours with which the new monarch signalised the commencement of his reign, but besides these he conferred many of lesser importance, nevertheless the number of recipients was so great that many never had their claims satisfied.

As a reverse to the medal, we must also depict the tissue of cruel revenges which Philip II., surnamed the "Tiger of the Escorial," practised on those who manifested themselves disaffected, but this

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

narrative we shall reserve for a future occasion, so as not to alter the order of events.

On the 16th of April the Cortes were opened. A platform had been erected in the plaza of the Convent of Christ: this was covered with fine tapestries, and a throne placed for the King. Opposite sat, according to their rank and order, the representatives of the cities and towns. To the right were the prelates, and to the left the peers of the realm. On the steps leading to the church were grouped the monks and chaplains of the King. The scene was majestic and solemn, and assumed a marvellous aspect when D. Philip II. appeared in his robes, and wearing the collar of the Toison d'Or. His regal mantle was held by the new Chamberlain, the Count de Mathosinhos. Before the King walked the new Constable, the Duke of Braganza, and the Chief Ensign, Jorge de Menezes, bearing the royal standard. Around him were the king-at-arms, heralds, and other officials, followed by a numerous retinue of nobles richly robed.

As soon as Philip II. was seated, and all had taken their places, the Bishop of Leiria, D. Antonio Pinheiro, who placed his great talents at the service of the anti-national cause, rose up and delivered the inaugural address, in which he eulogised the foreign monarch. This discourse was replied to in the same tone by Damião de Aguiar in his quality of representative of the city. Then the new King took the usual oath at the hands of the famous Archbishop of Braga, D. Fr. Bartholomew dos Martyres, assisted by other prelates, the Metropolitans of the kingdom, the Archbishops of Evora and Lisbon. Immediately afterwards the formula of the oath, to be taken by the three states, was read out, the first to take the oath being the Duke of Braganza. This ceremony being ended, the chief ensign came forward, and in a loud voice made the usual proclamation. On the following day the eldest son of Philip II., the Prince D. Diego, was sworn heir to the kingdom.

The usurpation had been consummated and solemnised with the same formulas as are celebrated when legitimate sovereigns, or those elected by the people, ascend the throne. Philip II. of Spain was definitely King of Portugal under the title of Philip I.

Wishing to produce a good impression on the Portuguese, the Catholic King issued an amnesty for political criminals, which, however, excepted the principal ones, many of which expiated the crime of loyalty to the national cause by death on the scaffold or imprisonment; while others, only by exiling themselves, could avert the persecution of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the revengeful monarch, who further embittered their exile by confiscating their goods or imprisoning the members of their families who had remained in the kingdom.

After the solemn opening of the sessions of the Cortes and the ceremonial of swearing in the states, the Cortes commenced their deliberations, and the three arms of the State presented their articles. These appeals of the State, the people, the nobles, and the clergy, were replied to by the King with the letters patent of the privileges and favours granted to the kingdom, dated 15th November, and contained in twenty-five chapters, and was the same, with few alterations and additions, as those included in the law of 18th January, 1499, made by the King D. Manuel to rule the union of Spain with Portugal by the succession of the Prince D. Miguel, his son, to the throne of both nations.

One of the appeals of the people was in reference to the pacification of the islands, especially of Terceira. Let us glance at what was passing there. When D. Antonio was preparing to resist the pretensions of Spain, he sent a confidential emissary to the island with the object of gaining partisans, and organise the means of defence.

When, however, Philip II. perceived the importance of that movement, it was too late to remedy the fatal oversight. Cypriano de Figueiredo, the emissary of D. Antonio, by winning the good graces of the monks, especially the Franciscans, succeeded to form so large a party that none dared to counsel submission to the Catholic King.

When D. Antonio fled after the battle of Alcantara, pursued by the soldiers of Sancho d'Avila, he had been proclaimed King of Terceira, which was then the principal island of the group of the Azores. The news of the reverses experienced by D. Antonio surprised the partisans of the Portuguese Prince at the height of their enthusiasm, yet they were not disheartened. Cypriano de Figueiredo, an honest character and as courageous as he was loyal, was able to persuade them that should succour from the kingdom fail them, they could obtain aid from England and France.

Philip II., who was perfectly convinced that both Henry III and Elizabeth Tudor were not friendly towards him, feared lest the revolution of Terceira should cause grave embarrassments in the future. He therefore resolved upon securing the dominion of the island by resorting to peaceful measures. When the Cortes of Thomar were closed, he nominated as its governor Ambrosio de Aguiar, and Jorge de

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Covos magistrate (*corregedor*), and sent them to take immediate possession of their posts, enjoining them to offer an amnesty to the insurgents, on condition that they acknowledge him the King, and pledged their submission as such. His orders were carried out, but with no result, and the two envoys were not allowed to land in Terceira, and were forced to proceed to Saint Michael's, where, although in the city of Angra, João de Bettencourt proclaimed Philip II., he was unsupported by the principal inhabitants, and they were handled so roughly by the populace that it cost Cypriano de Figueiredo a great effort to save his life.

When these events reached the ears of Philip, he sent a small fleet, composed of some ten ships and other craft, commanded by Pedro de Valdez, to reiterate his promises of amnesty under the same conditions, but worded in a manner to threaten a vigorous punishment should they not promptly accede. To these instructions were added an express order to the Admiral not to engage in any large action until he should be able to send a stronger force. But the people of Terceira paid not the smallest heed to the intimations of Valdez, who was deeply hurt at the contempt shown to him, and perceiving that the defence was not very vigilantly guarded in the island, he attempted an assault, hoping that the forthcoming victory would render the King oblivious of his disobedience to orders. In effect he succeeded to land 200 men at a point between Villa da Praia and Angra, the defenders being only 50—a force far too small to prevent the disembarkation of the rest of the Spanish forces, whose command Valdez had entrusted to his nephew, D. Diogo Valdez, and to D. Luis de Bazan. Nevertheless, this mere handful of men sustained a heroic defence at their post until aid arrived in all haste from the city. The landing had been effected at night, but by the early morning from two to three thousand men disputed the road against the Spaniards.

The latter formed a corps of 600 men, well disciplined and experienced in war, which was an enormous advantage over their adversaries, who were no more than guerilla parties mustered together, nevertheless they sustained their fire so well, that although they were unable to force the soldiers to embark, they did not allow them to effect an aggressive movement, which they several times attempted.

After some hours of conflict, the assailants became convinced that their hazardous attempt could not be crowned with the success they had hoped for, but they never imagined it would end in so shameful a

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

routing, occasioned by an unexpected event. It appears a crusading monk, no doubt remembering what in past times the army of Hannibal had experienced in the Peninsula, suggested the idea of gathering together all the wild bulls in the herds on the island, and letting them loose on the enemy, goading them on, followed by the Portuguese, who profiting by the confusion produced to destroy the Castillian ranks. The attempt was crowned with a brilliant success. Assailed by such a strange enemy, the Spanish companies were broken into, and a panic ensued. The men fled in disorder, unable to resist the superior forces of the Portuguese, or to be protected by the artillery on board, and were forced to suffer a complete defeat, only some 50 soldiers saving their lives, while on the battlefield lay their best officers, among them D. Diogo de Valdez and D. Luis de Bazan. Flags and arms were captured by the Portuguese, who abused their victory by assassinating, against all laws of warfare, those who surrendered. When D. Pedro Valdez returned to the continent he was arrested, by order of Philip II., and tried.

Soon after this event, the squadron commanded by D. Lopo de Figueiroa, which was the reinforcement Valdez waited for, entered the waters of Terceira. The new admiral simply limited himself to reconnoitering the island and withdrew at once.

The victory achieved by the people of Terceira, and their firm resistance, rekindled the hopes of D. Antonio, who, summoned to France by Catherine of Medicis, and aided by the Count of Vimioso, who kept friendly relations with the French Court, succeeded to effect a treaty by which he bound himself to deliver up Brazils to France as soon as he should be in possession of the kingdom, in exchange for the aid in troops and money promised to him, besides the withdrawal of the fantastic claims which the mother of Henry III. was supposed to have to the Portuguese throne.

D. Antonio from Nantes, where he was occupied in conducting the preparations for the expedition to aid the Azores, committed the error of substituting Manuel da Silva for Cypriano de Figueiredo as governor of the island, and conferred on him the title of Count de Torres Vedras. The government of the Count was totally different from that of Figueiredo. His exactions, violence, and brutal persecutions probably flattered the ferocious instincts of the populace, but predisposed all peace-loving citizens against the representative of a national king who practised greater villanies than ever a foreigner could. Hence,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the Count paid but little attention to the defence of the island, the consolidation of a national government, and the conquest of the rest of the Azores.

Meantime he assumed all the airs of a viceroy, surrounding himself with guards, and rendered Terceira a species of liliputian kingdom, with all the pomps of a vast monarchy.

The error committed by the nomination of the Count de Torres Vedras was rendered more to be deplored because at that moment fortune was favouring the Pretender.

France, as we have seen, had decided to aid D. Antonio by a reciprocal treaty, which in truth was onerous enough for the kingdom. Elizabeth Tudor of England, viewing in the resistance of Terceira a good excuse for thwarting the ambitious designs of the Catholic King, decided upon openly favouring the pretensions of the Portuguese prince. Both nations continued apparently to maintain neutrality, and the enlistments made by the Prior of Crato in either country, as likewise the purchase of ammunition, shipping, and articles of warfare, were done as though it were simply a private affair, and without the ostensible intervention of their respective Governments. But Philip II. did not allow himself to be deluded by these external phases; he was kept perfectly informed of all that passed, and knowing that from the secret conspiracies of his rivals there might result to him grave difficulties, endeavoured to frustrate the expedition which was being arranged. But all his efforts were unavailing, as the Pretender was warned of all the snares laid for him, and the French Government, protesting its innocence, continued nevertheless to favour his interests, which were likewise its own.

By this time there landed in Terceira some French, Italians, and English soldiers commanded by good officers. Besides these partial aids, there ported a squadron of nine ships with 800 men, commanded by Charles Ronhauld, Lord of Landereau. This officer, who was both a distinguished sailor and warrior, at once laid before the Count de Torres Vedras the necessity of repressing the excesses of the populace and seriously attending to the defences of the island. The Count, who was consummately vain, did not relish his advice, which partook of censure, and replied rudely. Repeated altercations ensued, and the Governor in a vengeful spirit laid a snare in order to punish the veteran warrior. By exaggerating the weakness of the Spaniards in Ponta Delgada, he induced indirectly the Lord of Landereau to take Ponta Delgada by

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

assault, and then unknown to him sent word to warn the inhabitants. When the small fleet of six ships reached the waters of Saint Michael, he found anchored in that port the Spanish galleon *S. Christopher* which had arrived a short time previously. After a useless assault, lasting four hours, the French expedition was routed and had to withdraw.

Returning to Terceira, the Lord of Landereau, who was now aware of the perfidy of the Count de Torres Vedras, accused him openly with his ignoble proceeding. Animosities were renewed, and the Count pursuing the path suggested by his base instincts, worked up the inhabitants of the island to suspect the troops, and induced the army to intrigue against their commander. The plot had its desired effect. Landereau found himself forsaken by nearly all his people, and was forced to take refuge among some who had remained faithful, and died before the arrival of D. Antonio, it is suspected from poison by order of Manuel da Silva, who feared the revelations he should make to the Pretender. The troops under his command, which would have been a valuable aid on account of their discipline, were rendered valueless by reason of the discords sown between them and the inhabitants.

Soon after this disaster, on the 22nd of June, 1582, a fleet left the port of Belle Isle bearing the son of the Infante D. Luiz, and his faithful companion, the Count of Vimioso, with the exiled Portuguese nobles, towards the lands of Portugal. This fleet was commanded by the Admiral Filippe Strozzi, the son of a Florentine republican. This fleet was composed of six large ships, twenty pinnaces, and thirty caravels, boarding 5,000 men, commanded by French officers of distinction. On the 16th of July the fleet entered the waters of Saint Michael. On the 10th of this same month a squadron of the Marquis de Santa Cruz had left the port of Lisbon for Terceira. This squadron numbered thirty-one ships and five pinnaces, with some 5,000 men.

The island of Saint Michael was defended by 1,500 Spanish and Portuguese soldiers, reinforced by some yeomen. Strozzi ordered 3,000 to land under the command of the French officer D'Asperrot, and soon dislodged the enemy from their position, compelling them to retire, after considerable losses in the fortress of the island. The Florentine admiral made the mistake of endeavouring to take possession of the fortress, by which he afforded time to the fleet of the Marquis de Santa

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cruz to arrive, which in effect was sighted on the 22nd of July from the heights of Villa Franca de Campo.

It appears Strozzi, trusting to his valour and undisputed skill, longed for the moment to measure swords with his enemy in an important action. This second mistake proved more disastrous than the first. Instead of employing his swift-sailing craft to harass constantly the heavy Spanish galleons, and fatigue them without entering into an actual engagement, he resolved to encounter Santa Cruz before being reinforced by the fleet fromAndalusia, commanded by JuanMartinez Recalde.

The Spanish admiral, fearing his adversary, endeavoured to avoid him for four days, until taking advantage of a movement executed during the night of 25th of July, he appeared at day-dawn of the 26th ready for the combat.

Suffice it to say that, owing to the treachery of a French commandant and to the want of discipline and experience of naval evolutions, after a fierce battle, which was only terminated when the Admiral Strozzi and the Count de Vimioso were slain at the feet of the conquerors, the Portuguese were completely defeated.

The Pretender, who in the battle of Alcantara had sought death, now at Villa Franca withdrew from the fleet on the eve of the combat without disguising his fears of the result. This he did, not from cowardice, because his acts clearly proved his courage, but because he judged he ought not to risk his life now that his cause was so enthusiastically defended.

On the same day of the naval combat he landed at the small port of Villa de San Sebastião, and made his entry into Angra with all the honours of royalty, amid general joy, and followed by the authorities and nobility. The inhabitants of Terceira were preparing to celebrate the arrival of the new King with feasts and jubilation to last eight days, when the news of the result of the battle put an end to the festivities and turned their joy into terror. So great was the despair of D. Antonio that he neither attended to the defences of the island nor to the government of it, but delivered it up to the mercies of Manuel da Silva.

At length, after several attempts, he quitted, for the last time, in November, 1582, Portuguese territory and proceeded to France. On arriving to France, D. Antonio renewed his efforts in Paris and London to procure aid. Elizabeth of England, though she detested

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Castillian influence, nevertheless was disheartened with the defeat of Villa Franca, and did not dare to rise up openly against the Catholic King. Catherine of Medicis, more courageous, or perhaps more far-seeing, employed every means to favour the Portuguese Pretender, not for his sake, as because she wished to prevent the ambitious designs of the son of Charles V.; but all was frustrated by the inertion of Henry III. Other expeditions were sent to the islands both by the Pretender and the Castillians, the narrative of which would not interest the general reader, in which unheard-of atrocities were committed, until at length all the islands submitted without resistance, with the exception of Fayal, where the French, commanded by Charles of Bordeaux enclosed in the Castle de Horta, only laid their arms down after an advantageous capitulation. Shortly before this, Manuel da Silva was apprehended and tortured, when he revealed all he knew respecting D. Antonio, and three days after ascended the scaffold, where he was beheaded.

On the return of the Marquis of Santa Cruz to Lisbon, after the defeat of Strozzi, the Catholic King, relieved of the anxiety respecting the resistance offered by the Azores, and perceiving that his government was becoming consolidated in the kingdom in proportion as the cause of D. Antonio failed, decided to return to Spain, where the affairs of Aragon were requiring his presence, as well as the wars of Flanders. With the object of leaving a good impression on the Portuguese, he issued a further pardon to persons excluded from the first amnesty, published on 10th August, 1582. But at the moment of departure he was surprised by the news of the death of his eldest son, the Prince D. Diego, and was thereby compelled to remain in Lisbon, in order to convoke the Cortes and have the Prince-heir to the throne of Portugal acknowledged and sworn, which took place on the 15th of January of the following year, when the first session was held, and on the 26th the solemnity of swearing-in of the prince was celebrated with great pomp.

The sojourn of the Catholic King in Portugal for two years was gravely prejudicing the affairs of his extensive monarchy, and at length he departed for Madrid on the 11th of February, 1583. With him went a new council, formed for the express administration of Portuguese affairs in the Spanish capital. This council was composed of his head chaplain and bishop, of D. Christovão de Moura, and the Doctors Pedro Barbosa and Mattos de Noronha.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The kingdom was delivered over to the government of the Cardinal Albert, nephew of the King, and who, by special grace of the Holy See, was also invested with the functions of Apostolic Legate.

A year had passed by since Philip II. departed from Portugal, yet conducting the Portuguese affairs, because his nephew always followed his instructions. The cause of D. Antonio was considered a lost one, and the people who had placed hopes in the good star of the son of the Infante D. Luiz, on seeing all hope disappear, only grew more bitter against the oppressor, feeling deep yearnings for their lost liberty. Then began to grow strong the belief that D. Sebastian had escaped the disaster of Alcacer Kibir, and succeeding to evade the watches of Arzilla, was doing penance as a hermit for the imprudences of his youth, which had caused such dire calamities to the nation. Discontent engendered superstition, which grew to the limits of fanaticism. Popular credulity was sufficiently prepared to accept the prodigy of the sudden apparition of the vanquished one of Alcacer Kibir, who came to expel the foreigner from the throne of his elders. In effect, impostors rose up to affirm they were the lost King. The first to appear was in July, 1584, known in the pages of history as the "King of Penamacôr."

"He who acted the King," says a modern writer, "was a youth of twenty, the son of an oil-presser of Alcobaça, and who came to Lisbon when a child with a man who manufactured rosaries. In 1578 the child's master fled from Lisbon on account of the pestilence then prevalent, and the apprentice became a Carmelite monk. Very quickly he wearied of the monastic life and departed, but obtained leave to become a hermit, which was in those days a lucrative profession. He started a pilgrimage throughout the kingdom, which ended close to Villa de Albuquerque, on the Spanish frontier, where he found a disused hermitage which he took possession of.

This new hermit, being young and astute, soon induced devout people to come and visit him; among them a widow lady, whose husband had lost his life in the battle of Alcacer Kibir. It appears this ascetic returned the widow's visits, and otherwise mixed himself up with the young, turbulent men of the place, and so misconducted himself that the parish priest, in order to avoid scandal, ordered the hermit to leave. The widow of the African warrior gave him money, clothes, and a horse, which induced the authorities to apprehend

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

him as a robber, but as he proved that these things had not been stolen, he was released.

In order to gain a livelihood, as he could no longer act the hermit, he assumed the part of a soldier from Alcacer Kibir, a captive of Fez, an idea which no doubt was suggested to him by his intimacy with the widow. The people loved to listen to fanciful histories of the deeds done on the battle-field, and of the tortures endured in the prisons; and, in truth, the youth was a wonderful improvisatore. Many of those who crowded around him to listen to his marvellous stories would now and again question him respecting D. Sebastian and his fate, and the youth, in order to give himself some importance, would then assume an air of mystery. Mystery redoubled the people's curiosity, until by degrees they began to wonder whether this wanderer might not, in truth, be the King himself, who was performing penance for having dragged the country to perdition. At first the youth denied these vague reports and surmises, until some one hinted that great advantages would accrue to him by working up popular credulity. The wicked imagination of the ex-monk was soon set aflame. Two accomplices were found to assume the *rôle* of Christovão de Tavora, the privy councillor of D. Sebastian, and that of the Bishop of Guarda, the intrepid confidant of D. Antonio, and the three joining together in Penamacôr began to gather around them credulous partisans, who formed a species of court to this new sovereign.

It appears the exclusive aim of these adventurers was simply to work upon the credulity of the people in order to live luxuriously, paying for their hospitality by two words whispered in the ear by the pseudo Christovão de Tavora, and by the supposed Bishop of Guarda. These words made the deluded men uncover respectfully, without exacting payment, and praying for the safety of their beloved monarch. No doubt more ambitious plans were germinated in the mind of the daring adventurer, because he was gathering a large number of adherents, owing to his generosity among the poor. It became, however, difficult for him to continue his deception, because he was only twenty and very unlike D. Sebastian. But his fame began to spread, and disquieted the Government of Lisbon, which at once expedited an order to arrest the supposed King and his two accomplices. The ex-hermit endeavoured to maintain his character in presence of the judge by giving evasive replies, but it was of no avail. He was sent to Lisbon, entering riding on an ass, and with uncovered head was exposed in the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

field of Santa Clara, in order that all should see that he was not D. Sebastian. He was then conducted with hands tied behind him to the Limoeiro, where he was imprisoned. Torture was applied, which he supported bravely, ever declaring that he never passed for D. Sebastian, and he merely accepted the homage offered, but never demanded it. These replies, given in a submissive tone, which manifested the small importance of the pretender, induced the judges to deal leniently with him, and the Archduke Albert to employ his clemency, and he was simply condemned to the galleys, while his accomplices were executed.

It was as a galley slave that he embarked in the *Invincible Armada* in 1588, and when the fleet passed the coasts of France, he succeeded to make good his escape, no doubt during the tempest which dispersed and destroyed that formidable fleet, and he was never more heard of.

Soon after another Pretender rose up, which occasioned a greater tragedy and was full of adventures. He was called Matheus Alvares, a native of the Villa de Praia, in the Azores, who assumed the habit of a novice in a religious house near Obidos, and passed on to the convent of Cortiça, in the Serra of Cintra, and lastly forsaking the cloister, took up his abode in a hermitage close to the town of Ericeira. Although a rustic like the first pretender, he was possessed of more elevated ideas, and conceived a plan which he put in practice.

The events of Penamacor had vividly impressed the popular mind; nought else was spoken of throughout Portugal, especially among the lower classes. It is said that the visitors to the hermitage narrated what was passing to the hermit of Ericeira, and when doing so, remarked a mysterious air about him when they recounted these events to him. This circumstance did not pass unperceived, but on the contrary was much commented upon.

The belief being admitted that D. Sebastian, conscious of his errors and their dismal results, was voluntarily expiating them, it easily began to gain ground that the youthful recluse was the missing king, more particularly as there was a strong resemblance to the vanquished of Alcacer Kibir, and his age was similar.

A vague rumour began to be circulated that at dead of night the hermit, when scourging himself, had been heard to exclaim, "Ah, Portugal! to what an abyss hast thou descended! I am indeed the cause of thy misfortunes! Hapless Sebastian, what penances can ever expiate thy errors!"

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

At first these reports only affected the lower classes, but by degrees they assumed higher proportions, until at length a wealthy landed proprietor affirmed that he perfectly recognised in the hermit the form of D. Sebastian. This witness was Antonio Simões. Soon after Pedro Affonso, owner of property on the River de Mouro, an energetic character and man of action, openly took up the cause of Matheus Alvares. When the events of Ericeira reached Lisbon, the Government became alarmed, and sent Diogo da Fonseca, the same corregedor who had instituted proceedings against the adventurer of Penamacor, to investigate the whole affair.

By this time Matheus Alvares had succeeded to muster together 800 men, who managed to disperse when the authorities arrived and escape apprehension. The speedy flight of the insurgents pacified the Government; nevertheless, as soon as the corregedor quitted Ericeira, the partisans of Matheus returned to gather around him. Grateful for their fidelity, the new Pretender began to distribute favours with a liberal hand among his adherents. Pedro Affonso was the most distinguished, and commenced to call himself D. Pedro Affonso de Menezes, receiving the titles of Marquis of Torres Vedras and Count de Monsanto, Lord of Ericeira and Governor of Lisbon. The daughter of Pedro Affonso was chosen by the Pretender for his wife, and crowned Queen with a diadem stolen from an image of Our Lady.

Meanwhile Matheus Alvares kept in the background and did not often appear, so as not to lose his prestige, and sent messages to various of the nobles, among them D. Diogo de Sousa, commandant of the squadron which had conducted the Portuguese army to Africa. It is unknown what these messages were, but the Pretender affirmed to his adherents that he sent the secret sign he had given him when he proceeded to lead his life of penance, but that D. Diogo acknowledging his identity, did not dare to declare him either from cowardice or treachery. Pursuing his plan, he actually dared to forward a letter to Cardinal Albert, bidding him quit the kingdom. A young son of Antonio Simões was chosen for this dangerous mission, and escaped being put to death on account of his own youth and the good heart of the Arch-Duke. Then proclamations were published throughout the kingdom calling the people to revolt.

These facts coming to the knowledge of the Government, it was decided to put an end to this before it would assume serious proportions. In Mafra the revolted people had apprehended the doctor, Gaspar

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Pereira, and assassinated him, his son, and a nephew. The corregedor of Torres Vedras and his advocate were cast into the sea from the heights of Ericeira. Many other excesses practised by the insurgents served to alienate the aid and sympathies of prudent men, who, however much they might desire the independence of the country, could not possibly associate themselves with such crimes. The movement caused a great terror to the Government, and the Marquis de Santa Cruz reinforced the guards of the palace of the Arch-Duke, while he assigned a sufficient force to the corregedor Diogo da Fonseca to smother the insurrection.

While proceeding to Ericeira, he met a party of 200 insurgents, and bade them to surrender. They replied by a volley, and a skirmish was the result, which was promptly terminated and eighty taken prisoners. Some of these were put to the torture, and confessed that the principal forces were at Torres Vedras. The corregedor proceeded to that point with a reinforcement of two Spanish companies. The result was similar to that of Ericeira: the chief, knowing that they were unequal to combat with regular troops, endeavoured to escape after the first discharge, and the Pretender sped before them and ere the first shots had been fired. We must, however, mention the heroism and honour of a few volunteers who took refuge in the church of Santa Maria do Porto, and fought with the greatest bravery until all were slain.

Matheus Alvares, who had fled, was denounced and taken prisoner, and on the 12th of June, 1585, entered Lisbon through the gates of San Antão. His cause was immediately tried, and on being put to the torture, which he supported courageously, declared that his plan was to induce a revolt of the Portuguese against the foreign domination, and when expelled to bid his people choose freely the king they might like. The whole case was over in forty-eight hours, such was the terror of the Government. On the 14th June, 1585, Matheus Alvares expiated his crime on the scaffold. His right hand was cut off, his head severed from his body and exposed for a month, and his body was quartered and distributed among the various gates of the city. Pedro Affonso, who had been denounced, was also executed in Lisbon, while in Ericeira, Torres Vedras, and Mafra the forces were in active exercise for many days.

Thus was this insurrection smothered in blood, an insurrection which could not have terrified any established government, and which might have been put down without erecting a scaffold.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

These chimeras respecting the Sebastianistas, and to which those who had at heart the independence of the nation clung to as their only hope, prove that no one any longer reckoned on the efforts of the son of the Infante D. Luiz. And in truth the Portuguese prince was expiating in exile the errors he had committed, being cruelly pursued by adversity. His existence was indeed a troubled one, ever in conflict with the minions of Philip II., who were watching to slay him by force or by poison, or indeed by depriving him of the means to procure the bare necessaries of life. Treated with all honours by the Courts of France and of England, he nevertheless reached to such extremes of poverty that he had not wherewith to send for a doctor when taken ill.

Yet it was on this very occasion that the Catholic King, through his ambassador in London, was negotiating with the conspirators who were to cast down the throne of Elizabeth, for the arrest of D. Antonio.

This conspiracy being discovered, as well as the complicity of the Spanish Court, the bonds of simulated friendship between the two countries was severed. England manifested her hostility by expelling from London the Spanish ambassador, D. Bernardino de Mendoza. This formal declaration of war was replied to by Philip II. by laying an embargo on all the English vessels anchored in the ports of the Peninsula. By that time Sir Francis Drake had, although without any official authorisation from his Government, devastated some of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and captured many galleons which were returning from the colonial possessions, laden with merchandise.

After this expedition, which lasted ten months, the intrepid admiral, charged by Queen Elizabeth to destroy all the maritime preparations which the Catholic King was making, quitted Plymouth in 1587 with four ships of the royal navy, and twenty-six supplied by private individuals, and sailed to Cadiz, and on entering that port destroyed six galleys which came forth to oppose him, and set fire to a hundred men-of-war loaded with military engines. Having attained his end, he withdrew, after suffering but slight losses, and visited the coast of Portugal, taking the castle of the Cape St. Vincent, and proceeded to the waters of the Azores and captured a galleon returning from America.

This daring behaviour of the British admiral wounded the pride of the powerful Spanish monarch and excited his wrath. But suppressing his resentment as became his dissimulating character, he vowed inwardly to take revenge for these outrages on the first opportunity. By means of spies he followed closely the events of the English Court,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and foresaw that the desired opportunity would not be long forthcoming. Hence he prepared himself for a conflict which he knew would be a formidable one. At all the ports of his vast empire the construction, fitting up, and furnishing of men-of-war was carried on actively, meanwhile the recruiting for the army was continued on all sides.

The murder of Mary Stuart, while filling with horror and astonishment all the Courts of Europe, afforded the Catholic King the long-desired opportunity. In part his plans were frustrated by the indefatigable activity and masculine energy of Elizabeth. By manifesting to the Kings of Scotland and France the dangers which they exposed themselves to by allying themselves with the Catholic King, she succeeded to withdraw from him these valuable auxiliaries.

Nevertheless Philip II. was not deterred from his intention of avenging former grievances which were never forgotten, and of propagating the faith by stamping out heresy in its greatest focus, and at the same time widen his vast empire by adding a powerful kingdom. This was the grand plan which Philip II. had proposed to realise when he deliberated to invade the states of Elizabeth with a formidable army, which was to be conducted in one of the largest fleets ever equipped in the world, and which to the present day is known in history as the Invincible Armada. The fleet for conquering one more kingdom for the son of Charles V. was gathered together at the entry of the wide Tagus, from whence it weighed anchor on the 27th of May, 1588. The fleet, besides a great number of small vessels, was composed of 146 ships manned by 8,000 sailors, and furnished with 2,500 guns, and conveyed 16,000 men-at-arms.

Philip II. intended to give the supreme command of this fleet to the Marquis de Santa Cruz, who was one of the greatest and most skilful admirals of Europe, but death cut off suddenly this veteran warrior. The command was then taken by D. Alonzo Pires de Gusman, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a noble of the first class, but not a capable commandant. Around him he placed three distinguished naval officers, greatly esteemed by the late Marquis. These were Moncada, Oguendo, and Recalde. The land troops were commanded by Bovadilla, who had distinguished himself in the naval battle of Villa Franca in the Azores. To this fleet was to be added on the coasts of Flanders a flotilla organised by Alexandre Farnese, and calculated to land on the shores of England 30,000 soldiers of the different nationalities subject to the dominion of Castille.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The daughter of Henry VIII. prepared herself to oppose courageously a defence by developing prodigious activity. Besides organising an army of 66,000 infantry, 4,300 horse and 36 cannons, she equipped hurriedly 191 small vessels, but swift ones, which she placed under the command of the skilful sailors, Francis Drake, Howard of Effingham, Frobisher, Hawkins, Seymour, and Winter.

The Invincible Armada, having allowed the occasion to escape them of destroying the small British fleet in the port of Plymouth, after a light skirmish in which the English were victorious, proceeded to anchor at Calais. Drake did not dare to combat it as they mustered together, but at the same time he did not find means to attack it partially, being so near the ports of Flanders, nor could he see his way to prevent it from joining the fleet of the Duke of Parma.

On the night of the 8th of June a heavy fog descended suddenly over the waters presaging a storm, and Drake, taking advantage of the gloom, approached the Spanish fleet with eight fireships, and set fire to some of the shipping. Terror spread among the Castillians, who severed the cables to avoid the spread of the conflagration, and sailed out into the open sea. The threatened storm now burst in all its fury, and dispersed the ships of Philip II., driving them to the shallows of La Mancha, which were little known by the Spanish pilots. The English, who were perfectly conversant with the Channel, pursued the enemy's ships and drove them between them and shipwreck. The Spanish admiral succeeded to escape with a few ships, and after two months of wrestling with the waves, at length ported to Santander in Biscay. Other vessels were carried to various ports of the Peninsula in a well-nigh wrecked condition.

"The defeat of the Spanish Armada," says Rebello da Silva, "was celebrated in England with the greatest enthusiasm." The Catholic King heard the news from his confidant, D. Christovão de Moura, with the greatest composure, a composure which was characteristic of his heart, for he carefully concealed all that was human in his feelings. In the midst of the jubilation for the victory of Lepanto, not the smallest commotion was visible on his countenance, and although it was the greatest feat of arms performed in Christendom during three centuries of conflicts, he only exclaimed, "Certainly D. Juan dared a good deal!" When informed of the fate of the Armada, he coldly remarked to his minister, "Praised be God, if they have cleft the branches they have

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

not cut down the trunk. It little matters if the waters run out so long as the fountain remains."

Desirous of taking revenge for the projected invasion, Elizabeth of England resolved upon consenting to the pleadings of D. Antonio for aid, who had offered considerable advantages so soon as he should take possession of the throne, a fact which the Pretender judged might be easily effected, as he could command a general rising in his favour as soon as the English troops should appear at Lisbon.

Despite her wish to take revenge, and the promised advantages, the daughter of Henry VIII. would not risk any great sum in the expedition. She limited her aid to six ships and £60,000 subsidy, and to appointing Sir Francis Drake admiral. Many private individuals, trusting to the skill of this renowned naval officer, offered to defray a great portion of the expenses.

On the 15th of April, 1589; Sir Francis Drake quitted the port of Plymouth with an army of 11,000 soldiers, commanded by Sir John Norris, and some 4,000 seamen. On the 4th of May the fleet arrived to Corunna, where a new squadron was being prepared by Philip II. to avenge the loss of the Invincible Armada. Drake entered the port, set fire to some of the ships, and sent on land the troops under the command of Sir John Norris, who took the lower city by assault, and laid siege to the higher city. The army lost time in this useless undertaking, until the general, wanting provisions, and urged by D. Antonio, who had joined the expedition, resolved upon departing for Lisbon. But the delay bore disastrous consequences, because it gave the Spaniards time to prepare.

On the 16th of May the English squadron anchored opposite Peniche, to which had been added a flotilla commanded by the Earl of Essex, fitted at his own expense. Overcoming the weak resistance offered by the garrison, the English landed, took the castle, and D. Antonio entered the town as King of Portugal. The English continued their march to Lisbon in small stages, expecting the promised manifestations of the national party; but these were only vain hopes, because the towns on the road, although not hostile, manifested themselves indifferent. It is supposed that the difference of religion was the most powerful cause for this apathy, for however fervent might be the patriotic sentiments of the people, their blind fervour for their belief was no less vivid.

Meanwhile in Lisbon the Government actively pursued every means

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

of defence by concentrating the troops, repairing the fortifications, and raising entrenchments on exposed places. Moreover, it had inaugurated a reign of terror. Martial law was proclaimed, all persons suspected were arrested and made to serve in a permanent army, the first among these being D. Rodrigo Dias Lobo, uncle to the Baron d'Alvito. The citizens, who dreaded the paternal care of the Spanish Government, as likewise the loving one of the liberators, of which they were giving proofs in the excesses committed wherever they passed, only thought of flying; while those who were unable to depart desired the invaders to retire, the only way by which they could release themselves from martial law, imprisonment, and the service.

The English continued to approach the city and attempted an assault, but were repulsed without great losses, while Drake in vain attempted to enter the Tagus, which was defended by eighteen galleys under the command of D. Alfonso de Bazan.

But artillery was wanting to the assailants, and provisions failed. Besides this, the English battalions were fearfully decimated by a contagious disease contracted at Corunna. Under these circumstances, and the promised rising having completely failed to take place, the English chiefs acknowledged the difficulty, or rather the folly of the undertaking, and deliberated upon re-embarking. However, urged by the Pretender, they again attempted a simulated attack in order to see whether the partisans of independence would respond and aid them. The Spanish troops rushed to defend the posts, and the populace remained in peace.

Hence being perfectly disillusioned, they withdrew to Cascaes and embarked back to England, after suffering considerable losses from famine and sickness rather than from the sword.

This was the last attempt of the Prior of Crato to seat himself on the throne of his elders; six years later, at the moment when a fresh expedition was being prepared, the Prior of Crato expired in Paris. He died on the 26th of August, 1595, being sixty years of age, and ended his days in the bitterness of exile and of direst poverty.

Two months after the son of the Infante D. Luiz had been laid to rest in his grave, a scaffold was erected in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid for one of his most faithful adherent, Fr. Miguel dos Santos. This was the last scene of a drama which, though it took place in a foreign land, and had not influenced in any way the direction of the political affairs

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

of the kingdom, forms one of the most interesting episodes of the history of that epoch.

The King of Spain, during all these events, continued to suffer from attacks of gout, which at last became aggravated and warned him that his end was near. After a serious attack, increased by severe sufferings, and covered with festering ulcers, he expired on the early morn of the 13th September, 1598.

A short time previous to the death of Philip II., the Archduke Albert had resigned the government of the kingdom, which was substituted by a council formed of the Archbishop of Lisbon, D. Miguel de Castro, the Count de Portalegre, D. João da Silva, the Count de Santa Cruz, D. Francisco de Mascarenhas, the Count de Sabugal, D. Duarte de Castello Branco, and the notary, Miguel de Moura.

Seventeen years had passed since Philip II. was sworn King of Portugal in the Cortes of Thomar. During that period of time not only had many promises, made when he took possession of the kingdom, been forgotten, but likewise the absorbing action of the Court of Madrid, where the greater number of State affairs relative to Portugal were resolved, was suppressing by degrees Portuguese autonomy.

During the strifes between D. Antonio and the Catholic King, the greater number of religious orders followed the party of D. Antonio. When Philip II. invaded the kingdom he did not forget his terrible adversaries, many of which were exiled, and others perished in prison. Among those exiled to Spain was an Augustinian friar, Miguel dos Santos, who had been Court preacher to D. Sebastian, confessor to D. Antonio, and one of the most faithful propagators of his cause.

This punishment was condoned on account of his lofty reputation for science and virtue, and Philip II. sent him to Madrid under an escort of eight musketeers. His exemplary behaviour induced Philip II. to forget his late resentment, and appointed him confessor to his niece, D. Anna, the illegitimate daughter of D. Juan de Austria, born in Naples. The monk departed for Madrigal, where his penitent resided, and where she had been constrained to profess in the Dominican Convent of Santa Maria a Real.

Fr. Miguel dos Santos took advantage of his new position to favour the cause of D. Antonio. There appeared in the town a man called Gabriel d'Espinosa, who had been a soldier in the army which invaded Portugal, and was known to Fr. Miguel. This man had come to Madrigal and followed the trade of pastrycook. On meeting him

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

in Madrigal he renewed his former acquaintance and made use of him to further the plan he had projected. This was to pass Espinosa off as the lost D. Sebastian. The new pretender was ten years older than the missing king, but his emaciated countenance could be accounted for by the supposed privations and vicissitudes he had gone through, and in truth his features were like those of the king. In his position of confessor to the princess, he was able to induce D. Anna of Austria to believe in him, and arrange a marriage with Gabriel de Espinosa by illuding her, saying that the false king had in his hands two dispensations from the Pontiff—one by reason of the near relationship existing between them, and the other to release her from her religious vows. In order to induce her to quit her convent, he promised to send a brother of hers, of whose existence she had no idea, and who was no other than a younger brother of Espinosa.

His plan was, that as soon as the marriage took place with the daughter of D. Juan of Austria, they should depart for Portugal, where it would be easy to suscitate enthusiasm in favour of the missing king. At the opportune moment D. Antonio would appear on the scene and unmask the false impostor, and then place the crown of D. João I. on his own head.

Having arranged this plan, Espinosa departed from Madrigal to seek the supposed brother of D. Anna, but proceeding to pass the night in an inn two leagues distant from the town, was suspected of being a robber, owing to the great number of jewels in his possession, and was arrested by the authorities, and on being searched, letters were found upon him signed by D. Anna of Austria in which she styled him His Majesty. It was not long before Philip was apprised of what passed, and an action was brought against Espinosa, D. Anna of Austria, and Fr. Miguel dos Santos. At the first interrogations, Gabriel de Espinosa, without blaming any one, endeavoured to prove he was not a party to any plot, and that he never attempted to pass off as D. Sebastian, that it was only a mistake of the Friar, who was fully persuaded of his identity.

The Augustinian Friar, cross-questioned by the judge, limited himself to urging his conviction that Espinosa was in effect the deceased King of Alcacer Kibir, and casting all the blame of what had occurred upon the head of D. Anna. This lady replied with the dignity proper to innocence, and although at first she tried to conceal circumstances which might compromise her, she at length sincerely recounted all,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

of which no blame could attach to her who had been made simply a dupe. Torture was then applied to the prisoners, and after suffering great torments, they confessed the whole plot.

The prisoners were sentenced by the judges, and the sentence forwarded to Madrid for confirmation by the King. The daughter of D. Juan de Austria was sentenced to solitary imprisonment for four years to her cell, only quitting it to hear Mass, and on Fridays to be kept on bread and water. Furthermore she was not to hold any charge in the community and be deprived of her right to be treated in any way as a royal personage. This hapless lady was taken to undergo her sentence to the Augustinian Convent of Avilla, called Nossa Senhora da Graça. The nuns, however, pitying her fate, treated her, not as a prisoner, but as a sister.

Gabriel de Espinosa was condemned to death, and was executed in the town of Madrigal on 1st of August, 1595, having been first dragged through the streets. His head was severed from his body and exposed in an iron cage, and his body cut up and scattered about.

Father Miguel dos Santos was degraded and deprived of his Holy Orders, and then executed in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid. Thus ended the drama of the Pastrycook of Madrigal who assumed to be the long-lost D. Sebastian.

Let us now cast a rapid glance at the state of the colonies and possessions of Portugal during the reign of Philip II.

As soon as the son of Charles V. ascended the throne of Portugal, the fact was officially communicated to the different possessions of the monarchy, and the new sovereign was proclaimed not only in the strongholds of Africa, such as Tangiers and Ceuta and others, but likewise in the Islands of Madeira and Saint Michael's.

Brazils followed their example, contemning the invitation made by D. Antonio to the different captaincies not to accept the foreign king.

In India the Captain-General Fernão Telles, who was acting as Governor owing to the demise of the renowned Count de Athouguia, on receiving a letter from Philip II., addressed to his predecessor from Badajoz, inviting him to offer obedience to him, and confirming the privileges and favours accorded to India, at once summoned together the nobles, clergy, and citizens for the ceremony of proclaiming the new King and taking the usual oaths. This act took place in Gôa on the 2nd of September, 1571, the ceremony being repeated in Cananor, Chaul, Cranganor, Damão, Cochim, Baçaim, and Diu.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Thus did the King of Castille take a prompt and pacific possession of the Portuguese Colonies. Let us now see how he maintained them.

"Portuguese pilots," writes Pinheiro Chagas, "continued to be those who knew the road to India, and it was in India that the Portuguese were still all-powerful and held solid foundations, and, therefore, were the exclusive masters of the Eastern trade. The English attacked Portuguese ships only on their return from India, for they did not as yet dare to dispute the lands conquered at the cost of superhuman efforts by the Portuguese.

"It was destined to a young nation, which was rising up on the scene of history, to wrench from Portuguese hands their Oriental sceptre.

"The Low Countries had for a long time entered into commercial relations with Portugal, especially Antwerp, where for a long time there existed a Portuguese factory. The ships of that industrious country came to seek in Portugal the merchandise of the East which was distributed throughout Europe. When the rising of Flanders and Holland broke out against Spain, Antwerp, placed in the midst of the focus of war, lost its commercial importance, which was assumed by Amsterdam. So long as Portugal remained independent, relations which enriched Holland were continued, but when Philip II. realised the union of the two crowns, he had the sad inspiration of attacking his revolted subjects, by ordering, in 1594, the sequestration of fifty Dutch ships anchored on the Tagus, and promulgating a decree which closed the Portuguese ports to Holland.

"The blow was a terrible one, and would have been a fatal one but for the invincible energy of those Northern republicans, who would not recoil in presence of the greatest obstacles to prevent the re-establishment of their commerce. As they could no longer seek in Portugal for the merchandise of the East, they resolved upon going for them to India.

"In 1594, some merchants of Zealand, aided by subsidies from Amsterdam and Enkinssen, furnished three ships and placed them under the command of their most skilful sailors, Barenz and Heemskerk, and sent them to the North to find a new passage into the Asian seas. The English had attempted this passage, but were unsuccessful. The attempt of the Dutch was not more happy in its results, and the shippers were truly terrified at their hopes being thus destroyed.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

"Another fleet, however, of four ships, led by Cornelius Autman, left in 1595, to seek the wonderful lands of the East. In August, 1597, he returned to Texel, after having shown the astonished natives of Madagascar, Bantam, Java, Madura, and Bali the colours of a new European standard. The spell had been broken.

"The Dutch merchants, joyed at the result, sent out a further fleet of eight ships to proceed to the East. This fleet touched at an island called by the Portuguese the Island of Cirne, but which they denominated Mauritius in honour of their great general, Mauricio de Nassau, a name which it retains at the present day, though it is known also as the Isle de France, immortalised by Bernardin de Saint Pierre in his touching romance, 'Paul and Virginia.' From thence they proceeded to Bantam, where they loaded four ships with spices and sent them to Europe, while the other ships visited the Moluccas, from whence they returned to Holland with a rich cargo."

This undertaking was of great profit to England, against whom Philip II. had closed likewise the Portuguese ports in 1589—a measure which produced a great loss and ruin to Portugal. As her principal trade was with the East, it may easily be imagined the grave losses which accrued in so lucrative a commerce. An equal loss resulted to the English, to repair which they hastened to send an expedition overland in 1591. The result was not a successful one, and the British merchants had become disheartened, when the example of Holland induced them to form the celebrated East India Company, one of the most fruitful sources of the prosperity of England.

The discovery of the conspiracy in favour of Mary Stuart, protected by Philip II., resulted in the friendly relations between Madrid and London being broken. This decided Elizabeth to show hostility to the Catholic King, and the sending of twenty-three ships, furnished with 2,300 men, commanded by Sir Francis Drake, against the Spanish Colonies. This fleet left Plymouth on 15th September, 1585, and the first capture was the Portuguese possession of San Thiago of Cape Verde. In the same year the capital of the Province of Mozambique, governed by Vasco Fernandes Homen, was besieged and invaded by the negroes. On the following year his successor, D. Jorge Tello, avenged this affront. Nevertheless, the weakening of Portuguese power was becoming visible, and the native rulers also wished to take revenge for past humiliation; and various African chiefs, incited by Ali-Bey, the commandant of a galley, sent by the Sultan of Turkey

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

with the object of subjecting to the dominion of the Viceroys of Egypt the chiefs who offered obedience to the Crown of Portugal. The emissary of the Sultan succeeded in his mission, and, moreover, took possession of Bombaça, where he retired after taking many Portuguese prisoners. But this victory was not of long duration, for on the following year a squadron, under the command of Martim Affonso de Mello, took by assault Ampaza, and set fire to it, slew the sheik, made the sovereign of Pate tributary, and destroyed the one of Lamo. Passing on to Mombaça, he burnt it, and thus finished with the confederation organised by Ali-Bey.

Again, in 1589, did the Turks return, and proceeded agaist Melinde, which had always continued faithful to the Portuguese cause. The chiefs, who had forgotten the severe lesson they had received, rebelled anew, and were again punished with the greatest cruelty by Thomé de Sousa Coutinho, who came with a fleet from Gôa, and at the first encounter defeated the Turks. When this territory became pacified, D. Francisco da Gama, Count of Vidigueira, in the year 1596, laid the foundation of a splendid fortress in Mombaça.

Whilst in Eastern Africa the native tribes, excited by the Turks, were striving to release themselves from the Portuguese yoke, on the Western side the founder of Loanda, Paulo Dias de Novaes, was conquering on behalf of the Portuguese Crown the kingdom of Angola, at the same moment that Philip II. was conquering Portugal for Castille! The brave captain died in 1589, after having founded not only the city of Loanda, but the town of Massangano, to which he withdrew when, deficient of means, he was forced to abandon that city to the enemy. Death arrested him just at the moment when he was preparing to reconquer it. A similar attempt was made by the Governors who succeeded him, but was met by many difficulties, and even defeat, until 1594, when João Furtado de Mendonça broke up the forces of the King of Angola which besieged Massangano. Since then, up to the present day, the Portuguese have had possession of the two foundations of Pedro Dias de Novaes.

The affairs of Brazils were not prosperous. In 1591 the port of Santos was attacked by an English corsair, and the town of S. Vincent sacked and burnt, and four years later another English corsair sacked the factories of Recife.

The Spaniards, however, had proved themselves worse than the English. In 1581 Manuel Telles Barreto was appointed Governor of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Brazil, and took with him a large number of Spanish adventurers thirsting for gold. At that time the French had already made various incursions into the colony with the object of establishing themselves. In order to repulse one of these French incursions from Parahyba, its governor, Fructuoso Barbosa, besought aid from the Governor-General, which was at once sent, assigning the command of the expedition to Diogo Flores de Valdes, a Spaniard, assisted by Diogo Vaz da Veiga, the commandant of two Portuguese ships. The French were defeated, and Valdez, in order to prevent further attempts at invasion, erected a fort, which he garrisoned with 150 soldiers under a Spanish officer, Francisco Castrejon. Owing to some misunderstanding with Barbosa, Castrejon abandoned the fort with the garrison confided to him, and it was due to the patriotism of the inhabitants of Pernambuco, who, taking up arms, put an end to the raids of the French in this province.

In Maranhão, the adventurer Rifault arrived with three ships in the year 1594. He was a subject of Henry IV., and being well received by the native tribes, endeavoured to establish himself. The dissensions which arose among his companions prevented him from carrying out his plans, and also compelled him to return to France, leaving, however, some French in Maranhão under the command of M. de Vaux. The latter, on his return home, succeeded in convincing the King of France of the advantages offered by the incipient colony. Subsequently, an expedition commanded by M. de la Rovardiere departed, and founded the city of S. Louis, and this city is even at the present day the capital of the province.

In Portugal itself the general misery was becoming considerably increased, owing to the evils wrought against trade by the repeated incursions of corsairs from unfriendly nations which infested the seas, and even attacked the coasts, thereby causing grave losses. The most daring of these attacks took place in Faro.

On the 22nd of July, 1596, a fleet of Dutch and French ships, commanded by Admiral Effingham, after entering the port of Cadiz and setting fire to a large number of ships which were preparing for a fresh expedition against England, pillaged thirty others, which were laden with merchandise for India. This fleet then sailed towards the coast of Portugal, and succeeded to land 3,000 soldiers on the shores of the Algarve, who burnt and sacked the capital of that province. From thence the English went to Lagos, where the Governor, Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, repulsed the enemy.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

We should be unjust if, after describing the disasters of the government of the Catholic King which accrued to Portugal, the result in a great measure of its union with Castille, we should not likewise mention the benefits received from the hands of the invaders.

The list is but small, and the principal services experienced by the Portuguese from the Spanish monarch was the better organisation of justice, both at home and abroad. We must confess that on this point the foreign king was more solicitous in attending to the former petitions of the people than the Portuguese Kings had been. He also issued the new code of laws, which has come down to the present day and is still in use, known under the name of Ordenação Filippina.

We shall conclude this sketch of the reign of Philip II. by a summary of the instructions which it is said he bequeathed to his successor, and wherein, while he manifests the perfidy of his policy, is an eloquent testimony of how much ambition can pervert even the brightest intelligences, by dreams of impossible adventures, and wasting its activity in projects impossible to realise.

"From this deed, or instructions, which he left to his son," says a modern writer, "is proved the terrible maxims of this usurpator. That without examining whether it be just or no, he was to take possession of Portugal, and that once this kingdom be conquered, the whole of Germany could be put to disorder and terror, France conquered, the forces of England weakened, and the terror of the Spanish arms carried to the extreme North. That independently of these advantages his Catholic majesty could take possession of the navigation of the Indies, send colonies to any parts where it might be convenient, conquer new lands, establish an immense commerce, and submit all the countries on its road.

"But first of all it was expedient to win the respect of the Portuguese. For this object, far from oppressing them with imposts and subsidies, it was necessary to grant them all the privileges and favours they should seek. That when the kingdom be at peace and the people moulded to the Spanish domination, then to commence working against their privileges by nominating from time to time, under various pretexts, Spanish magistrates to mould them insensibly. That never the Duke of Braganza be allowed out of sight, and to narrowly watch his actions; while always treating him with the greatest attention until an occasion should offer to oppress him and his whole family. That as regards the rest of the nobility, there was nothing else to do

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

but to withdraw them from the country by appointing them to important posts of honour in Flanders, Germany, and Italy. That by proceeding in this manner Portugal could be reduced to a province, and the people rendered incapable of the smallest movement; by oppressing them with imposts and subsidies, their spirit be turned into odiums, which would be deadly to the Spanish monarchy. That his majesty should name a prince or princess of his house to be viceroy of the kingdom, in order to inspire in the Portuguese more respect for the government, and remove the repugnances which they might feel in obeying any one else. That no less attention be paid to dividing the house of Braganza, and prevent forming further family alliances in Portugal, by depriving them of all appointments and dignities of State, and grant these only in Spain; in a word, prevent any and all correspondence with foreign Courts. That should any misunderstanding arise between the grandees of Spain and Portugal, that the latter should be favoured, while at the same time assigning the principal appointments to those who were more favourable to the Court of Castille, in order to win others over with the hope of reward. That when there should be no further cause for fear, either from the grandees, the nobles, and the people, it would be necessary at last to destroy all the house of Braganza, deprive the Portuguese of all public charges, whether secular or ecclesiastical, and give over to the Castillians the government of the kingdom of Portugal, as well as other provinces which constituted the Spanish monarchy." *

The treacherous and immoral policy which Philip II. counselled his heir to follow, if it caused the ruin of the oppressed, likewise was no less fatal to the oppressors. After the son of Charles V. descended into the grave the decadence of the Spanish Monarchy—the greatest and most formidable empire of the sixteenth century—became rapid and deep.

Philip II., the sullen monarch, of lofty intelligence, of darksome character, and pitiless heart, was the most powerful personification of the duple despotism, religious and monarchical, which swept over Europe during the sixteenth century. He nearly realised the plan of Charles V., of founding a universal monarchy, but it is true to say that despotism never lays a deep, firm foundation; hence, after a period of fabulous prosperity, the disasters at the end of his reign, and the poverty of the ruined public coffers, enabled him to see clearly

* J. Raphael do Valle. *Classificaçao geral da legislaçao portugueza, desde a publicaçao do Novo Codigo Filippino, &c.*, page 35. Lisbon, 1841.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

that the colossal empire that had been founded at the price of treachery, and terrible atrocities, and infamous deeds, would succumb ere long. Yet we need not rejoice at the approaching revenge which Fate was to put in the hands of the Portuguese, because if Philip II., the slayer of his son, did cut down Portuguese independence, he likewise lashed its dead autonomy to the masts of the foundering ship, and in the tempest which wrecked the imperial barge was also submerged for ever the relics of Portuguese prosperity.

END OF SIXTH BOOK.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google
Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

1598—1621.

REIGN OF D. PHILIP III. OF SPAIN.

(SECOND OF PORTUGAL.)

The new King—Appointment of Christovão de Moura as Viceroy of Portugal—Marco Tullio, the false D. Sebastian—The Sebastianistas—The new Christians—Demission of D. Christovão de Moura—The Bishop of Coimbra—Treaties with England and France—Amnesty of Spain with Holland—Discontent in Portugal—State of public finance—Government of the Marquis of Castello Rodrigo—Projected voyage of Philip III.—Death of Christovão de Moura—Financial reforms—Conflict with the Roman Curia—The Count das Salinas is nominated Viceroy—Journey of Philip III. to Portugal—His entry into Lisbon—The Cortes—Precipitate departure of the King for Madrid—Death of Philip III.

PHILIP III. of Spain was inheriting an immense monarchy which in truth he was too weak to sustain. Successive annexations had transformed the primitive kingdom of Castille into a colossal empire over which, it was said with good reason, the sun never set. The marriage of Ferdinand had brought to it Aragon—with the conquest of Navarre, Granada, while as King of Sicily, Naples, and Lombardy he was able to control in a great measure Italian policy. The birth of Charles had added the vast States of Burgandy, which at the present day constitutes the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland, and formed an integral part of France. Perfidy, corruption and violence had delivered over Portugal with her immense transatlantic empire. The possessions of Madeira, Cape Verde, the Azores, the Canary Islands, St. Thomé, and the Island of Principe placed in the hands of the Spanish monarch all the Islands which studded the Atlantic from the southern latitudes of Europe to the Cape of Good Hope. In Africa there was not a single Christian stronghold of Barbary nor European colony or establishment which did not acknowledge his dominion. Asia had laid itself at his feet, at least as far as the conquerors had reached. The conquests of Pizarro and Solis had delivered up the half of South America, whilst Portugal,

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

by surrendering Brazils, gave him the other half, being master of the wealthy empires of Mexico and Peru. A large portion of North America was his also. All this vast empire wherein the ancient Cortes now had no voice, where the popular liberties had no longer representatives, where the nobility were no more than a horde of servile courtiers, where the clergy in close alliance with the ruler assured him of the abject submission of the people to his despotic will. All this empire, laid on the shoulders of one individual, made Philip II. bend beneath its weight, but completely crushed the pale and insignificant monarch styled Philip III. of Spain, and second of Portugal.

He was only one-and-twenty years of age when he grasped the sceptre which had slipped from the lifeless hands of Philip II. It is said that the last days of the deceased monarch were embittered by the conviction that he left no heir worthy of himself, and that as soon as the slab of the grave should descend upon him, this vast monarchical edifice would quickly crumble down, which had been widened by the valour, activity and fortunate star of Charles V., and which he himself had further increased by the force of his will and rigid adherence to his plans, to carry out which he had never bent in face of adversities or recoiled from crimes.

These previsions of the monarch were just, but probably what more greatly embittered him was the consciousness that he himself was to blame for the incapacity of his heir whom he had educated, or rather allowed him to be educated, more for the life of the cloister than for the government of a kingdom.

The panegyrists of the Prince praise his three great virtues of obedience, fervent piety, and spotless chastity. To such a high degree did he carry the virtue of obedience, that when his father showed him the portraits of three princesses for him to select a wife, he submissively replied that he would accept whomsoever his father should wish.

He did not possess any of the salient qualities of Charles V. or of Philip II. He had no love of a life of agitation, expeditions, and combats as had distinguished Charles V., nor the indefatigable activity of Philip II. for State affairs. His whole energy was concentrated in the study of mystic religion, and the preservation of the Catholic faith in all its integrity. The total renunciation of his own will had induced in him the loss of the habit of thinking; those who deliberate and ponder, not only appraise the circumstances of things, but weigh well

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the responsibilities which they assume by their deliberations and their consequences, but not so those who simply obey the will of others.

This inactivity of thought, which resulted from habit, was further increased by the deficiency of the knowledge, indispensable for the direction of public affairs. Under these circumstances the new monarch was compelled to place himself in the hands of a favourite. Thus it happened that the Duke of Lerma, an individual of small intelligence and of medium instruction, but skilled in the art of flattery, succeeded in insinuating himself in the good graces of the monarch, and with such good effect, that for nearly twenty years he exercised absolute dominion in the name of the King.

Entering poor in the Court, he knew how to take advantage of his position to accumulate wealth, and placed his relatives and friends in the most lucrative posts. His first care was to withdraw from the side of the sovereign all those who might put him in the shadow. Thus the Marquis of Castello-Melhor, D. Christovão de Moura, was appointed Viceroy of Portugal in January, 1600, and in the following May made his entry into Lisbon, where he was coldly received, and only with official honours and demonstrations. The nobility were jealous that an equal should be placed in such an elevated position, and superior to all; whilst the people, oppressed by misery, could not forget that he had been the most active agent in the union of Portugal with Spain, which was detested in proportion as the misfortunes that weighed over the kingdom increased, and which were ascribed to the foreign domination. D. Christovão de Moura, who was intelligent and experienced in human nature, clearly perceived the difficult situation in which he found himself on assuming the Government, but trusted to his prudence to smother or rather extinguish jealousy and resentments. He was not mistaken; the nobility, attracted by his urbanity and their own interests, soon approached the Viceroy; but the people, however, could not forget how much the favourite of Philip II. had contributed to the loss of Portuguese independence.

Although he had been constrained to accept the viceroyship, and was perfectly aware of the reason for appointing him, he did not neglect the duties of his charge, nor did he forget who had given him, despite all reasons, a proof of confidence in his fidelity and talents. Thus, while he strove to win a peaceful conquest by attracting towards him the discontented with favours or promises, he kept a vigilant eye over intrigues and conspiracies.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

It was during his term of government that, partly due to his exertions, the farce of an Italian adventurer, said to be D. Sebastian, who had started an intrigue in Venice, which alarmed the Court of Madrid, was put an end to.

This adventurer was called Marco Tullio Catizone, a native of Calabria, and had travelled, seeking adventures through many cities of Italy until he took up his residence in Verona, where he assumed the name of D. Diego de Aragon. From thence, after a time, he went to Venice, where many Portuguese resided. There, it appears, according to his narrative at the time of the cause brought against him, being one day in the church of that city, he noticed a Venetian captain and some Portuguese officers narrowly scrutinised him, and at length approached him, affirming that he was very like D. Sebastian. From his manner of replying, and a certain air of mystery about him, the Portuguese felt convinced he was in truth the wandering monarch. Marco Tullio declared at Court that he did all he could to dissuade them from this belief. However, they withdrew him from his miserable abode and lodged him with one Girolamo Megliori. Here he was visited by many Portuguese, to whom he owned he was the King of Portugal, describing how he had escaped alive, although grievously wounded, from the battle of Alcacer Kibir, and had secretly embarked by the help of the Duke of Aveiro, Count de Sortelha, Count de Rodendo, and Christovão de Tavora, in the fleet which ported in the Algarve; but he would not make himself known because he felt so humiliated at the defeat he had suffered. Visiting various kingdoms of Europe unrecognised, he went to the East, where he took part as a volunteer in the wars of the Persians and Turks, and sojourned so long away from Portugal that he was in total ignorance of what was taking place. When he became aware of the misfortunes which through his cause had visited the country, he resolved to do penance for his sins, until a holy hermit bade him, in the name of God, endeavour to release the nation from the foreign dominion. It was with this intention that he sent, in 1597, to Sicily and from thence to Portugal, bearing various letters, a native of Calabria, called Marco Tullio Catizone, who was never more heard of.

It would be wearisome to follow all the events which followed. Suffice it to say that the impostor was apprehended, and condemned to death with some of his accomplices, while others were sentenced to exile or imprisonment and hard labour Marco Tullio had his right

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

hand cut off, then was executed, and his body divided into pieces and strewn in the streets, his head and hand being exposed in the public market-place. This execution took place in S. Lucar de Barrameda on the 23rd of September, 1603. But the Spanish Government, following the traditions of the policy of Philip II., enveloped the whole process of this impostor and his confederates in such mystery that for a long time the fate of Marco Tullio was unknown.

This mystery served to invest the adventurer with a certain poetic halo, and gave rise to a fertile theme to romancers and poets, so that the form of Marco Tullio, the least sympathetic of all those who acted in this tragic comedy of the false D. Sebastian, took the greater hold on the credulity of the people.

After the execution of this native of Calabria no other adventurer ever appeared on the scene to act the part of the hapless Knight of Alcacer Kibir; nevertheless it was from that time that the legend of "D. Sebastian the Hidden" was formed, and the sect arose called "Sebastianistas."

Certain prophecies pronounced by two shoemakers, who were the first prophets of the sect, gave rise to this legend. These were Simão Gomes and Gonçalo Annes Bandarra. Both issued prophetic verses, but these prophecies were unnoticed until the disaster of Alcacer Kibir occurred and turned the spirit of the populace towards the regions of the supernatural.

According to the supposition of Sr. Miguel d'Antas, it was natural that the prophecies of Bandarra and Simão Gomes should be at first only variations of the eternal theme of the Messias, applied later on to the desired king by a people who yearned for some supernatural aid, to deliver him from the darkness of captivity into which his misfortune, the treachery of many, and the iron hand of Philip II. had plunged him.

"But the Sebastianistas did not limit themselves to invoking these humble national authorities in support of their beliefs. There was no illustrious saint or miraculous image which did not bring its contingent to the voluminous conjunction of legends of the Sebastianistas.

"And even the astrologers did not escape; nor the pagan bards, and the Sybil Erythea was likewise invoked by the sectaries of the hidden Prince.

"These prophecies, according to them, all announced the battle of Alcacer Kibir and the resurrection of Portugal, promoted by a prince

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

who would be for a long time concealed, until he should make his appearance, surrounded by glory, and restore universal peace to the Christian world, and would confer on his country predominance above all other nations. Then would arise the celebrated fifth empire, whose splendour so inflamed the vigorous imagination of the great orator, Fr. Antonio Vieira.

"At first the Sebastianistas were a party, then a sect. Their movements disquieted the Spanish Government. It was the most dangerous form which Portuguese resistance could take against their tyranny. But as soon as all elements of probability faded away, the Sebastianistas began to be considered as inoffensive individuals, who sought in supernatural regions for the earthly hopes which were denied to them. Nevertheless the Spanish Government felt itself so alien that the demonstrations of the infatuated ones who went to the shores seeking amid the mists for the arrival of the mysterious galley, which was to bring the hidden one, disquieted them by the vivid repugnances they manifested to the Spanish dominion, and their constant aspirations for the renewal of their former rule, which the sword of the Duke de Alba had destroyed on the shores of Alcantara. These aspirations increased day by day, until the people, far from blaming D. Sebastian for the disasters he had caused, invoked him as the saviour, the restorer of the independence which was personified in his chivalrous form.

"When the successful revolution of 1640 seated on the throne of the conquered of Alcacer Kibir, the Duke of Braganza, or rather D. João IV., the exultant Sebastianistas, rejoicing to see their hopes in part realised, would not desist even then from their dream, and supposed that D. João IV. was none other than D. Sebastian, who had taken the form of the Duke of Braganza in order to restore to Portugal the freedom which through his fault she had lost.

"The partisans of the cause of D. João IV., which seemed such a perilous one, if we take into account the immense power which Portugal had to put down, took advantage of the unexpected aid which the Sebastianistas brought to it to inspire into the people, who were engaged in a death struggle with the Spaniards, that desperate courage which fanaticism engenders, especially in southern races. Many writers applied the current prophecies to the events of the life of D. João IV.

"This sect continued for subsequent ages, and its followers were never weary of endeavouring to adapt reality to their beliefs, even when

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

not enveloped in legendary mists. Hence when Portuguese decadence was interrupted for a moment by the Marquis of Pombal, when the daring Minister of D. José galvanised the corpse of this heroic people, the Sebastianistas once more thought that their long-desired king had, like the Indian Vishnu, assumed a new incarnation. In this they were confirmed by the identity of names, and Sebastian of Carvalho and Mello was to them no other than the risen King, D. Sebastian."

Let us now return to narrate the course of events of the first years of the reign of Philip III. of Spain and Second of Portugal. One of the first measures was to change the legal situation of the new Christians, as the Jews were called who resided in the kingdom, and were supposed to be converts to Catholicism. The enormous expenses incurred by the Catholic King in the conflicts with his adversaries, in which he was not always the victor; the evils of his financial rule, and the disorders in the administration, all concurred to exhaust the royal treasury, and forced him to resort with imprudent frequency to the ruinous system of loans. When Philip III. placed on his brow the crown left to him by his father he found himself burdened with serious difficulties for supporting the large dominions, nor had he credit to meet the exigencies of the public treasury. These circumstances being known to the so-called new Christians, they judged it would be a fitting opportunity to ransom themselves from the oppressive law made by D. João III., which forbade them to leave the kingdom or sell their possessions without royal permission—a law which was revoked by D. Sebastian, but again put in force by Cardinal D. Henrique, and subsequently confirmed by Philip II. For this object they offered a large sum, asking to be granted them a general pardon for all sins of apostasy and Judaism, and to be considered qualified to hold appointments and charges, as allowed to old Christians. The Court of Madrid, forced by the need of means, was about to agree to their appeals, when, on the affair becoming known in the kingdom, the classes rose up indignantly against this measure. A hostile attitude was assumed which caused some disquietude to the regents.

No reply coming from the Court of Madrid, a deputation composed of the Archbishop of Evora, D. Theotonio of Braganza, the Archbishop of Braga, and D. Miguel de Castro, the Archbishop of Lisbon, one of the five governors of the kingdom, and some doctors of theology, was sent. On arriving to the Court, they laid before the King the sin he

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

was about to commit, to which he replied that it would be better for them to confer with his prime minister on this question.

The Duke de Lerma manifested every wish to accede to their appeals, but objected on the grounds of the urgent needs of the treasury, the only reason, and indeed a powerful one, which had decided him to accept the proposals of the Hebrews. The prelates then promised to pay to the King of Spain, as an indemnification, a service of 800,000 cruzados divided into annual prestations *(prestações)*. The regents confirmed the promise, and in virtue of this accord a letters patent was issued, on 27th February, 1600, by which the petitions of the new Christians was refused, and accepting on the part of the King the contract made with the governors of the kingdom for the payment of that sum.

The exhaustion of the treasury, however, impelled an impost to be laid on salt, and in the following year of 1601 a letters patent was issued granting an appeal of the Jews, in which, *in order to succour the needs of the public finance, they offered to assist the King with 170,000 cruzados*, provided the former laws against them were annulled. The letter was further amplified by another decree, dated 31st July, by which they were allowed freely to reside in Portugal or her possessions without offering any security, and revoking all further laws respecting the sale of properties.

This unusual clemency in regard to the Jewish race, which so greatly scandalised the faithful kingdom, shows us how great was the penury of the kingdom; and in effect the promises made by the prelates at Madrid and confirmed by the regents in Portugal, were never carried out.

On 22nd August, 1603, the Marquis de Castello Melhor was substituted in the government of Portugal by the Bishop of Coimbra, D. Alfonso de Castello Branco. Although he was a Portuguese, the Bishop was deficient of prestige and capacity. The noble ecclesiastic did not command respect nor had he the energy or the fine tact of the Marquis, and he limited himself to bitterly complaining to the Duke de Lerma, and yearned to be freed from the heavy burden he had taken upon himself. As the nomination of Spanish officials to high military posts in Portugal was what most offended the Portuguese, and as the reins of government were held by the weak hands of the bishop, the Marquis of S. Germano, appointed Captain-General of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Lisbon, saw the colonels of Portuguese regiments refuse to obey him, and as the Bishop did not feel equal to the task of asserting his authority, he judged better to side with the disobedient and order the Marquis to quit Lisbon. Meanwhile a Spanish naval officer, D. Luiz Fajardo, who had gone with three ships to the Azores to await and escort the Portuguese fleet from the East, wishing to visit the galleons of the squadron, was repulsed by the Portuguese seamen, with the loss of thirty men, as though instead of being an officer of the Catholic King, he were a Protestant corsair. The Portuguese veterans of Asia never acknowledged the supremacy of Spain, and in their hearts lamented that D. Luiz d'Athayde had not brought them, as they had intended, to Europe to sever the union of the two Crowns.

A clear mind would have easily perceived that the time was not far distant when the Portuguese, wearied of obeying the sovereigns of Madrid, and recovering from the hopelessness into which they had fallen, would break their manacles and cast off this odious yoke.

Nevertheless the Government of Philip III., while feeling the incapacity of its ministers, did not neglect the interests of the Portuguese administration, and endeavoured to cement the union by affection and not by force. In this the Duke de Lerma preferred kindly means, and had his small talent permitted him, he would by working the prosperity of Portugal, have rendered the Spanish yoke sweet. It was during his administration that the Ordenaçoes Filippinas commenced by Philip II. were finally compiled To Philip III. was also due the abolition of dry ports on the frontier, a measure long promised.

The external policy of the Duke de Lerma, who was a greater lover of peace than his predecessors or successors, afforded Portugal time to breathe, now that she was for a moment released from the oppression of her disasters. The death of Elizabeth of England on the 24th of March, 1603, favoured the projects of the minister of Philip III., because by the accession to the throne of James, son of Mary Stuart, a peace-loving monarch, peace negotiations were commenced between the ministers of the new King of England and Scotland and the Spanish ambassador D. Juan de Tassis, Count de Villa Mediana. While the Portuguese colonies found themselves relieved of the assaults of the corsairs, at least from the attacks of the British navy, the English obtained the boon of having Portuguese ports opened for their trade, over which there hung an almost prohibitive tax. Another measure, more prudent still, but which unfortunately was revoked, did Philip take, which was

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

opening the ports to the merchant navy of Holland. This was, however, of short duration, and the Dutch, newly expelled, again sallied into the Eastern Seas for the commercial riches they sought for.

The ministers of Philip III. judged by acting thus that they would cause the rebels of Holland irreparable evils, when on the contrary it only stimulated them to activity, and to developing the navy.

The agitations in Portugal and odium against the Spaniards, and the low state of her finances, enabled the Duke of Lerma to perceive that it was necessary to employ a more vigorous hand in the government of the kingdom than had been hitherto followed. With this object D. Christovão de Moura was a second time nominated in February, 1608.

He had to wrestle with a new difficulty, the result of two Spanish decrees. One, nominating Spanish ministers for the Council of Finances of Portugal, which openly violated one of the articles of the Cortes of Thomar; the other, forbidding the residence in Madrid of Portuguese aspirants who came there to obtain benefices. This last decree, of immediate effect, was highly prejudicial to the interests of the seekers who were then at Court, while the former wounded the sentiments of nationality always vivid in the heart of the Portuguese, who, while subject to a foreign monarch, did not desist from maintaining their autonomy. This, rather than any other argument, proves the impossibility of the Iberic union.

The trial had been made, and what was the result? We shall not here bring forward the tyranny of the Philips, nor their evil administration; all these were mere accidents which would not prove anything against union in a general sense. We only refer to the tendency manifested by the Portuguese people. These never consented to the union being effected definitely. They would consent to anything but that an absolute fusion should be made of both administrations, or that Spanish ministers should rule the Portuguese. They desired that Portugal should continue as such, though having the same sovereign as Spain, because Fate had so ordered it. Beaten down by successive disasters, and by civil discords, betrayed by the nobility, eluded by the promises of Philip II., the Portuguese had, under the inaction of despair, consented to accept a foreign king; they had assisted with a bitter smile to the disasters which that tyrannical administration had been the principal cause; they had witnessed with despair the royal purple torn by the enemies, as soon as Philip II., by enwrapping his own despotic and

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

detested form in it, made it lose its inviolability, but at least a shadow of independence had been retained, a nominal autonomy; and when they sought to extinguish this shadow, and stamp out their individuality, the Portuguese rose up proudly, and replied to this latter measure by a rebellion, which in a moment blotted out the humiliation of sixty years' duration.

When, in 1608, Christovão de Moura arrived to Portugal he found the people in a discontented state. Besides other motives alleged by the people was the one that Philip II. had not kept his promise of residing frequently in Portugal, hence Christovão de Moura reminded Philip III. of the advantages to be derived from visiting his Portuguese subjects. Philip III., who was fond of travelling, acceded, and great preparations were commenced in 1611, the outlay to be paid by the Portuguese, and a large subsidy was asked for. This demand, which from the city of Lisbon alone reached 100,000 cruzados, extremely irritated them, more particularly because a great portion of this money was to be paid to Italian troops and galleys to accompany the King, who did not judge himself safe among his own subjects. To be called upon to defray the expenses of a voyage which bore the aspect of an invasion exasperated the people, and a further demand made upon the merchants of Lisbon for 300,000 cruzados, in order to pay three ships and 500 soldiers sent to succour Mina against an attack from the Dutch, further irritated them, and discontent reached to such a height that the Marquis of Castello Melhor judged it his duty to proceed to Castille, and in person advise Phillip III. to be less imprudent. His counsels had some effect on the King, for he ordered the preparations to be carried out less expensively, but in the end the journey was given up, and, as may be supposed, the money was never restored.

When departing for Madrid, the Marquis of Castello Melhor entrusted the provisional government to D. Pedro de Castilho, which he, however, succeeded to permanently, owing to the death of the Marquis, in 1613, at the age of eighty-five.

After the death of the Marquis the state of public finances grew worse, and despite the decrees of April, 1613, and of January, 1614, by which it was sought to introduce a system of government economies, abuses continued until the Government was forced to make a simulated bankruptcy. But this was of no avail, and a tax was levied upon provisions.

Meanwhile a contention—grave for that age of fanaticism—raised a

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

fresh difficulty for the Spanish Government. As the kingdom of Portugal had a nominal independence, a Nuncio continued to reside in it, which was advantageous to the Court of Rome, because it continued to receive the revenues accruing from the country. It appears that some exigencies of the Nuncio gave rise to a prolonged strife, with varied alternatives, until the Bishop of Fossabruno Octavio Accoramboni came as Nuncio to Lisbon, who then sustained tenaciously the pretensions of the Curia, placing an interdict over the kingdom, and carried the question to such extremes that Philip III. took energetic action, and positively ordered the Nuncio to yield or to quit the kingdom. The Nuncio yielded, but the Portuguese were indignant at this act, which, had it been done by a Portuguese king, they would have applauded.

In 1619 the long-projected visit of Philip III. to Portugal took place, and the Portuguese cities were called upon to pay for the honour of this visit, Lisbon alone contributing as her part 200,000 cruzados. On the 26th April, 1619, Philip III. quitted Madrid with his son, the ostensible object of this visit being the proclamation of his son as heir to the throne. He was escorted by a brilliant staff—infantes and nobles. The King proceeded to Elvas, Estremoz, and Evora. At the latter place he assisted at an auto-de-fé, which lasted nearly the whole day. From Evora he passed on to Montemor, and from thence to Almada, where he arrived on the 2nd of July, and that night enjoyed the spectacle of seeing Lisbon from the opposite shore illumined, and the Tagus covered with shipping. For eight days he remained in Almada, and then resolved to cross the Tagus to Belem, where he resided in the Convent of the Jeromites for a month. The ministers and courtiers of Philip III. were anxious and disquieted at the state of public feeling.

They were well aware that the kingdom was jealous of its autonomy, and, being displeased with the Viceroy, the Portuguese intended to ask the King in the Cortes to allow his eldest son to govern them. For these and many other reasons Philip III. did not dare to enter Lisbon until the galleys from Spain should arrive to escort him. The Cortes had been convoked for the 20th of May at Thomar, but the order was countermanded to Lisbon, to meet on the 14th of June. The King was well aware that the elections had been made at the will of the Government, and that not a single partisan of the independence had been elected. Nevertheless he feared and trembled, as though

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Lisbon, humbled and enslaved, still retained in her humiliation some vague gleams of the ancient Lisbon of the Master of Aviz, which had arisen, imposing and majestic, before the army of D. Juan I. of Castille.

On the 29th of July, the Spanish galleys having arrived, D. Philip III. at length embarked, and, followed by a splendid fleet, which numbered over 2,000 ships, all decked with flags, he ascended the river to Lisbon. According to the usages of that epoch, the mythological element entered into these feasts, and the figure of Neptune, riding a floating chariot, drawn by sea lions, and followed by numerous tritons mounted on whales and other monsters of the deep, came forth to receive the King. On alighting on land he was received in a most sumptuous manner by the nobility, the city being splendidly decorated for the occasion with arches, figures, and carpets of flowers. Through all this Philip III. slowly traversed until he reached the ancient cathedral, where he was received by the Archbishop D. Miguel de Castro, with the whole chapter and Court. The *Te Deum* was sung, and the customary prayers were said. When night came on the procession wended its way by torchlight beneath arches, festoons, and garlands of flowers, and literally over beds of flowers he entered the palace, amid the sound of music, vocal and instrumental.

The magnificence of this entry was such that, perfectly enraptured, Philip proudly exclaimed, "Never until this day have I felt that I was in truth a king!"

On the 14th, in the grand hall of the palace of the Ribeira, the ceremony of swearing-in of the Prince D. Philip, as heir to the throne, was celebrated. The Bishop of Miranda read the royal speech, and after the usual ceremonies and replies, the King knelt and repeated the ancient formula, dictated by the Count de Villanova in his official capacity of notary. Philip III. pledged to administrate to his subjects entire justice as far as human weakness would allow him, and to preserve all good customs, privileges, graces, favours, liberties, and exemptions given, authorised, and confirmed by his ancestors on the throne.

Then followed the taking of the oath of the States to the prince, acknowledging him as the heir and natural lord of the kingdom; the first to take the oath being the Duke of Barcellos (afterwards D. João IV.), followed by the Duke de Aveiro, the peers and nobility according to

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

their respective grades, the alcaides of strongholds, cities, and towns, and the clergy.

The Duke of Braganza, D. Theodosio, who stood at the foot of the throne in his quality of constable, was the last to take the oath. It is said that he did it under mental reservation—that it would be only on compulsion and forcibly that he would publicly yield up his rights, but reserving them for the future, should an occasion offer itself, to maintain them. During his sojourn at Belem, as at Lisbon, the King occupied himself in amusements and feastings rather than in attending to the affairs of state. The populace, ever credulous and lovers of novelty, acclaimed him joyously in the streets and poured blessings upon his head, because he had distributed 20,000 cruzados amongst the poor, and had taken off the tax on fish for three days; but the middle classes, the clergy, and the nobility were quite disabused that the so-much desired arrival of the King had not brought to them any alleviation or remedy.

Hence the arrival of Philip III. to Portugal, which could have cemented the union of the two Crowns, on the contrary rendered the revolution of 1640 inevitable. The Portuguese had hoped that the Spanish monarch would have delivered them from oppression and treated them with justice. For this reason they offered him a splendid welcome, and Portuguese poets celebrated with elegant poems the triumphal entry of Philip III. This was not simply adulation; it was the yearning hope that the coming of the monarch, by declaring he did not forget that on his brow were two distinct Crowns—that of Spain and of Portugal—would ameliorate the fate of the latter country. This hope soon vanished. Philip III., who had turned a deaf ear to the appeals from the Cortes, perceived that it had cooled the enthusiasm with which he had been welcomed, and he withdrew to the privacy of the Palace.

Philip III. had not even the skill of his father, who, while not wishing to grant to Portugal a distinct autonomy, knew on the other hand how to win the spirits of the ambitious ones around him by distributing among them, as among his other vassals, the favours and appointments of his vast empire. There were Portuguese who would easily have resigned themselves to the union, had Lisbon been named the capital of the whole monarchy. Philip III. never replied to the appeals made in this respect.

The Portuguese merchants likewise complained that the ports of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Spanish America continued closed and inaccessible to them. The jurisconsults, clergy, and the learned bodies complained that neither in the church or bishoprics, or in Spanish universities, had they ever been allowed to enter, and that since the death of the Duke of Braganza, D. João, never had the order of the Toison d'Or been conceded to a single Portuguese noble, and in the royal household the officials and maids of honour were rarely Portuguese.

These complaints, we must confess, prove also that there existed a party in Portugal, the same which had betrayed their country, and sold her to Spain, who would be well pleased to accept the union, so long as the advantages they had wished for were the result. But the Government of Philip III. knew not how to profit from these ambitions, preparing thus the formidable unanimity which, by joining together noble sentiments with disappointed hopes, resulted in the irresistible impulse of the restoration of 1640.

All these causes quickly transformed into odium the enthusiasm which the coming of the King had induced, and reached to such a height that Philip III. did not judge himself safe in Lisbon, a feeling that some of his courtiers in the capital, who were themselves disliked, took care to foster. Hence, suddenly in September, 1619, Philip III. resolved upon returning to Spain without even holding the meeting in Lisbon—which was daily growing distasteful to him—of the Chapter of the Order of Christ, but convoked it for Thomar, despite the representations of his Council of State, who urged the dangers of the fevers of Nabão and the journey to himself, besides the inconvenience to many commanders and knights who were already in Lisbon, and which would entail upon them fresh expenses.

Philip III. heeded them not, and proceeded towards Thomar, passing through Setubal, where he presided at a Chapter of the Order of Aviz. On the 24th of October he crossed the frontier, leaving Portugal in an indescribable state of irritation, which he further increased by nominating as Governor of the kingdom the Marquis of Alemquer.

It was to be his last journey. Philip III. was taken ill in Cassarubios del Monte, and was not able to enter Madrid until December. He lingered on for three months in a deplorable state of health, and died on 31st of March, 1621. He was only forty-three years of age, and, according to a tradition, he died from the effect of his superstitious worship for etiquette. Whether true or not, it is said that his death

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

was due to the effects of fumes from a charcoal burner or brazier in his chamber, which it was no one's duty, according to court etiquette, to remove. It is certain that Philip III., the pale shadow of Charles V., still preserved, as a fact, the rigorous etiquette of the shadowed omnipotence of the great Emperor. Ill-fated nation! Spain had no longer great kings nor even great ministers!

END OF SEVENTH BOOK.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

1621—1640.

REIGN OF PHILIP IV. OF SPAIN.

(THIRD OF PORTUGAL.)

Situation of Spain—The new King—Measures relative to Portugal—Discontent—Reforms—The Colonies—India—Invasion of the Dutch in Bahia—Its conquest—Retaken by the Portuguese—Wreck of the Indian fleet—Fresh subsidies demanded—Offer of the Portuguese Jews—Fall of Pernambuco—Marriage festivities—Fleets are sent to aid Pernambuco—Meeting of the Spanish and Dutch fleets—A forced loan is exacted from the Portuguese—Commerce absorbed by the Dutch—Mischievous policy of Spain—Duchess of Mantua appointed to govern Portugal—Miguel de Vasconcellos nominated Secretary of State—Discontent in Portugal—Domineering character of Vasconcellos—Serious disturbances take place—The Archbishop of Evora endeavours to put down the riot—Distrust of the populace—Attitude of the Count de Basto—The revolutionists take possession of Evora—The leaders seek to enkindle a revolt in other places—Timidity of the Duke of Braganza—The Duchess of Mantua endeavours to calm the revolt—Demands of Linares—Juntas formed by Olivares on the frontiers of Portugal—Approach of the Spanish army—Devastates and sacks Portugal—Withdrawal from Portugal of all influential persons—Violent measures are taken—New oppressions—A Nuncio appointed for Portugal—Interdict fulminated on the authorities—The Nuncio takes refuge in the Convent of S. Francis—Destruction of the Spanish fleet by the Dutch Admiral Tromp—Loss of the squadron of Count da Torre in Brazils—Political aims of France—Visit of the Duke of Braganza to the Duchess of Mantua—Demonstrations in Lisbon—Disturbances at Catalonia—The nobility are ordered to accompany the King to the Cortes of Aragon—The house of Braganza—Character of D. João of Braganza—His hesitation to assume the Crown of Portugal—Meetings of the nobles—The revolution of 1st of December—The nobles attack the palace—Death of Vasconcellos—The Duchess of Mantua is arrested—D. João of Braganza proclaimed King of Portugal—Surrender of the castles and towns.

PHILIP IV. ascended the throne in April, 1621, being in his sixteenth year. This inheritance was one of grave duties, and one which required an individual of highest capacity, great prudence, and firmness of will to direct it. But his youth and his education were

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

inadequate to develop these qualities, surrounded as he was by men totally unfitted to advise him. Yet the situation of the monarchy was critical; and the errors were many that had accumulated during long years, and only an energetic, persevering effort could prevent the imminent downfall of the State.

When, in the reign of Isabella and Ferdinand, Spain had attained its apogee of greatness, it stood the first and chief of European states. But it was during its moment of highest greatness that the causes were worked which proved her ruin. Charles V., while engaging in successive wars, drained the resources of the State; he demanded from the people continual sacrifices; and by employing in the profession of arms a great number of his subjects, prevented the natural development of wealth and population.

Whilst on one hand he despoiled the harvest fields and withdrew men from commerce, he on the other hand wasted in unproductive expenses a good portion of social economies, and prevented in this way the formation of capitals. The slow action of this depressing cause resulted in impoverishment; and yet while this was gradually manifesting itself, the public treasury was forced to pledge itself in ruinous operations, which was another cause that further depressed the economic situation.

Philip II., far from correcting these errors, continued them, and thus aggravated the situation. Not only during the whole course of his reign did he weaken the strength of the State by warlike undertakings, but he likewise, by concentrating power, prevented individual initiatives, and by resorting to artificial means to procure resources which were needed, or by prohibiting, through a false policy, commerce with inimical nations, augmented the price of provisions and necessary objects and the comforts of life, thus diminishing labour, and as a consequence, its remuneration.

The heir to the Crown, who was a good theologian, and would have made an excellent priest, completely surrendered the Government into the hands of his favourites, who were far more anxious to benefit themselves than to work for the good of the country. The only act in which the indolent King manifested activity was in expelling the Moriscos, thus depriving Spain of considerable wealth, produced by a numerous population, hard-working and sober.

It is easy to appraise the difficult circumstances under which the new monarch took up the reins of government, to which were added

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the complications of external policy, due principally to the hostile attitude of Richelieu against the House of Austria.

The youthful monarch was not deficient of genius, but, like his father, he had a decided aversion to business, though unlike him, he had no inclination for a secluded, contemplative life, and less austere in his habits, was fond of pleasure, and equally enjoyed church festivals, court balls, autos-de-fé, or hunting. The duties of government he simply detested, and for this reason on ascending the throne he at once sought to rid himself of them by unreservedly surrendering all business into the hands of D. Gaspar de Gusman, Count-Duke of Olivares, who, through the influence of the Duke of Uzeda, had been gentilhomme to the Prince.

The favourite was dowered with a quick intelligence, laborious, and of clear insight for business, and was careful in searching and investigating for himself rather than confiding to the informations of others, when called upon to decide and resolve affairs of importance. But on the other hand he was revengeful, ignorant, infatuated, and eminently fond of power. He afforded early proofs of vindictiveness by the implacable persecution of his predecessors in office, the Dukes of Lerma and Uzeda and their partisans. Many were the changes which took place in the higher appointments of the Court of Madrid, but in Portugal, to the general satisfaction of all parties, the only change was the substitution of three governors in the place of Count de Salinas. These three governors were D. Martinho Affonso Mexia, Bishop of Coimbra, D. Diogo da Costa, Count de Basto, and D. Nuno Alvares Portugal.

One of the first measures taken by the Count-Duke, in relation to Portugal, was to confirm the gifts of Crown properties and orders, the holders to present within a stated time, and under grave penalties, their title deeds. This order gave umbrage to the nobles, because many of them were drawing usufruct from them. But on the other hand, this order was such a just one that no one dared openly to rebel against it. However, the nobles sought to elude this law under the plea that their registers were not in order, and asked for further delay, until at last it fell through. Nevertheless, this act of the new Government denoted that it was not inclined to be condescending to a class which was still influential, and that finding itself wounded in its interests, whilst being treated with humiliating contempt, would naturally excite in the people odium against the foreign dominion, and take advantage of any

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

opportunity which might offer to liberate itself. Little did the minister imagine, when initiating this rude challenge with the nobility of Portugal, that nineteen years later the conflict would be terminated, leaving him the vanquished.

Another provision decreed at the end of the reign of Philip III., but which only took effect during this reign, added to the general discontent. The audacity of the pirates of Barbary increased year by year, and terrified not only the dwellers of the islands, but the inhabitants on the sea-shore. It was suspected, and with some foundation, that these attacks were due to secret advices afforded by the Moors and Turks. Therefore it was forbidden for Moors and Turks to reside at the seaports of Portugal and the Algarve, and all places within twenty leagues of the coast.

From this order resulted grave losses to the slave-owners. Appeals were made against the prohibition, which were unheeded, and this violent act, but fully justified, was considered intolerable tyranny.

A measure was also taken with the object of correcting financial organisation. This was the resolution of the Government that the revenues accruing from the bull of the crusades be applied to the maintenance of the Penal Settlements of Africa, and not to any other object. This order was sent to the Governors of Brazils. Moreover, as the galleons which were to depart in March for India were prevented from starting on account of the great storms, it was ordained that all products resulting from confiscations effected in virtue of this order be applied to the armament of the galleons. In this way 80,000 cruzados were collected, and a large portion of the expenses incurred by the furnishing and equipment of the fleet for the Count de Vidigueira, appointed a second time Viceroy of India, was defrayed.

Venality in all branches of the administration, both in Castille and Portugal, was rampant and scandalous, and the Government strove to put down this immoral system, but the means it adopted to effect this were so odious and iniquitous that it only resulted in making enemies among a powerful class, yet without effecting a remedy, and corruption continued.

The same year as the accession of Philip IV. took place, the truce with Holland came to an end, and the ports of Portugal were closed against the Dutch merchants. The immediate result of this act was that smuggling assumed huge proportions, to the grave prejudice of legitimate trade. The minister endeavoured to prevent this evil by

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

establishing fiscal visits to all ships which on any pretext approached Portuguese ports. This measure, however, far from diminishing the evils of smuggling, aggravated them, because foreign merchants proceeded to other countries where they were not subjected to these vexations. Hence commerce greatly diminished, and custom dues, which are generally abundant sources of public wealth, became reduced to a small revenue. The receipts were thus diminishing meanwhile that expenses increased, and the minister of Philip IV. then had recourse to the confiscations effected by means of the Inquisition, urging the Inquisitor-General to use all possible pressure; but despite his efforts the means obtained were inadequate to meet the demands of the Government. From the Camara of Oporto was demanded an armed and equipped galleon of three hundred tons to aid India, and subsequently all the Camaras of the kingdom were *invited* to concur in a subsidy for the African fleet. This impost, hypocritically coloured under a voluntary act, caused great discontent, because the sacrifices continually demanded from them, far from corresponding to an increase of public prosperity, only worked towards decadence.

The Court of Madrid alleged the necessity of maintaining the dominion of the colonial possessions, which were ever the object of envy of powerful enemies, who were constantly assailing them, and which compelled them to enter into large and extraordinary expenses. But the people had learnt a lesson from the celebrated treaty of amnesty with Holland, and moreover in view of the carelessness with which all affairs relative to the Portuguese dominions were treated in the Court of Philip IV., were perfectly aware that the necessity of maintaining the colonial possessions, although a just plea, was only a pretext put forth to enable them to exact huge sums the employment of which was ignored, but one thing they did know, that it did not in the smallest degree benefit the kingdom. Nevertheless the Senate of Lisbon, in obedience to the stern orders of the Court of Madrid, by various means raised the sum of 200,000 cruzados to aid Ormuz. But this was of no avail, nor the heroic bravery of Ruy Freire; and the conquest of Alfonso Albuquerque at length fell into the hands of the English, and when the Count de Vidigueira, the newly-appointed governor, arrived in India, this disaster—the first of a long series—had already taken place.

Almost simultaneously as the news of the fall of Ormuz reached Lisbon, came the news of the conquest of San Salvador da Bahia by the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Dutch. "On the 25th of July," writes Pinheiro Chagas, "the news of the taking of Bahia in Brazils arrived, and the governors of Portugal at once sent to Madrid the Count de Basto and the Count de Portalegre. The intelligence produced a profound impression of indignation in the kingdom, because the shameful defence of Bahia was a stain on Portuguese valour, which was still brilliant. On the 24th of July, 1622, the Dutch admiral, Cornelius Reijertz, at the head of fifteen ships and two *hiates*, had attacked the city of Macao and bombarded it, but the land batteries victoriously responded, and the forces were repulsed. After some further attempts, the Dutch fleet was forced to weigh anchor and depart. The Portuguese flag continued to wave, even to the present day. About the same time Christovão de Mello repulsed the Dutch from Mina.

"Hence, proud of the brilliant and successful defence of Macao and Mina, and of Malacca by André Furtado de Mendonça, of Mozambique by Estavão de Athayde, of Queixome against the Persians and the English by Freire d'Andrade, a defence which, although unsuccessful, was a glorious one, the Portuguese were all the more indignant at the cowardly proceeding of the defenders of Bahia. In order to somewhat pacify popular indignation, Philip IV. ordered a severe inquiry to be made respecting the conduct of the governor and other officials. The Count-Duke de Olivares was far more active than his predecessors, and on this occasion feeling deeply the blow which his master had sustained in the loss of one of his most important possessions, and moreover perfectly aware of the evils which would result to the American colonies of Spain from the establishment of the Dutch in Brazils, did not delay to issue adequate orders, and on the 7th of August apprised the Government of Portugal that the Court of Spain had resolved upon sending to Bahia a strong squadron conducting 3,000 soldiers. It was the first time since the union of the two Crowns that Spain had manifested a serious interest in Portuguese affairs, and that she had resolved upon effectually aiding her. Portugal was grateful, and by its subsequent action proved that very probably the Iberian union might have been effected, despite all reluctance, had Spain persevered to manifest at all times a conciliatory and friendly spirit.

"Hence, although Philip IV. declared that the Crown of Castille took upon itself the expenses of the fleet, the Portuguese spontaneously came forward to defray them. The Duke of Braganza subscribed 20,000 cruzados, the Marquis de Villa Real 16,500, the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Duke de Villa Hermosa 2,400, and many others with lesser sums, the merchants adding 34,000, the whole reaching to a subsidy of 230,000 cruzados, and with these in three months a splendid fleet of 26 sails was equipped and furnished with 4,000 men, without the treasury having paid the smallest sum. Nearly all the fighting men were volunteers, while the nobility hastened to enlist as in the heroic times of the siege of Mazagão. It was a moment of joy when the manacles of captivity were not felt; and there arose a hope that the two nations might yet live equally independent beneath one sceptre—a hope which was soon dispelled, and only served to render more gloomy the shadows of the last years of her captivity.

"On the 22nd November, 1624, this brilliant fleet left Lisbon. The General in command of the forces was D. Manuel de Menezes; the Admiral, D. Francisco d'Almeida. On the 19th December the fleet anchored at Cape Verde and awaited the Castillian armada, which appeared on the 6th February, 1625. The latter was composed of 38 ships, boarding 7,500 men. Its admiral was D. Juan Fajardo, and the General D. Fadrique de Toledo, Marquis de Valduza, who assumed the chief command, and departed for the Brazils on the 11th of February."

"On the 3rd of December, 1624, fresh succour had arrived from Lisbon. This was composed of three caravels, and brought D. Francisco de Moura Rolim, nominated Captain of Reconcavo. D. Francisco completely blockaded the Dutch in Bahia. Its Dutch governor, Willem Schontem, being held in small esteem, could not maintain discipline. Nevertheless the fortifications were splendidly furnished with artillery, and defended by 2,000 Dutch and 500 blacks, while at the port were anchored a squadron of 18 ships. Moreover, a short time previously the *hiate Windhond* had arrived from Holland, bearing the news that succour was being sent out, consisting of two squadrons—one fleet composed of 18 ships and 7 hiates, furnished with 1,350 soldiers, commanded by the Admiral Jan Dirkszoon Lam; the second, composed of 14 ships and 8 hiates, with 550 soldiers, commanded by Boudewin Hendrickszoon, Burgomaster of Edam. These informations impelled the Dutch to employ every effort to prolong the defence.

"But on the 29th of March, 1625, the Portuguese and Spanish squadrons arrived to Bahia, and on the next day 4,000 men were sent ashore. The Dutch resolved upon concentrating all their forces to defend the city, and therefore abandoned the exterior forts. Meanwhile

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

succour began to arrive from Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and from other provinces of Brazil, commanded by Jeronymo d'Albuquerque Maranhão, Salvador Corrêa de Sá, Manuel Dias d'Almeida, and Pedro da Silva. D. Fadrique at once attacked the three principal points, S. Bento, Carmo, and Monte das Palmeiras. The artillery corps were under the command of Marquis de Coprani, and the engineers by the Count de Bagnuolo, Giovanni Vicenzo San Felice. After heavy firing and repeated simulated assaults the defenders became alarmed.

"Within the city complete anarchy reigned. Willem Schontem was deposed by his subalterns and substituted by Hans Ernest Kyff. The besiegers closely narrowed the siege, and on the 28th of April took a bulwark by assault. The Dutch then demanded capitulation, and surrendered, delivering up the city, flags, artillery, money, shipping, merchandise, and slaves, and pledging themselves not to combat against Spain so long as they did not return to Holland.

"On the 1st of May the Dutch departed for Europe, and D. Fadrique took possession of Bahia. Three weeks later the Dutch squadron arrived to aid them, but on seeing that the city was captured, did not dare to assault it. One of these fleets, in order to take revenge, proceeded to Western Africa, and landed troops close to the fort of S. Jorge da Mina, but the blacks, who had allied with the Portuguese, lay in ambush, took them by surprise, and compelled them to embark, leaving, however, a number slain on the field and many wounded, among them the Admiral.

"On the 4th of August the Spanish and Portuguese squadrons departed for Portugal. On the heights of the Azores they put to flight three Dutch ships, and on the 16th of October entered Lisbon. The news of the reconquest of Bahia was celebrated with great rejoicing, as also the promptitude with which Philip IV. rewarded the services rendered by the Portuguese on that occasion. Once more the opportunity presented itself of reconciling the Portuguese to bearing the Spanish yoke, but once again the abyss was opened wide which separated the Portuguese people from the Castillian King. On seeing the promptitude with which patriotism, excited at the news of the loss of Bahia, had come forward to subscribe a large subsidy for the expenses of the fleet, the Count-Duke judged that Portugal was richer than appeared, and he resolved to drain her completely."

Even so far back as 1624 the Minister had resorted to a voluntary subscription in order to meet the frequent demands made upon the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

royal finances, and had raised a sum of a million and a half of scudos in Portugal. As soon as this sum had been collected together a similar subsidy was demanded. The cares which harassed the spirit of the minister by these continual demands for money, the result of a bad administration, and extravagant expenses of a dissipated Court, became aggravated by complications of external affairs. England and France, always in dread of the dominion of the House of Austria, allied with Holland, and this alliance largely contributed to stimulate expeditions from the republic against North America. Moreover, it was known at the Court of Madrid that the King of England, Charles I., was preparing not only to capture the galleons of America, but even to attack Cadiz.

The Spanish monarchy, though vast and opulent, was in a most deplorable condition, both in its financial state and in its political organisation, to resist so many enemies who had conspired together to weaken her. The extended colonial possessions which she held offered abundant resources for the increase of public wealth by means of commercial development; but the system adopted of confining mercantile traffic to monopolies annulled all its advantages, and oftentimes the receipts were far below the outlay: hence what would have been a valuable aid under a better Government became an onerous charge. Political organisation was another cause of weakness. Governed by one only monarch, but formed of many states which still preserved fresh the traditions of their autonomy and a certain degree of independence, there was wanting to the Spanish monarchy that unity indispensable for constituting a nation, and as a consequence collect together all the dispersed forces in order to support a common interest. When any of the states suffered an aggression it would endeavour to repel it by its own exertions, but remained indifferent if calamity visited another portion of the monarchy, as though it were no more than a foreign nation.

The Count-Duke, who was something of a statist, clearly perceived the evil, and endeavoured to remedy it by projecting the organisation of a permanent army of 100,000 foot-soldiers and 10,000 horse, with a fleet sufficient for the transportation of troops, the defence of the coasts, and for convoying merchant ships. This army, concentrated in Estremadura, was to be ready to afford prompt aid in any part of the monarchy which should be attacked. As the realisation of this plan would entail an enormous expenditure, the minister started negotiations with various states in order that each should contribute a proportionate

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

subsidy for the common defence. But so great was the resistance that rose up against the measure that the minister was compelled to delay it, expecting to obtain by force what he had been unable to obtain by gentle means.

The kingdom of Portugal most energetically refused to obey the insinuations of the all-powerful minister, and as a result it was upon her that the resentment of the proud nobleman more heavily weighed.

Not only did he force the kingdom to construct expensive works of defence, but also compelled the city of Lisbon to make great sacrifices in order to erect entrenchments which were never garrisoned. As in the port of Lisbon there were anchored eight ships, two of which only were considered fit for navigation, he ordered all to leave the Tagus to escort the fleet coming from India, and appointing as commandant of this squadron the brave sailor, D. Manuel de Menezes, who in vain represented the danger it incurred, and the risk of losing so many lives and merchandise.

A few days after, they left the bar, and were sailing towards the south, when D. Manuel received orders to depart for Corunna, where the ships were which he was to conduct to Lisbon. The tempest separated the ships—the one commanded by Menezes ported in Ferrol, that under Antonio Moniz to Vigo, and the others to Corunna.

The Government of Madrid, instead of officially treating with Menezes, who had been invested with the command, corresponded directly with Antonio Barreto, who, proud of the honour, paid no heed to the orders of the commandant, who had planned to collect together the ships at Ferrol, where he would more easily defend himself against any attack from the English, and, when the weather became more favourable, depart for Lisbon.

On communicating this plan to the Governors of Madrid and Lisbon it met with the approbation of both, and Menezes was charged to carry it out. For this object proper orders were sent to Moniz Barreto, who paid no heed to them, and ordered the ships to weigh anchor and depart to the south, taking with him the rest of the ships and the Indian fleet.

When Menezes was informed of this breach of discipline, he at once foresaw the consequences, but feeling that he ought not to forsake these senseless ones, to whom he might yet be of use, he before starting wrote to Madrid protesting against the unheard-of adventure in these noble

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

words, "I shall doubtless be lost with these blinded ones, but I would sooner meet death in the same venture than receive the news of a disaster."

After a few days' voyage the ships conducted by Antonio Moniz and the fleet from India, beaten by the storm, lost their course, ere Menezes could reach them. With the exception of the galleon *S. Thiago*, all the ships were wrecked, and so complete was the disaster that the whole of the cargoes were lost and very few lives saved. The crews of the ship of D. Manuel de Menezes and of the galleon *S. Filippe* were the only ones saved, the rest were entirely lost.

The news of the disaster produced a sinister impression in the kingdom. The loss of this fleet completely ruined the Portuguese navy, and a large subsidy was at once exacted, not only to repair the losses of the ships of India, but the loss endured by the Treasury, and to aid the Portuguese possessions thus seriously threatened. As was natural, this demand, following upon such grave losses, produced great discontent. The minister judged this an excellent opportunity to realise his former plan, because the kingdom thus broken down with its disasters would more willingly receive the union with Castille as its greatest benefit.

The Court of Madrid continued its persevering course of ruining the country by a system of fiscal exactions, while it dissipated its sums in conferring favours on the courtiers, or applying the money to things which were of lesser advantage to the nation. After the wreck of the fleets above mentioned, the Court of Madrid refused to pay back any part of the three million it owed the Crown of Portugal. Likewise the revenues from the bull of the crusade, which were set apart for the support of African places, were in part applied instead for the Jesuit College of Salamanca; while the duty on drugs from India and on sugar went to enrich and endow in perpetuity the Convent of the Escorial. Many other complaints arose in respect to the distribution of money, among them the numerous large pensions and other favours conferred in opposition to what was pledged and promised in the Cortes of Thomar and of Lisbon, in which it was expressedly declared that no properties or Crown goods be given to foreigners, but only to natives of the kingdom.

The remembrance of so many injustices and oppressions, and the heavy burdens of taxation and tributes which crushed the Portuguese, were more than sufficient motives for the Government of Spain to be generally detested; but to all these causes of discontent was added

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

one more of greater gravity, because it wounded the religious preconceptions of that epoch.

Taking advantage of the precarious state of the treasury of Castille, the Portuguese Jews offered a million and a half of cruzados, in order that all those who within a stated term should voluntarily be reconciled, an indult be granted them by which they be exempted from sequestration of their pledges and properties. Their proposal was accepted, and the decree was passed to that effect on the 7th of August, 1627. The clergy, irritated by the fiscal measures of which they had been the victims, roused the populace by insinuating that this was the first step towards revoking the laws of D. João III., the Cardinal D. Henrique, and of Philip II. and III., in virtue of which the new Christians could not quit the kingdom nor alienate their properties without a respective permission. The spirit of the populace as well as of the better classes became excited, and in order to calm down the agitation, Philip IV. expedited two royal letters, reminding the observance of the former laws, and ordering that in the Convent of Thomar be held a Junta, composed of various prelates charged with investigating the causes of the propagation of Judaism, and to propose the needful providences for staying the evil. In effect, the Junta was formed, to which were added as counsellors some professors of Coimbra. At the end of two years the assembly concluded their labours, and the Archbishop of Lisbon, D. João Manuel, departed for Madrid, bearing the proposals resolved upon. During these two years of deliberation, however, the Jews had continued to urge their cause, and most probably, using the weighty argument of money, in order to overcome the scruples of the Catholic King, they worked upon the conscience of his majesty in such a manner that at the very moment when the resolutions of the proposals of the Ecclesiastical Commission were expected the former laws were suspended. The clergy profited by this once again to irritate the spirits, and various tumults broke out in different parts of the kingdom, and in some places the new Christians ran serious risks of being assassinated.

While these things were taking place in Portugal, sad news arrived from Brazils. Pernambuco had fallen into the power of the Dutch. It was only twenty years later that Pernambuco once again was reconquered by the Portuguese.

The news of the fall of Pernambuco arrived at the moment when most pompous festivities were being made to celebrate the marriage of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the Prince-Royal, eldest son of Philip IV. The governors of Portugal, terror-stricken, informed the Court of Madrid of this event, and at once sent two caravels to Brazils, and ordered six more to be quickly equipped and sent out to succour. The aid from Spain was certainly peculiar: it was limited to an order for prayers throughout the kingdom, and an exhortation to the Holy Office to redouble their severity in order to draw down the mercy of the Almighty.

The Portuguese felt deeply aggrieved at this contempt, more especially as had the Court of Madrid restituted a part of the sums due to the Crown of Portugal, the Portuguese would have sent at the proper time a squadron to Brazil and reconquered Pernambuco as they had done Bahia. The conquerors were furthering their views for the future, and judged that the moment would come when they might take permanent possession of all the vast territories of Brazils. These hopes were not, however, realised, because the Spanish monarch, by daily pressing his heavy hand of oppression upon the Portuguese, stimulated them to reconquer their liberty, and recuperate many of their dominions which had been wrenched from them during the term of their captivity.

When the marriage festivities were over, the Prime Minister, feeling that the efforts of the daring republicans to establish themselves in America would threaten the peace and security of the monarchy, determined to take energetic measures against the invaders. He commenced by organising anew the Council of Portugal at Madrid, and divided it into three sections—one especially for the affairs of India and its conquests, which was calculated to afford greater activity for the despatch of business. Meanwhile the King addressed the Camaras of Portugal reminding them of the necessity of raising by means of fresh imposts the annual subsidy of a million cruzados, hinting, for the first time, the idea of restoring the tax on salt, which had been instituted in the reign of Sebastian, but was soon after abolished, owing to the many appeals made against the imposition.

The Spanish monarch, calling to mind the enthusiasm evinced a short time previously by the kingdom to aid the defence of Bahia, thought no doubt that an appeal at the present time would call forth an equal response. But he was mistaken. The hostility of the nation, provoked by the oppressions of Castille, was such that all Government measures, even of acknowledged utility, met with the greatest resistance.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Meanwhile the Dutch were sending another fleet commanded by the Admiral Jannsen Pater, and subsequently various other aids, until in Pernambuco had gathered together a force of 3,500 strong, which attempted to occupy the island of Itamaraca, but had to content themselves with raising a fort close to the bar, which they called Orange.

As the treasury of Madrid was low, and it had been impossible to obtain the solicited subsidy from Portugal, the preparations for the expedition had been delayed through want of means. But at length the promised fleet arrived to Bahia, composed of nineteen men-of-war, conducting some 2,000 soldiers. The admiral of this fleet was Oquedo. A force of 800 men were under orders to remain in Bahia, and the rest under the command of Count de Bagnuolo to proceed and leave 1,000 at Pernambuco and 200 at Parahiba.

A few days after the arrival of Oquedo, the Admiral Pater quitted Recife to seek the enemy. The two fleets met on the 12th of September, 1631, and a deadly encounter took place, the victory, however, being undecided. The Dutch lost the Admiral's ship, which was burnt, and the *Province of Utrecht*. The Portuguese lost the galleon *S. João Baptista*, which became wrecked, and the *S. Boaventura*, that was captured. The Spanish captain's vessel was saved, but unfit for service; nevertheless the Admiral Oquedo was able to save and land the cargo it brought of supplies. In Madrid this naval engagement was celebrated as a triumph, and even at the present day in the naval museum of that capital is seen the picture representing the battle, in which, according to the legend written by the painter, the Dutch fleet was conquered and destroyed. It is said that Admiral Pater, on seeing his ship on fire, met his death by drowning, enveloped in the standard of his country. Contemporary writers, however, affirm that being perfidiously forsaken by his own, he fell exhausted into the water.

The Dutch, fearing the aids brought by Oquedo, abandoned Olinda on the 24th of November, after setting fire to the houses of all those who refused to pay the ransom arbitrated by the enemy. After mustering together the garrison of Olinda and some other corps, the Dutch under the command of the Lieutenant-Colonel Callenfels marched against Parahiba; but when they landed close to the fort of Cabedello, they found its governor, João de Mattos Cardozo, prepared for the combat, having received some aid from Oquedo. After several

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

engagements, in which there were considerable losses on both sides, the Dutch were compelled to desist from their project. An attempt was then made against Maranhão by directing an expedition to the Rio Grande do Norte, but it was repulsed by Mathias d'Albuquerque; the Cape of St. Augustin was also attacked by the Dutch, who were defeated with great losses.

These events, although not unfavourable to the success of Portuguese arms, nevertheless caused the Court of Madrid to feel anxious about their American colonies, and became fully conscious of the urgent necessity of expelling as soon as possible all invaders. Hence another squadron was sent out, composed of fifty galleons, fitted out at the expense of both kingdoms, each contributing twenty-five ships. The command of this fleet was given to the re-conqueror of Bahia. From the city of Lisbon was exacted a forced loan of 500,000 cruzados, besides the subsidy of the Camaras of a fifth of the Crown properties and revenues. The royal orders were not carried out as promptly as might be expected, and the idea of a loan, moreover, met with the greatest opposition. However, Olivares, without altering the proposal, modified the plan. He erected a Junta—giving the presidency to Count de Basto, Governor of the Kingdom—of several notabilities, to whom were entrusted the collecting together of the means necessary for the expedition, by realising the active financial debts and other dues and imposts.

The Count de Basto, fully conscious of the difficulties which would arise from the execution of odious measures to which he was himself opposed, and unwilling to assume responsibilities which were repugnant to him, demanded in peremptory terms that he be released from the governorship of the kingdom—a resignation he had sent in some time previously, but which had been unattended to. On this occasion the Count-Duke yielded, and the governorship was given to D. Antonio d'Athayde, Count de Castro d'Ayre, and to Nuno de Mendonça, Count de Valle de Reis, provisionally, until the power should be assumed by the Infante D. Carlos, brother of Philip IV., who had been appointed to govern Portugal, but who never filled the place. The presidency of the Junta was given to Count de Castello Novo. Fresh imposts and taxation were levied, until discontented with the Count de Castro d'Ayre, who, owing to the death of the Count de Valle de Reis, had assumed the government, he was dismissed and substituted by D. João Manuel, Archbishop of Lisbon. His illness, which terminated with death,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

prevented him from attending to the affairs of government, his governorship lasting barely three months.

Once more the attention of the Court was directed to the Count de Basto, and from his retirement in Evora, was besought to take the governorship of Portugal for the third time. He refused, but the minister continued to plead. The Count was respected by the Portuguese for his noble character and conciliatory manners, while love of justice was his salient quality. Olivares judged that he could excuse himself with this respected name against all murmurs provoked by his own arbitrary and oppressive policy, and thereby diminish opposition. At length the Count yielded; but from the commencement of his new term of government he found himself embarrassed by two grave difficulties. The Court of Madrid had assumed to itself the nomination of the most important charges without a previous audience of the interested parties, nor of the Portuguese authorities. The other abuse was the withdrawal of forces promoted by the Court of Madrid, and which drew to it by rewards the finest swords of Portugal to employ them in the war of Flanders. In vain did he try to put down these abuses. The renowned João Pinto Ribeiro, in a published opuscle, clearly proved the inconveniences of this proceeding: the want of native captains for the service of the conquests, which was deficient of good officers, in order to sustain the repeated invasion of the enemies. The language employed was moderate, but it was considered seditious by the Court of Madrid, and the public censor was bidden to be more severe in granting permission for the publication of opuscles treating on political affairs.

Meantime oppressions continued. Diogo Soares as Secretary of State Finance, and Justice in Madrid, and Miguel de Vasconcellos in Lisbon, both servile flatterers of the Count-Duke, employed every means to draw money from the exhausted kingdom, while the Count de Basto, with great goodwill, wrestled in vain against the exigencies of the Government of Madrid and the violences of their fiscal officers, and endeavoured, but in vain, to send succour to the colony of Pernambuco and other menaced possessions.

The revenues from Brazils were nearly all absorbed by Holland, or by the flourishing city which they had taken possession of, or by the piracies by which their ships ruined Portuguese trade. The wealth of the East was likewise passing to the Dutch or to the English, because, though the conquests might remain, the monopoly of commerce had

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ended; the loss of Ormuz was a deep and heavy blow; and the enemies, by dominating the seas, intercepted the road to India, and the rulers of the East, the bitterest enemies of the Portuguese, preferred to trade with their new allies. Even as far as Japan had the Dutch arrived, and had succeeded to rob them of the great trade of that island.

Meanwhile Portugal was more heavily oppressed by its chiefs and rulers than by its enemies, and instead of being assisted and furthered by Spain, she heartlessly drained its resources in order to appropriate them to herself. Forced loans were demanded, affecting principally the religious and charitable institutions and hospitals, which irritated the people, who bitterly complained; and the Count de Basto, reprobating the action of the Government, besought to be exonerated of his charge. The Count-Duke, by the mouth of Philip IV., replied by severely insisting upon the order given being carried out, and granting to the Count de Basto his desired demission.

A new Governor was therefore to be chosen for Portugal, and Miguel de Vasconcellos was nominated Secretary of State. It was sought now to elect a Viceroy whom Vasconcellos might be able to dominate. The choice fell on Margaret of Austria, granddaughter of Philip II. and widow of Vincent Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, who, having lost the duchy of Mantua, the Spanish Government, in compensation, gave him the governorship of Pavia. The Duchess of Mantua pleaded to be exonerated from this difficult post, owing to the agitation reigning in Italy, and to being unfitted to her naturally peaceful character. But it suited the ministers to have a woman as regent whom they could dominate. Hence D. Margarida of Austria, Duchess of Mantua, was nominated Vice-Queen (Vice-Rainha) of Portugal.

On the 14th of December, 1634, the Duchess of Mantua made her entry into Portugal, accompanied by the Marquis de la Puebla and other Castillian nobles, and in January, 1635, Miguel de Vasconcellos assumed the post of Secretary of State. These nominations were received with great discontent in Portugal. Such was the irritated state of the kingdom that all acts proceeding from Madrid were received with distrust bordering on hostility.

The Princess Margaret, though granddaughter of Philip II., and related by blood to the House of Austria, was not considered of sufficiently near relationship to be elected for Portugal, and her nomination was voted against the laws of the kingdom and the promises made in the Cortes of Thomar. These promises, oftentimes eluded,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

even during the lifetime of the sovereign, were on this occasion most scandalously violated, because many Castillians in the suite of the Regent were admitted in the tribunals and other charges, which, according to the promises made in the Cortes of Thomar, were to be assigned only to Portuguese. But the nomination which more greatly was reprobated by the Portuguese of all classes was that of Miguel de Vasconcellos, who was universally detested. Vain of his assumption of power, he dominated the gentle, yielding character of the Princess, and, in truth, exercised the supreme government, and had in view rather to serve his master than the good of his countrymen, whom he detested. Hence he at once commenced to exact the rigorous collection of taxes and imposts, and imposing new ones, which led to tumults, and a crowd proceeded to attack the house of D. Fadrique de Toledo, breaking the windows and pouring threats and curses upon this individual, execrated for his cruelty. In Evora serious disturbances took place, and the people set fire to many places, and even attacked the nobles. The Archbishop, the Count de Basto, and others residing in Evora, seeing that this revolt would be fruitless, because not properly organised, resolved upon putting it down by gentle means. Hence the Archbishop, with uplifted cross, accompanied by many nobles, sallied out and endeavoured to appease the tumult. But the populace distrusted the nobles, and could not forget their deplorable proceeding on the occasion of the invasion of Portugal, hence their efforts only served to irritate the people. This was a manifest injustice, because the nobility at the epoch of our history were as anxious as the masses for the independence of the country; but this injustice was only acknowledged when the forty nobles, on the 1st of December, 1640, by unsheathing their swords, took the initiative in the insurrection which secured the independence of Portugal. But the people of Evora were blinded by wrath, and could not see the futility of their attempt, and instead of heeding the counsels of the nobles, illtreated them. The tumult increased during the night, and the revolutionists assailed the houses of the magistrates and the aldermen, and broke the windows of the Archbishop's palace, and invading the residence of the Count de Basto, sought to insult him. But the aged noble, conscious of the integrity of his soul and of the services he had rendered the country in its hours of difficulty, using the term of office confided to him only for defending the country against the exigencies of the oppressors,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

disarmed the people by his venerable presence and the calmness of his reasoning.

Meanwhile the nobles mediated between the representatives of the people and the Governments of Lisbon and Madrid, and endeavoured to appease the contention. As soon as the revolutionists had taken possession of Evora, the leaders of the movement sought to enkindle the revolt in other places of the kingdom, and events very nearly favoured the intrepid leaders and belied the timid counsels and previsions of the nobles. As a matter of fact, the kingdom was far more ripe for a revolt than its exterior appearance indicated. There existed a tacit conspiracy among the Portuguese against all Spaniards, and at the first call of independence would be replied to by unexpected echoes from all points. The whole of Alemtejo, with the exception of Elvas and Moura, followed the example of Evora.

The Algarve also declared they would not pay the tributes, while towards the side of Lisbon similar manifestations took place at Jancos Santarem, and Abrantes, and even at Oporto there were tumults; and in the province of Minho, Vianna showed a revolutionary spirit. Who knows what would have taken place had the timid Duke of Braganza, who became later on D. João IV., accepted at the first impulse the crown which all were willing to lay at his feet! Villa Viçosa had gone so far as to proclaim him; but the Duke of Braganza, more weak than ambitious, trembled at the bare thought of a revolution disapproved of by the nobility, and found he could not wrestle with the armour of the Master of Aviz. Instead of accepting the diadem which was offered to him, he sent his son D. Theodosio, a child of three, to the street to show himself to the people, and thus prove that, like a good parent, he did not wish to risk the future of his house and family in daring enterprises. At the same time he hastened to forward to Madrid a protest of unfailing fidelity, an act which was much admired by the Count-Duke.

The latter, irritated at the revolt of Evora, which he attributed to the machinations of the clergy and monks, fulminated decree after decree of extreme severity against the religious orders and seditious preachers. The minister was not far wrong, and now he perceived the imprudence he had committed by offending and ranging the clergy against him. The Jesuits, in particular, had always been drawn enemies to the Spanish dominion, and their influence in the University of Evora would certainly not be foreign to the perseverance of the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

revolutionists. Besides their preaching, by which more or less transparently they fulminated against the tyranny of the Spaniards, the Jesuits had made of the sect of Sebastianistas a dangerous weapon; and this innocent illusion of credulous spirits was taken advantage of to fan the hopes of good patriots for the restoration of Portugal.

On the 3rd of December, 1637, Philip IV., or rather his favourite, addressed a royal letter to the Princess Margarida, in which he assured her that no fears had been felt at the news of the revolt of Evora, because these risings were of small moment and of ordinary occurrence. It appears the revolt of Evora had alarmed the vice-Queen, who had quitted Italy in order to fly from popular agitations, and had met similar ones at the very commencement of her government. She dreaded also lest in Madrid she might be accused of having consented to the excesses and violences of her secretary, from which had resulted this reaction. Hence she strove by gentle means to pacify Evora, and appointed a new corregedor in the person of Jeronymo Ribeiro, wishful of ascribing the agitation of the city to his predecessor. The people received the new magistrate, but paid no heed to him. She then sent an ecclesiastic, a Dominican monk, Fr. Manuel de Macedo, whom she greatly esteemed, but he was ill-used; and she then sent the Lord of Bobadella, Fernão Martins Freire, whom the nobles received in the Quinta of Santo Antão, but was courteously dismissed. The vice Queen was seriously embarrassed; moreover, the Council of State, wounded at not being consulted, did not offer any aid. Hence she was compelled to state the case at Madrid, but the Count-Duke paid no attention, as he was so accustomed to seditions that one more or less was no object; moreover, this one was advantageous to him, because it afforded him the opportunity of at once crushing the boldness of the Portuguese.

However, he commenced by gentle means and sent peacemakers. It was because he was not yet prepared to put down the revolution by forcible means. Hence whilst he sent secret instructions for the army of Cantabria to march upon Portugal, he meanwhile entertained the revolutionists with false negotiations, sending first the Jesuit Francisco Manso, then the Dominican Fr. João de Vasconcellos, and lastly the Count de Linhares furnished with more ample powers, and who exacted from the judges of the people, Sesinando Rodrigues and João Barradas, that they should demand pardon of the King Philip IV. on their knees according to a formula of the Middle Ages, whilst the Archbishop

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

D. João Coutinho pledged with the representatives of the people to pay the excess of the new tributes. Rodrigues and Barradas were almost resolved upon going, because the revolution was becoming extinguished on all sides through want of means, but they were not confident of returning. How far the promises of Olivares were to be depended upon was well known throughout Portugal. Annoyed at the hesitation, the Count of Linhares threatened, and the revolted people turned him out of the city.

This afforded a pretext to Olivares to break off negotiations; but he would have sundered them under any circumstances, because all he waited for was the approach of the troops to impose his will on the revolutionists, in view that they had been unable, or not known how, to turn their protests into an insurrection. The Duke de Beja, with the army of Cantabria; the Duke of Nochera, at the head of the musketeers, cuirassiers, and dragoons of Badajoz; the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Marquis of Valparaiso, with the infantry and horsemen of Andalusia, were already at the frontiers of Portugal. Then Olivares, flinging off the mask, sent as a letter to the Queen-Regent a veritable manifesto, wherein could be perceived his odium for Portugal, in which he accused the kingdom of refusing to pay tributes, the only aim of which was to save their own conquests; and he affirmed, moreover, that he would severely repress the impious mutinies of Evora. This in effect took place. The Spanish troops entering into Portugal devastated, sacked, and vexed the country. Behind the soldiers came the scaffold. In Evora and in the Algarve blood flowed in torrents. Barradas and Rodrigues saved their lives by flight. Evora paid the imposts which it had refused, and defrayed as a fine the expenses of the rising (Alçada), and had to endure the insults of the soldiery. "The Spanish troops," writes Rebello da Silva, "withdrew loaded with spoils as though returning from a conquest."

Olivares had established Juntas on the frontiers in Ayamonte and in Badajoz, to watch what passed in Portugal. Olivares and the Duchess of Mantua sought to take advantage of the apparent prostration of the kingdom to effectually work the definite union of the two countries. The insolent imprudence of the Count-Duke d'Olivares hastened the restoration of Portugal, exhausting by violence the patience of the Portuguese. Firmly determined upon altogether blotting out the autonomy of the kingdom and reducing it to the condition of only a province of Spain, he resolved upon realising his plan by force, and for

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

this end made use of most iniquitous measures. He commenced his plan of action by withdrawing from Portugal all the most influential persons on different pretexts, in order not to arouse the distrust of the Portuguese. Among the principal ones were the Archbishop of Lisbon, D. Rodrigo da Cunha, the Archbishop of Braga, the Archbishop of Evora, the Bishop of Oporto, the Counts of Portalegre and Miranda and Santa Cruz, and many others of the Councils of State and Finance.

Olivares then proceeded to deprive the kingdom of soldiers by ordering, despite some privileges authorised by the Cortes of Thomar, the Marquis of Porto Seguro, D. Alfonso de Lencastre, to raise in Portugal all the cavalry he could possibly muster, and likewise recruiting in the Azores and in Madeira to be made, and the corps to be sent to Corunna. Also that four regiments of infantry be summoned together in Coimbra, Guimarães, Castello Branco, and Ourique, and these to march to Spain. Lastly, that the Castillian Admiral D. Thomas Chauburn take possession of two Portuguese ships and the galleons *Santa Thereza* and *S. Balthazar*, and to complete this series of measures, exacted that the Duke of Braganza should send him 1,000 armed vassals under orders of D. Antonio Tello.

He thus deprived the kingdom of arms, and proceeded to deprive it of its financial resources. Portugal was in truth already well drained, but Olivares wished to drain it to the bitter end. A forced loan of 150,000 silver ducats wrenched from the wealthiest Portuguese, a subsidy of 440 contos de reis negotiated with a banking firm, a fifth of the revenues of the Houses of Braganza, Villa Real, and Aveiro confiscated by the treasury—such were the unheard-of vexations which suddenly oppressed the kingdom. No doubt Olivares expected a fresh rising in Evora which he would smother in blood, and thus keep the kingdom silent and submissive. The dumb stupefaction with which these despotic actions were received, induced the minister to infer that Portugal no longer had strength or courage to retaliate; but he was mistaken. This silence, that so joyed him, was but the ominous calm which precedes the bursting of the storm.

Whilst the people assisted sullenly to the visitation of Spanish recruiting agents and exactions, the clergy worked in the shade to irritate the spirits by taking advantage of every pretext. The strife between the Crown and the Apostolic collectors had always continued more or less latent, until the nomination of the Bishop of Nicastro, Alexandre Riario Castracani, as Nuncio in Lisbon was made,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

when, being of a violent disposition, the strife became a furious one. The pretext for the outbreak was afforded by a pastoral of 16th March, 1636, in which the Nuncio fulminated against the laws of mortmain promulgated by the Crown. Olivares wished to proceed against the Nuncio, or at least against those he supposed were his counsellors. The religious orders, headed by the Jesuits, took the side of Riario. However, by force of negotiations the contention was quelled for a time, until it became renewed by a Bull of Pope Urban VIII., dated 5th of June, 1638, in which were reproduced the anathemas fulminated by the Nuncio's pastoral. The Government refused to accept the bull, but the Bishop of Nicastro executed it notwithstanding, by promulgating an edict of cessation *a Divinis*, dated 25th of June, 1639, which was a veritable interdict cast upon all the authorities. Olivares did not recoil; and when he saw that the Nuncio would not withdraw the edict, he endeavoured to compel him by all means, even to shutting him up in an apartment and depriving him of food and drink. The Bishop escaped through a window, and took refuge in the Convent of St. Francis, from whence he was arrested and sent to Madrid under an escort of soldiers. Pope Urban VIII. praised the Nuncio, but did not excommunicate the King of Spain; no doubt he bore in mind the unceremonious manner in which Charles V. had sacked Rome, and evidently had no desire to renew with his grandson what had cost so dear a price to Clement VII.

In Lisbon and throughout the kingdom, the clergy, regular and secular, profited by this incident to aggravate the wrath of the people, sincerely religious, against the foreign and heretical Government, which could thus use such violence against the representative of the Vicar of Christ. The interdict had been laid over the kingdom, and the clergy did not mitigate its rigours, and the people deprived of its religious food, if we may so call it, manifested a sullen wrath which would inevitably explode at the first opportunity.

An event delayed this explosion. It appears Olivares had secretly informed the Portuguese at Madrid that it was resolved upon to suppress the Portuguese independence altogether, alleging that the engagements entered into by the Cortes of Thomar had been annulled by Philip IV., by the alterations of 1637. His intention was to publish in Lisbon the decree depriving Portugal of the rights of a separate kingdom as soon as the formidable fleet of D. Antonio Oquedo, which was at that time

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

in the Channel of La Mancha, should enter the Tagus to assert with their cannons this decisive measure. But the great Dutch Admiral Tromp completely destroyed this fleet on the 21st of September, 1639. The Spaniards lost in this naval battle 6,000 men and 43 ships, the Portuguese 900 men and the galleon *Santa Thereza*. This disaster compelled Olivares to delay the carrying out of his project, which would undoubtedly have provoked a revolution far more sanguinary, but not more irresistible than the one of the 1st of December.

Meanwhile the disaster of the destruction of the fleet of Count da Torre in Brazils completed the maritime misfortunes for that year.

As we said above, the defeat of the squadron of Oquedo by the Dutch delayed the publication of the decree of annexation, but previous to this defeat, however, and when the said fleet was still anchored in the waters of Corunna, it had to defend itself against the French fleet, which, under the command of Henry de Surdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux, attempted a surprisal, an attempt he had to desist from, owing to not daring to sever the cable which closed the port. It was in order to repel this squadron that the fleet of Oquedo was organised.

France, steered by Cardinal Richelieu, employed all her political aims to reducing the predominance of the House of Austria; hence with this object she openly entered, in 1635, into the celebrated war of thirty years, which, commencing by a religious conflict, degenerated into a war of political ambitions. Inferior to her rival as a maritime power, she, towards the end of 1638, endeavoured with the greatest activity to remedy this inferiority by setting to work the naval dock-yards of France. The Count-Duke apprehensive of these naval preparations, which he was well aware were to be directed against the Peninsula, not only organised the fleet under the command of Oquedo, but took extraordinary measures for the defence of the kingdom. He feared, with some foundation, that the naval forces of France would be directed to Portuguese ports in preference to Spanish ones, in the hope of promoting an insurrection among the Portuguese against the dominion of Castille. Hence, besides the levy of troops as aforesaid, he separated the civil from the military government of Portugal, leaving the political direction of affairs to the Duchess of Mantua, and the military one to the Duke of Braganza.

The appointment of the Duke displeased both Castillians and Portuguese—the latter distrusted that such a proof of confidence

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

most certainly concealed some perfidy; while the first were shocked that the supreme military command should be given to so dangerous an enemy. Certainly this appointment announced a change in the reserved intentions of Olivares in regard to the Lord of Villa Viçosa, but a change which dissatisfied both Spaniards and Portuguese, although in diverse ways.

"The choice, probably a forced one," says Rebello da Silva, "which the Count-Duke made of D. João, even after he had been in some parts already proclaimed King during the rising of 1637, was a daring one, but imprudent more in appearance than in reality. By entrusting the defence of the country to the Duke, who was beloved and respected by the people, it cast on the Court all responsibilities, meanwhile that by surrounding him with Spanish officers and creatures of the favourite, and subjecting his acts to the deliberations of a collective body, he merely left him the title and the exterior appearance of chief commander. On the other hand, if the intentions of the minister were to diminish the conceit of the prince by compelling him to serve as a vassal in presence of those who venerated him almost as their sovereign, and then take advantage of his appointment to withdraw him to the towers or the fleet and take him a prisoner to Cadiz, he did not succeed in doing either; because D. João was no less far-seeing and crafty than himself, and knew how to parry the blows, and turn to his own advantage the snares laid for him. Wherever he went he was always accompanied by his most faithful adherents and friends, and in such numbers that the agents did not dare to attempt the execution of the plans which were attributed to Olivares, but certainly inspired by Diogo Soares and Miguel de Vasconcellos.

"Whenever he had occasion to come to Almada to assist at the conferences of the Junta of Defence, the Duke always travelled incognito. It was only when he was about to retire to his residence in the Alemtejo that he openly made his presence known. The whole of the nobility flocked to visit him, and some of the fidalgos took advantage of the occasion to openly manifest their intentions, and invite him to accept the Crown. He listened to them, but he neither rejected nor accepted their offers, and simply reserved all confidences to himself. He was well aware that every step was watched, and every word listened to, and unable to discern the faithful from those who were not, he judged it more prudent to declare nothing, leaving to time the solution of the problem, which was full of difficulties. He did not

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

delay to make his visit of courtesy to the Duchess of Mantua, but with the least possible ostentation. Observing strictly the orders sent from Madrid, which ruled his relations with the Princess Margarida, he crossed the Tagus and landed at the pier of the fort at the foot of the Palace of the Ribeira, and after a short visit returned to Almada on the same evening. This short visit to the capital was sufficiently long for the people to burst out in demonstrations of joy. No less was his presence acknowledged by the Court, and such marks of esteem were offered that Miguel de Vasconcellos, and the partisans of Castille, judged it expedient to withdraw him as soon as possible, and under any pretext.

"He then retired, at the commencement of the winter, to his palace at Villa Viçosa, and quietly pursued his usual occupations. The Cabinet of Madrid, however, became alarmed at the late demonstrations at Lisbon, and even distrusted his love of solitude. Not having succeeded in lowering the influence of his reputation and character, they endeavoured to indispose him with his own party, by making him an instrument of oppression.

"A fresh order was issued for recruiting in the lands of his dominion. He represented to the Cabinet the dearth of population of the provinces, but the Government only repeated the order, and the Duke, not wishing to afford them a plea for hostility, affected to obey, and enjoined the officials secretly to proceed very slowly so that the effect should be null. This was done, and few men passed the frontier. Meanwhile the year 1639 was waning, and the dawn of 1640 presaged the great events which were to render it memorable in the annals of the Iberic Peninsula. The evil star of the Count-Duke still predominated. The consequences of his errors were accumulating, and produced a conflagration which for a long time had been foreseen by the most prudent ones, and which the temerities of the Minister had fanned for years."

This erudite historian refers to the disturbances of Catalonia, which, as we shall see further on, exercised a decisive influence on the Portuguese revolution. We shall give our readers a hurried sketch of these events, after noting that the preparations of defence, mentioned above, were useless, because the squadron of Henry de Surdis, on withdrawing from Corunna, sailed towards Biscay and caused some damage at various ports, setting fire to the naval dockyards of Santander.

The principality of Catalonia, which passed on to Castille at the time

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

when Aragon joined it, never maintained cordial relations with the Court of Madrid, and this smouldering hostility, that had never been extinguished, revived in a notable manner during the time of Philip IV., when, having solicited a subsidy in 1626 from the Cortes of Barcelona, the latter refused to grant it, and the King, deeply annoyed, incontinently left the city, without replying to the chapters of the people nor assisting at the solemnity of closing. The Catalans resented this offence, and when six years later the sovereign returned, their resentment burst out anew at the insolent haughtiness of the Count-Duke, and they lost no opportunity of wounding his self-love.

Old animosities became renewed, but these did not, however, prevent the Catalans, when the French under the command of the Prince de Condé took Salces, to offer themselves voluntarily, to the number of 10,000, to retake that stronghold, and which they actually did, joining the army of Catalonia, commanded by the Marquis de los Balbazes.

This patriotic act, which might have been the means of conciliation, did not receive from the Court of Madrid a single word of acknowledgment. On the contrary, it was not long before the Count-Duke, to whom the easy pacification of the tumults of Evora and the Algarve had confirmed in his ideas of a rigorous proceeding, inflicted greater vexations on the Catalans, no doubt with the object, as happened in Portugal, of exasperating them to a revolt, and then submit them by force of arms and treat them as a conquered nation. To his intolerable oppressions were added the undisciplined state of the army, which practised the greatest excesses which their leaders passed unpunished. The inhabitants and peasantry, exasperated by famine and the hard services demanded, sought refuge in the mountains, and quarrels took place between them and the soldiers. The authority of the Viceroy was feared on account of the terror inspired by arms, but it was not respected, because the Aragonese considered their countryman an infamous traitor, and vowed to take revenge for his cruelties. He further desired to weaken the country by exacting a levy of 6,000 soldiers for the service of Castille, Flanders, or Italy. Meanwhile, Filippe Spinola, the Marquis de los Balbazes, withdrew to Madrid, and the excesses of the soldiers increased, and they did not hesitate to proceed to robbery and the profanation of the churches. The people, eminently religious, were scandalised at these sacrilegious acts, while

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the clergy from the pulpit cast anathemas against the impious, and the Bishop of Gerona excommunicated the authors of the frequent outrages which were practised in his diocese. All things were accumulating to render the insurrection more formidable.

On the occasion of gathering the harvest a great number of dwellers on the mountains came down as usual for employment, and this influx of population was taken advantage of to form the revolution which at length burst out.

The Governor became terrified, and fled with his son to the sea shore, with the object of taking refuge in one of the galleys anchored at the port. The forts had been taken possession of by the insurgents, and these fired on the galleys to prevent their approach. A barge, however, was able to come to the beach, and the son was taken on board, but the rowers, assailed by the fire, sped away without heeding the cries of the son pleading for his father to be saved. The Viceroy hence remained unprotected on the shore, and the populace rushed upon him. The fugitive fled towards the road of Monjuich, but, thoroughly exhausted, fell in a swoon, and his pursuers coming up, slew him ere he regained his senses.

For three days anarchy reigned triumphant. The houses of the Castillian ministers were sacked and then set on fire. As soon as the news of this revolt reached the other cities and towns of Catalonia, similar scenes took place, and the revolution became extended as far as Roussillon, where the greater strength of the Spanish troops was concentrated, and after committing great atrocities the revolution was ultimately smothered.

The Count-Duke, faithful to his programme, took advantage of this to further weaken Portugal by ordering all the nobility, without exception, to accompany Philip IV., and such of the fidalgos who by reason of their appointments could not leave Lisbon, were to be substituted by some relative. Likewise a large levy of troops was to be made and the army sent to Catalonia at the expense of the Portuguese.

The kingdom appealed against the enormous sacrifice, alleging the want of population and deficiency of means which could not even supply the demands of its colonies for their necessary expenditure. The reply of the Minister was severe and decisive for the fulfilment of the royal orders. Throughout Portugal the revolution only awaited for a fit moment to break out, and the decision of the Duke of Braganza. The occasion was afforded by the revolution of Catalonia, and at

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

length the hesitation of the Duke was overruled and he was ready.

The House of Braganza was one of the most powerful of Europe, and certainly the greatest in the Peninsula. To this house was attached three dukedoms—Barcellos, Guimarães, and Braganza; the Marquisates of Villa-Viçosa, the counties of Ourem, Arrayollos, Nieva and Valenca, Penafiel, Faro, and Faria. Their possessions, besides the city of Braganza, were twenty-four towns, among these being Monforte, Alegrete, Guimarães, Villa do Conde, Montemor-o-Novo, Almada, &c., and an infinite number of places which alone in the boundary of the lands of Braganza numbered 202, and in that of Chaves 187. In the year 1640 the number of vassals of the House of Braganza was 80,000, besides innumerable church and other ecclesiastical benefices and convents, Masterships of Orders, with many privileges. Their cortege included heralds and mace-bearers and senators, as for royal houses, with knights and chamberlains, and the chapel was invested with the privileges of a royal one. Kings rose up when they entered, and the dukes were dispensed from kissing the King's hand. They were served in their palaces with all the formalities and etiquette of royalty. The palace held nobles and servants to the number of 480.

In the time of the Philips the House of Braganza was at the height of its power and bore a princely character. The marriage of the Duke D. Theodosio with D. Isabel of Braganza, in 1603, was a truly royal one. Hence the House of Braganza was always a source of anxiety to the Spanish monarchs. Philip II. and Philip III. had endeavoured to annul it and ignore it completely. Philip IV. followed another system which might have borne better results had that system been carried out skilfully and persevered in. This was to place it on the same footing as other noble houses, and conferring appointments, which although elevated, implied subordination. But Olivares was under no anxiety, because the Duke of Braganza, with whom he had to wrestle, did not appear formed by nature to act any important part in the political affairs of the time.

D. João de Braganza was born in March, 1604, and in January, 1633, married D. Luiza de Gusman, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. She was a lady of lofty aims, and later on exercised a great influence over his actions. D. João loved the retirement of private life, was fond of hunting, and a great lover of music.

Such was the character of the individual upon whom rested the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

hopes of Portugal, not on account of his personal gifts, but solely because he was a representative of a house believed in by all good Portuguese to hold the principle of legitimacy without a stain of foreign blood. Rebello da Silva ascribes his hesitation to assume the purple solely to the prudence and good sense with which he was dowered, but to us it seems simply selfishness, for he viewed with indifference the sufferings of the kingdom under the foreign yoke until he could safely play the decisive card. Hence up to the last moment he was able to save appearances, and had the movement of the 1st of December failed in its results, he could always prove that he had never given his consent to the nobles who proclaimed him King, and thus save his house and its enormous wealth.

Before the order had been despatched from Madrid as we said above, for all the nobles to attend the cortege of Philip IV. on his journey to Aragon, when the Duke of Braganza came to Almada as military governor of Portugal, he was besought by some of the nobles to accept the Crown of Portugal; but as the Duke, while treating them with the highest deference, did not, however, give an explicit answer, one of these nobles, D. Antonio de Mascarenhas, wishing to hasten his decision, affirmed that on the occasion of visiting the Regent, he would be proclaimed King in spite of himself. The Duke hotly repelled such an expedient, adding that it was still early. This reply, while not absolutely crushing the hopes of the conspirators, left them undecided; but they continued their pleadings, and the Duke likewise continued as before, without even approving of any movement of insurrection.

At length, disheartened at his proceeding, the nobles turned their eyes towards Germany, where D. Duarte, brother of the Duke, was in the military service, and to whom a short time previously, when visiting Portugal, they had offered the Crown, in view that his brother appeared to reject it. D. Duarte feeling that this would be an act of usurpation of the rights of his elder brother, feelingly replied, that as soon as the first call of Portugal would be sounded for the insurrection, he would immediately come to his side to fight for the independence of the nation. The hesitation of the Duke would have justified his coming. Meanwhile, the order for the nobility of Portugal to accompany the King to the Cortes of Aragon was issued, and a further report that new imposts were about to be laid by the Court of Madrid, and that the decree for the extinction of the privileges of the kingdom would soon be published.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The urgency of danger could admit of no further delay; the idea of summoning D. Duarte was laid aside, and negotiations with the Duke were renewed, but always with the same hesitating issue. Evidently D. João did not wish to risk on a dangerous card the fortune and grandeur he enjoyed. The selfish feeling was more powerful in him than the sentiment of patriotism, and the voice of prudence silenced the suggestions of ambition.

The nobles, however, to whom the journey to Aragon was an imminent danger, if not actual ruin, redoubled their activity, while fate by an unexpected event afforded a valuable aid to their plans.

It appears that Jorge de Mello, a commandant of one of the companies recruited in Beira, being in the secret of the conspiracy, laboured in such a way as to induce the first attempts at a revolution in Xabregas, where the nobles met together beseeching them to decide upon some act, as the urgency of affairs did not admit of further delays.

The fidalgos were in despair, and even deliberated upon the convenience of adopting a republican government should the Duke persist in his obstinacy. Meanwhile, meetings continued to take place in Xabregas in the house of Jorge de Mello, but with small result, not only on account of the refusals of the Duke as from the small number of the conspirators who abstained from gathering proselytes dreading some treachery.

The state of things became more desperate when Miguel de Vasconcellos insisted upon the speedy departure of the knights and commandeurs from Catalonia.

The pleadings of the people forced the conspirators to reveal the secret to those around them, and in this way the noblest families, such as the Almeidas, Silvas, Menezes, Saldanhas, Telles, Costas, Sás, and many others were added to the list, among them the Archbishop of Lisbon, D. João Pereira, and the Prior of S. Nicolau, who induced many of their friends to be ready for the first call to war.

The meetings of Xabregas were adjourned to the palace of D. Antão d'Almada in the Rocio, situated between the modern theatre of D. Maria II. and the church of D. Domingos.

The number of adherents to the cause of independence became very great, nevertheless it yet remained to win over the popular classes, without whose aid the plan of the conspirators could not be carried out.

This was difficult to effect owing to the distrust felt by the classes against the nobles. However, Father Nicolau da Maia took upon

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

himself to combat the reluctances of the people. The first proposals were not favourably received; the people reminded the emissary of the nobles the example afforded at the recent tumults of Evora, when all the punishments fell on the plebeians, because the nobles cleverly parried the blows and did not allow themselves to be implicated in the disturbances. But Father Nicolau was not disheartened, and induced them to follow him to the residence of D. Antão d'Almada, where, after a long debate, they agreed to follow the nobility at the opportune moment, but "on the express understanding that the nobles were to proceed in such a way as, once in the projected undertaking, they should not be able to turn back nor treat with the Castillian Government."

At this juncture an order came from Madrid to the Duke of Braganza to reassume the military governorship of Portugal, but the Duke declined, alleging plausible motives.

Some weeks later he received a royal letter, inviting him in courteous terms, to accompany the sovereign to Catalonia. By this the Duke perceived clearly that it was desired to banish him from the kingdom, because once crossing the frontier he would never be allowed to return. He then comprehended that he could only avert his ruin, which was being prepared at Castille, by accepting the perilous undertaking proposed by the conspirators. He decided to do this, yet without binding himself to a formal promise; hence he simply authorised the renowned João Pinto Ribeiro, who conducted the affairs of his household, to assist at the meetings of the fidalgos.

The Duke held Ribeiro in the highest esteem for his invariable zeal and his lofty intelligence. With him and with Sanches de Baena, Professor of the University of Coimbra for Canon Laws, the Duke was in the habit of conferring upon affairs of the highest importance, and held their opinions in esteem. It was to the activity, counsels, and constancy of these two individuals that the Duke of Braganza owed in a great measure his elevation to the throne of Portugal.

During one of the meetings held at the residence of D. Antão de Almeida, the nobles complained of the indecisions of the Duke. This accusation was hotly disputed by Ribeiro, who urged the great need of prudence to work out the undertaking with good results, but acknowledging the urgency of existing circumstances, which could not brook delays, proposed that the acclamation of the Duke take place even against his will, because after this fact was consummated it would be impossible to withdraw.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

This proposition was enthusiastically received, and the conspirators agreed upon that one of their number should proceed to Villa Viçosa and apprise D. João of the state of things. This mission was undertaken by Pedro de Mendonça Furtado, who, on arriving at the palace of the Braganzas, found that the Duke was away hunting on the mountains. He laid before him the motives of his visit, and endeavoured to persuade him to accept the Crown, urging the easy success of the rising owing to the discontent of the people, the increased number of adherents who were ready to respond at the first call, the weakness of the Castillians, and the difficulties which the Court of Madrid laboured under owing to the insurrection of Catalonia.

The Duke, visibly touched, listened to all the arguments advanced by Mendonça Furtado, and replied that he required time for reflection and to consult his secretary. This reply completely disheartened the envoy, who attributed the hesitation of the Duke to the counsels of his secretary, Antonio Paes Viegas. The latter was summoned during the night by D. João, who, after informing him of everything, asked for his vote. The reply of the secretary was prompt and decisive: "If the conspirators should form a republic, for which would your Excellency side, Castille or Portugal?"

"I would follow the Portuguese," replied the Duke.

"In that case," rejoined Viegas, "it will be better to risk all things in order to reign than to remain a vassal and lose all."

The Duke, though convinced, continued to dilate upon the difficulties of the project, which the secretary refuted by saying, "A prince who defends legitimate rights cannot meet a better deathbed than the one of a campaign." This opinion favourably impressed him, yet he desired to have the opinion of the Duchess, a lady of lofty ambition, who replied, "It is better to live reigning than to end serving."

This latter phrase, more than all other arguments, co-operated to overcome the irresolution of the Duke, and he was now anxious that the revolution should break out at once, fearing lest the plans of the conspirators be discovered. The plan of the revolution was then combined, and though at first it was resolved that it should burst out in Evora, it was ultimately decided that it should be in Lisbon. This decision, urges a modern writer, saved the cause, because revolutions which do not commence in the capital are unsuccessful.

It may be as well to mention here that Miguel de Vasconcellos and Diogo Soares had noticed the meetings of the fidalgos, but supposing

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

that these were only in order to combine how to avoid the journey to Catalonia, and they even hoped that some violent revolution might take place which would afford a pretext for a repression in which to satiate their vengeance. It is said that the Secretary of State received a warning of the appointed day in a sealed letter, but which he never opened.

The plan of the revolution was communicated to the Duke of Braganza by João Pinto Ribeiro, who saw the advantage of simultaneously attacking the castle, towns, and palace; and likewise the expediency of the Duke addressing a letter to D. Miguel d'Almeida, the chief of the conspirators, and to Mendonça Furtado, who was the first to announce to the fidalgos that he accepted the Crown.

As soon as Ribeiro reached Lisbon, a meeting was held to confer with them respecting the information brought from Villa Viçosa. A further meeting was held on the 25th November, when it was decided to effect the revolution on the 1st December. Three days later another meeting was held for the final arrangements, and on the 30th the last meeting of the fidalgos took place at the residence of D. Antão d'Almada. No one trembled in presence of the danger, and, knowing that they risked their lives, they prepared for death by receiving the sacraments of the Church and making their wills, and beseeching prayers and the suffrages of the faithful for their souls. It was agreed upon that on the following day they should meet on the Terreiro do Paço, and at the stroke of nine simultaneously attack the Castillian guards, the German sentinels, and disarm them, and take possession of all the entrances; then to rush to the balconies in order to attract the people, proclaiming liberty and D. João. Another portion of the revolutionists to proceed and seek out Vasconcellos, following the passage which joins the chamber of the Dutch or Germans with the offices of the Secretary of State.

The towers of Belem, called Bugio and S. Julião, as well as the Castle of Almada, the Torre Velha, and the Santo Antonio were occupied by Castillians, well defended and ammunitioned. The galleons anchored in the Tagus, well furnished and equipped, were all commanded by Spaniards, as likewise all the fortresses on the sea coast.

The secret of the conspiracy was already known to a great number of people, because the conspirators, not heeding the counsels of prudence, either divulged their plans or treated with contempt the Government officials. Several times had the ministers been warned of the suspicious

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

meetings which took place at the residence of D. Antão d'Almada, and even Vasconcellos was apprised of the day appointed for the revolt. Nevertheless the conspirators met with no preparations for resistance. A few hours sufficed to conclude the revolution, the narrative of which we shall give in the brilliant style of the distinguished historian, Pinheiro Chagas.

"The 1st of December rose calm and bright. There were no clouds to dim the aurora of Portuguese independence. Who could describe or even guess at the thoughts which filled the minds and spirits of the conspirators as they rose up on that cold winter's morning to undertake a task of such uncertain issue? We know, however, that if doubts assailed the spirits of some, many were prepared with pensive resignation to immolate themselves on the altar of the liberty of the nation as heroic victims; while others, with enthusiastic feelings for the greatness of the act they were to perform, drew their swords from the scabbard full of daring confidence. But whether with feverish impulse cold resolves, or true ardour, it is certain that none hesitated. For above every sentiment rose the great one which spoke to their hearts of the love of their oppressed country, and the desire to rescue her. And even maternal love gave place to this idea of duty! At day-dawn of the 1st of December, D. Philippa of Vilhena, concealing beneath a smile the tears which scorched her eyes, girt with her own hand the swords of her two sons, D. Jeronymo d'Athayde and D. Francisco Coutinho, bidding them to think, not on her fate, but on the fate of Portugal, because to die for the fatherland when it groaned under oppression was far more beautiful than to live for their mother's sake! D. Marianna de Lencastre, with a similar patriotic spirit, blessed her two sons, Antonio and Ferdinand Telles da Silva, and these Spartan mothers—aye, more noble than the Spartan ones, because their acts were not dictated by the rigidity of a stoical education, but by a sentiment of duty more elevated than maternal affection—bequeathed to posterity an heroic example, and concurred by their example more than by the eloquence of Ribeiro, to inspire in the conspirators an unshaken resolution.

"From all points of the city, some on foot or riding, and in vehicles, the nobles and their adherents proceeded to the Terreiro do Paço, yet not with a feverish anxiety natural on such occasions, but with a tranquillity which did not afford the smallest indication of what was so soon to take place. 'Where are you going

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

to?' asked a friend of João Pinto Ribeiro. 'Do not be disturbed,' he replied, with a smile; 'we are going to the royal audience chamber for a moment, to depose a king and place another on the throne.'

"By nine o'clock all the conspirators had gathered together at the appointed place of meeting, and the peaceful way in which the carriages and vehicles arrived to the terreiro, did not alarm the soldiers on guard, who were accustomed to seeing the courtiers of the Duchess of Mantua coming early in the day in large numbers. With their hands clutching the handle of the doors, the nobles awaited the solemn hour to strike.

"At the given signal the doors of all the carriages were flung open and the nobles alighted, and whilst Jorge de Mello, Estevão da Cunha, Antonio de Mello e Castro, Father Nicolau de Maia, and others awaited within their carriages for the call to come from the palace to assault the Castillian guards, the bulk of the conspirators rushed up the steps and entered the halls, and ere they recovered from their surprise felled to the ground and dispersed the astonished guards and disarmed them. Some of the Germans, however, faithful to their duty, defended their post with considerable bravery, covering the entry to the passage that led to the apartments of Miguel de Vasconcellos, and the door which led to those of the Duchess of Mantua. But the insurgents carried all before them; meanwhile that Miguel d'Almeida, inebriated with joy, ran to a balcony and brandishing a sword, cried out, 'Liberty, Liberty! Vive the King D. João IV.! The Duke of Braganza is our legitimate King!' Tears and sobs choked his utterance. From below rose an immense ringing shout, uttered by the expectant crowds. 'Liberty! liberty!' cried the people in unison. It was because in this aged hero of eighty years they seemed to perceive, as he stood there radiant with the ardour of his former youthful days, the symbol of Portugal decrepit and bowed down, but illumined in that hour of resurrection by a flash, a reflection of the splendour of its glorious epochs.

"But the crowds did not limit themselves to this united shout. Before the Castillian guards comprehended the cry which had been thundered above their heads, Jorge de Mello, with his own men, attacked them sword in hand. They attempted to resist, but were unable to do so, owing to the suddenness of the attack.

"Meantime within the Palace, the other fidalgos were proceeding with their victory. They encountered among others the Corregedor Francisco Soares d'Albergaria, to whom they cried, 'Long live the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

King D. João IV.!' to which he responded, with intrepid imprudence, 'Long live Philip IV.!' and he fell pierced through. The chief of the Secretary of State, Antonio Corréa, who came out on hearing the uproar, was stabbed by D. Antonio Tello. Miguel de Vasconcellos, who had been awakened by Mansos da Fonseca, rose up, and barely had time to dress ere the roar of the revolution had reached his apartments, and he rushed to secure his chamber door. The nobles broke down the door, but he had taken refuge in a cupboard, and with bated breath heard the people breaking through, and with oaths seeking for him.

"The nobles, unable to find him, were leaving the chamber to prosecute their search at the India House, where they supposed he had taken refuge, when Vasconcellos made some slight movement, which was heard by the conspirators, who, with a cry of joy, dragged him out from his hiding-place and shot him dead, weltering in his blood. They then flung him out of the window into the crowds assembled below. When the populace beheld the body of the detested minister and their oppressor fall down on the street, a veritable shout of joy and triumph rose up, and his remains were subjected to every insult."

While this was going on, other nobles were proceeding to the apartments occupied by the vice-Queen, the Princess Margarida. On hearing the uproar she bravely opened a window, and cried out in a loud voice, "What is this, Portuguese? Where is your loyalty?" By this time D. Miguel d'Almeida, Fernão Telles de Menezes, and D. João da Costa, after forcing an entrance to where she was haranguing the people, compelled her, with courteous words, to withdraw from the window. She then attempted to descend to the terreiro, but as the nobles opposed it, she said, "It is enough, gentlemen! The guilty minister has already paid for his crimes; do not go further. I will pledge that the King of Castille not only pardons you, but, moreover, thank you for having delivered the kingdom from the excesses of the secretary." At this moment the Archbishop of Braga arrived on the scene, who essayed to speak in the same sense, but he was silenced by D. Miguel d'Almeida, who declared it would be a difficult matter for them to save his life. The prelate withdrew, and the Duchess continued to reiterate promises of pardon from Philip IV., to which the nobles replied that they no longer acknowledged any king but D. João de Braganza. She manifested herself so wrathful at this reply that

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

D. Carlos de Noronha besought her to withdraw ere they should lose respect for her. "How so, to me?" she indignantly rejoined. "By compelling your Highness," replied the nobleman, with haughty tone, "to go out by that window if you refuse to pass the door." Acknowledging that under the circumstances it would be madness to enter into a strife, the Princess yielded and retired to her oratory, while D. Antão d'Almada and others remained on guard.

Throughout the city the nobles spread themselves, in order to arouse popular enthusiasm with cries of victory, and within a short time multitudes of people filled the streets, wild with joy. Some of the nobles went to the Church of the Sé, where the Archbishop with the whole chapter invoked divine aid, and, after giving him an account of the triumph, besought him to come to the palace and assume the reins of government until the arrival of the Duke of Braganza.

The prelate modestly excused himself, and proceeded on foot, accompanied by many of the clergy and a large concourse of people, to the camara where the senate was sitting, who refused to open the doors or become a party to the revolution. The sons of the Count de Cantanhede, who had not forewarned him, now besought him to yield, and, on the doors being opened, D. Alvaro d'Abranches entered, and taking the standard of the city, leaped on his horse, and ran with it unfurled to meet the Archbishop, who then went to the palace, where all the nobles, who had been dispersed in different parts, had gathered together. They renewed their pleadings to the Archbishop to assume the government for the time being, and at length he consented, asking that his fellow-helpers be the Viscount D. Lourenço de Lima and the Archbishop of Braga, and in this manner he was sheltered from the popular resentment.

Many prisoners had been released, and it was feared that, in revenge, these would practise great outrages, but, as a fact, the contrary took place, and many old feuds and enmities were made up.

By midday the city was peaceful, and its inhabitants engaged in their usual occupations. Meanwhile the Government took all needful measures to maintain public security.

The castle of S. Jorge, from whence a few days before the Count-Duke had withdrawn 1,500 men for Catalonia, was in the power of the Spaniards, and at the first movement of the revolution some of the gunners had the matches ready ignited. Mathias d'Albuquerque, the defender of Pernambuco, who was there a prisoner, impatient at the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

inaction of the Governor, as he knew nothing of what passed, ordered, in his capacity of Councillor of War, to close the doors, and the artillery be made ready. Meanwhile an order arrived from the Duchess of Mantua bidding D. Luiz del Campo, the governor of the castle, not to make any movement.

Albuquerque, who suspected that the Duchess was under coercion, comprehended that the revolution was more serious than at first appeared. He withdrew to his apartments fully disposed to offer his sword in the defence of the country. On the following day the Governor received a fresh order to deliver up the citadel, which he did. On that same day, and by similar means, the towns of Belem, Cabeça Secca, Santo Antonio, Torre Velha, and the Castle of Almada surrendered.

The fortress was taken possession of by D. Alvaro d'Abranches, who released Mathias d'Albuquerque and Rodrigo Botelho, Minister of Finance. To such of the Spaniards as chose to remain in the service of D. João were promised a punctual payment of their salaries and other advantages. Many accepted, and those who did not were lodged outside the city, and later on were afforded sufficient means to enable them to return to their country.

The principal men were detained at the commencement of the revolution; among these being the Count de Bayoneto, D. Thomaz Ibio Calderon, D. Diogo Cardenas, and the Marquis de la Puebla. The two latter attempted, on the night of the 1st of December, to fly and take refuge in the Castle, but this being discovered by those who watched them, they were forced to acknowledge that any movement of reaction was no longer possible. It was for this reason that the admiral of the anchored galleons on the Tagus, on consulting with Calderon whether to fire on the city or not, was dissuaded from doing so, being convinced of the uselessness of the attack, and no doubt fearing a reprisal. On that officer being requested three days later to surrender, he did not hesitate a moment to hoist up the Portuguese flag in place of the Castillian one.

The Princess Margarida was sent to the Palace of Xabregas, accompanied by the Count Bayoneto, Marquis de la Puebla, and the Archbishop of Braga, who later on was removed under custody to the Convent of Santos.

The proclamation having been made, Pedro de Mendonça and Jorge de Mello departed on the same day of the revolution for Villa Viçosa,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

where they found D. João de Braganza in the chapel, who, after calmly receiving the news of his acclamation, ordered that the divine service be continued. When this was finished, he entered a carriage with both fidalgos and the Count de Vimioso and the Marquis de Ferreira, and departed for Lisbon, escorted by servitors on horseback. He was received throughout the route most enthusiastically. On the 6th of December he reached the capital, where he had not been expected until the 8th, but as soon as the news spread of his arrival, from all parts the people came, despite the heavy rains. The enthusiasm of the people was very great, and he had to appear several times at the balcony to thank and acknowledge their joy and goodwill.

A conference of theologians was held on that day, and the ecclesiastical interdict was raised from the kingdom, and to the jubilation of the multitudes was added the joyous ringing of the church bells. At night the whole city spontaneously illuminated amid music and deafening cheers.

The rapidity with which the insurrectionary movement spread throughout the provinces was a manifest proof how greatly the liberty of the kingdom had been desired. Portalegre, despite its proximity to the frontier, did not even await orders from Lisbon, but rose up on the same day. Evora, more fearful of consequences owing to former experiences, awaited for orders from the capital, which arrived on the 2nd, and immediately proclaimed the Duke of Braganza, a fact that was repeated at Elvas.

Santarem followed on the 5th without awaiting any communications to arrive, and the academical students gathered together on the square of the University and acclaimed D. João IV. with all the enthusiasm proper to youth. In the city of Oporto the judges and the municipality hesitated, but some of the nobles and magistrates compelled the Camara to publish the letter of the Governors, and the proclamation was effected with the greatest solemnity on the 8th of December, this example being followed throughout the lands of Entre Douro and Minho, and a part of Beira.

Lastly, on the 11th the solemn proclamation took place in the city of Lagos, and was followed at once by the rest of the towns of the Algarve. The singular fact took place of the Marquis d'Ayamonte, when apprised of the insurrection of the capital, sending word to Correa da Silva, Governor of Algarve, that should he require immediate aid for preserving order, he would send it. He replied, ironically, that there was

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

not the slightest disturbance, as both Algarve and Portugal had just proclaimed D. João IV.

Meanwhile the tower of S. Julião da Barra, well garrisoned and provisioned, was assailed by D. Francisco de Sousa, and after a sharp attack the Governor D. Fernando de Lacueva delivered up the fortress with its well-filled arsenals. The fortress of Cascaes had surrendered two days earlier without combat. The castle of S. Filippe in Setubal and the tower of Outão were besieged on the 8th, but on the 17th capitulated, the garrison leaving with all the honours of war.

The castle of Vianna resisted a longer time, but being attacked vigorously by the inhabitants, who refused the aid offered them from Braga and Barcellos, had at length to capitulate, and Manuel Telles de Menezes appointed Governor.

The restoration of Portugal had been consummated, and the date of the 1st of December, 1640, became one of the most glorious in the history of Portugal, and one which is always celebrated with sincere enthusiasm. It was the unanimity of the revolution that rendered it so grand and irresistible. It was the outburst of the one constant idea which moved the hearts of the Portuguese. There was no strife, no indecision; there was not a moment of surprise, nor even an attempt at resistance from the enemy.

In truth, the revolution had the rapidity of a lightning flash. There was a flash which illumined the country, then the thunderbolt which tore down despotism, and all was silence. The land regained its tranquillity, the sky appeared serene and radiant, but of the Spanish dominion, established with such deep and solid foundations, not a vestige remained, while the people rose up from the ground as at the beck of an enchanter's wand, firm and intrepid, to entone with sonorous voice the hymn of liberty.

Few days sufficed to break asunder the yoke of sixty years' duration, and the Spanish monarchy, although still powerful, was unable to resist a whole nation unarmed and weakened, but whom the desperation of oppression and the anxiety for liberty invested with invincible energy.

In the midst of the sad shades of Portuguese decadence the 1st of December is always celebrated as the glorious confirmation of the sentiment which gives it life.

Wanderers, dispersed, without lands or nation or government, when the anniversary of the solemn epoch in which Moses liberated the people of God from the slavery of Egypt comes round, the Israelites

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

forget their present sad position to celebrate with enthusiasm the event which founded their autonomy. In the same manner do the Portuguese remember the 1st of December as a day of serene triumph, because that day is for them not a day of strife or conflict, or a day of bloodshed, but a radiant sunlit day—the day of resurrection, the Easter-tide of liberty, and a day when from the ruins caused by the catastrophe of Alcacer Kibir, arose anew the throne which had been hurled down.

END OF EIGHTH BOOK

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE NINTH.

1640—1656.

REIGN OF D. JOÃO IV.

Coronation of D. João IV.—Impression caused by the Revolution—First Cortes—Entry of the Queen—Adhesion to the new Government of various Portuguese possessions—The Colonies—D. Francisco de Lucena appointed Prime Minister—Portuguese deserters from the Spanish army—The students of Salamanca—Indignation at Madrid against Olivares—The defences of the kingdom—Division of the provinces into districts—Organisation of a fleet—Plots against the Portuguese—Execution of the conspirators—Imprisonment and death of the Bishops—Skirmishes on the Alemtejo—The King proceeds in person to Alemtejo—Invasion of Estremadura—The taking of Salvatierra—Battle of Montijo—Albuquerque is rewarded with the title of Count de Alegrete—Attempt of Baron de Mollingen to enter Portugal—Deposition of the Count-Duke Olivares—The Infante D. Duarte is bidden to come to Portugal—His arrest through treachery—He is delivered over to the Spanish Government—His imprisonment and death—Francisco de Lucena is accused of felony—Found guilty of high treason—Condemned to death—Disastrous state of the possessions of Portugal—First battle and victory on the mountain Das Tabocas—Stratagem of the Governor of Bahia—Siege of Recife—Henrique Dias—Antonio Filippe Camarão—Fierce combat on the mountains, Gararapes—Organisation of a General Company of Commerce—Capitulation of Recife, Parahyba, Rio Grande, and Itamaraca—Restoration of Maranhão—State of the Portuguese forces of Ceylon—Defence of Colombo—Conquest of Angola—Restoration of St. Thomé and Benguella—Marriage negotiations—Proclamation respecting the succession—The Prince heir, D. Theodosio, enters Elvas—His illness and death—Prince D. Alfonso is proclaimed heir to the throne—Attitude of the foreign powers in respect to Portugal—Treaty of peace signed between the King of Portugal and Cromwell—Failing health of D. João IV.—His death—By his will the Queen is appointed Regent—Character of D. João IV.—His prudence and good sense.

The Duke of Braganza was entering the city of Lisbon, in the midst of the acclamations of a rejoicing people. The great fact of the restoration had been accomplished, and the country was once more free

The hesitation he had manifested before the revolution to assume the *rôle* of a deliverer and King, was amply compensated for later on

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

by a discernment and tact worthy of all praise. His first act was to proceed to celebrate his coronation and take the usual oath prescribed on assuming the Crown. This event was invested with all possible lustre and magnificence. Yet this was not done through a mere feeling of vanity, but because it was expedient to surround the act with all regal pageantry, for in this solemn proclamation there existed a direct affirmation of independence.

On the 15th of December, 1640, the ceremony of the coronation of the Duke of Braganza as King of Portugal, and under the title of D. João IV., took place. He was surrounded by all the fidalgos holding the highest palace appointments, and whom he had selected from those families who had formerly held these appointments as hereditary ones. D. João on his knees took the formal oath of governing the kingdom entrusted to him with justice and equity, in presence of the Archbishops of Lisbon and Braga.

The Duke of Caminha and the Marquis de Ferreira, as representing the three States, then took the oath of allegiance. The Royal Standard was unfurled by the Chief Ensign, who, waving it aloft, cried out in a loud voice, proclaiming D. João IV. King of Portugal, this cry being enthusiastically repeated by the expectant crowds.

After the ceremony was concluded, the King with his nobles proceeded to the Praça do Pelourinho where the President of the Camara presented him with the keys of the city. He then went to the cathedral, and on being received by the Archbishop, entered the Church, and the *Te Deum* was solemnly sung. He then returned to the palace amid a perfect ovation from the crowds.

D. João IV. had thus entered into the plenary possession of the Crown of Portugal, and now it devolved upon him to carry out faithfully the duties of his new office. There was, in truth, no time to lose in carrying out the work of conciliation and attend to the defence of the nation.

By decree of 11th of December, 1640, a council of war was formed to treat upon military affairs, and by a further decree, of 24th December, the Council of Finance summoned all the foreign merchants, and encouraged them to continue their commerce, inviting them to bring arms and ammunition, and granting all possible benefits. Proceeding to convoke the Cortes in the city of Lisbon for the 20th of January, 1641, the King declared that he did this, feeling that affairs of such importance as the defence of the kingdom, its conserva-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

tion, and government ought to be discussed and deliberated upon by the three States—the nobility, the clergy, and the people of the kingdom.

The Government of the kingdom was constituted of the most eminent and notable men, among these being the Archbishop of Lisbon, the Viscount D. Lourenço da Lima, and the Marquis of Gouveia and Ferreira. The higher appointments of the Royal household were conferred upon persons of acknowledged worth. D. João IV. endeavoured diligently and solicitously to attend to all affairs promoting, as far as in him lay, the advancement of commerce, the better organisation of internal affairs, and order in the defence and service of the frontier.

The first lineaments had been traced for the consolidation of the throne; the first days of that wondrous month of December had not been spent in useless vainglory. The rumour of permanent work was heard, and confidence and trust was springing up on all sides.

On the 26th the Queen D. Luiza de Gusman entered the city, and the King with the Count went to receive her. She was accompanied by her son, D. Theodosio, and her two daughters, D. Joanna and D. Catherina. Notwithstanding her Spanish origin, the people received her with the most significative demonstrations of affection. It was because to her masculine character, and to her strength of will, was due in a great measure that solution and consummation of so unexpected and wonderful a feat. The Marchioness of Ferreira D. Joanna Pimentel was appointed first lady of the bedchamber, and all her personal attendants were selected from among the loveliest women, and her pages from the first ranks.

Then commenced to arrive to the city and Court news of the impression caused in other parts of the kingdom. The emancipation commenced in the metropolis could not but find corresponding echo in distant lands. In Madeira and in Porto Santo the news was hailed with joyful enthusiasm, while in the Azores the island of St. Michael at once sent in its adhesion. In the colonies, however, this adhesion was not so prompt.

The Dutch had conquered from the Portuguese Galle, Negumbo, and had taken possession of the castle of Mina, and Arguim in Guinea; they had expelled them from Ternate and Tidore, and from a large portion of the Brazils; Malacca had ceased to be a ruby in the Portuguese crown, while Ormuz had been captured by the Persians.

St. Thomé and Loanda had bowed down to the yoke of Admiral Jol,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

whilst in the archipelago of the Azores, the island of Terceira had refused to enter into any treaty. This was due to the intrepidity of its Governor, the daring Spanish officer D. Alvaro de Viveiros, who bravely refused to accede to the demands of the people, and continued to resist until the 16th of March, 1642, when finding that no aid came from Castille and unable any longer to continue the strife single-handed, he quitted the fortress with what garrison remained. He, nevertheless, departed receiving all the military honours due to his heroism, despite that it was against the Portuguese he had combated, because his conduct had won the esteem of all parties. The patriotism evinced by the inhabitants of Angra found its reward, when—in reply to the representations made by the city of Angra, in the island of Terceira, at the Cortes of 1642—a decree was issued dated 1st of April, 1643, by which it was granted them to use and employ the title and name of Most Loyal City (*sempre leal cidade*), with the further privilege that the representatives of the said city should have seats on the first benches of the sessions of the Cortes held in the kingdom. This was granted, it was stated, because they had fully merited it by reason of their extreme loyalty to their rulers.

The great aims of the revolution were being carried out throughout the kingdom. After the first outbursts of enthusiasm had calmed down, the King began to seek for men capable of assisting him in supporting the duties of government. At this juncture the selection was a matter of considerable difficulty. Distrust surrounded even those who had taken the least action in the crusade, while those who in truth were true patriots, were deficient of the gifts and qualifications needful to the statesman. The appointment of Secretary of State was assigned to Francisco de Lucena, "having regard to his personal qualities, merits, and services continued over a period of thirty years," as we read in the text of the diploma. For in effect, as Rebello da Silva says, the King had no reasons for favouring or protecting him.

His father, Affonso de Lucena, formerly jurisconsult, and in the service of the house of Braganza, paid ungratefully for the benefits he received from it, and was even accused of having betrayed the confidence which D. Catherina reposed in him. But necessity forced the King to effect a reconciliation with him, and without esteeming him, admitted him as a minister. Francisco de Lucena hesitated to accept the post, because he had in Madrid a son whom he dearly loved, and

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

feared that upon him the King would wreak his vengeance as soon as he would assume the post.

In Madrid the impression produced by the news of the revolution of Portugal was very deep. Olivares, although treating the affairs with simulated indifference, endeavoured to take all necessary measures to recover Portugal. His agents, as haughty as himself, were now completely terrified. The people, exasperated by this last disaster, no longer repressed their clamours, and some more daring spirits did not hesitate to lift up their voices to speak the truth to the King. Meanwhile the Portuguese residents in Spain, overjoyed at the result of the revolutionary movement, crossed the frontier despite all the precautions taken by Olivares, and rushed to offer their services to the new sovereign, scorning the appointments they held and the promises made by Spain. From the Castillian forces in operation at Catalonia the Portuguese captains deserted, and from Cadiz and Seville others fléd.

Salvador de Mello da Silva, who was captain of the town of Traxa, left the city by night with a company of Portuguese formed in good order with unfurled banners, crossed Catalonia and the southern provinces of France, and at the port of La Rochelle embarked for Lisbon in five ships. His reward for this feat was the Captaincy of Braganza and the mastership of Santa Maria de Freshas.

The Spanish Government, on beholding this desertion, hesitated whether to retain the Portuguese with promises or terrify them by threats. The renowned writer, Francisco Manuel de Mello, who was an officer in the army of Catalonia, was arrested by Olivares on suspicion that he had not made a true statement of the state of Portugal, and the intentions of the Duke of Braganza when the latter sent him to Madrid with pledges of fidelity on the occasion of the revolt of Evora. However, later on he judged it better to attract to the party of Spain an individual of such high importance, and released him to confer on him the post of Governor of Ostend. The new Governor proceeded to Ostend, and from thence to London, where he presented himself to the Portuguese ambassador, who sent him on to Holland to take charge of the fleet which was being equipped and furnished, and Mello safely conducted it to Lisbon. In a word, over 2,000 Portuguese deserted the Spanish ranks in which they served, and thus afforded a valuable aid to the country.

But one of the most curious cases of Portuguese emigration was that of the Portuguese students of Salamanca. Nearly 500 students

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

were Portuguese among those which frequented the schools of the celebrated Spanish University, divided into eight nationalities, animated by the greatest rivalry. These were Portugal, Campos, Estremadura, Galicia, Andalucia, Mancha, Biscay, and Aragon. The greatest animosity existed between the Portuguese and the Basque. The Portuguese students called themselves *Viriatos*, while the Basque, who well might be proud of their ancient Cantabria, a name which, similarly with that of Lusitania, signified the most intrepid resistance to the Roman conquest, and between them disputed the pre-eminence.

It appears this dispute was at its highest in December, 1640, on the occasion of a professorship being disputed between two, one a Basque and the other a Portuguese, called Dr. Simão Rebello. As soon as the news of the revolution arrived, all the Portuguese ceased to dispute the professorial chair in order to return to their country, while the Basques, carried away by the news of the Portuguese regaining their autonomy and equally with them adverse to the Castillian preponderance, enthusiastically celebrated the event, fraternising with the Portuguese. The Portuguese students formed a corps, and taking up arms crossed the Spanish territory, proclaiming D. João throughout the route even to within the walls of Ledesma, and entered into Portugal without the Castillians having dared to do more than arrest a few stray students. Ashamed at this insult, Olivares severely reprimanded the Rector of the University of Salamanca for having consented to the departure of the Portuguese in a body, but the Rector replied that he preferred to allow them quietly to depart than to provoke bloodshed, which most certainly would have been the case without even the prospect of victory, as many students of other nationalities, more especially the Basques, were in favour of their Portuguese colleagues.

In Madrid, however, the indignation of all were directed against the obtuse and inapt Count-Duke Olivares, who, during the space of fourteen months, did not energetically aid the brave officer who so nobly defended Terceira, and the loss of the island was one of the grievances brought against him, and produced on the spirit of Philip IV. feelings which eventually worked the deposition of favour of the Count-Duke.

Deprived of the finest portion of the inheritance which Philip II. had bequeathed his successors, the King of Spain most certainly would not calmly assist to its loss, but turn again towards Portugal and endeavour to bring to obedience the whole strength of that vast

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

monarchy. Hence it was imperative that Portugal should prepare energetically to sustain on the battlefield the enthusiastic manifestations of her public plazas, and seriously attend to the administration of the kingdom in order to consolidate the new order of things. On the frontiers, especially to the fortresses of Alemtejo, D. João IV. at once sent officers furnished with orders to repair them as quickly as possible, because the Count de Monterey, entrusted by Philip IV. with the command of the forces of Badajoz, was displaying the greatest activity for the campaign. At this epoch warfare was nearly always concentrated to attacking and defending the strongholds. Entre Douro and Minho, Beira and Traz-os-Montes, were sufficiently defended by their natural obstacles, and the Algarve offered some risks, but the first movements of the Spaniards clearly showed that they did not intend to choose that frontier for their invasions, while Estremadura had no frontier.

The defences of the maritime ports and fortresses were likewise attended to, owing to their being threatened by the fleet of the Duke de Maqueda. D. João appointed competent officers to all the forts on the shore. The system of military organisation adopted by the Government was one of the finest for a country such as Portugal, which is imperatively bound to watch the defences of its territory. This system, called *da ordenança*, gave splendid results and subsisted for two centuries.

The provinces were divided into districts, and each of these had a governor, his sergeant-major, and two adjutants. The male population was all enrolled in a census. The second sons formed a troop of the first line, the corps of paid soldiers, the sons of widows and the married men composed a division in every district, and were called auxiliary troops. The field officers and captains of the latter were chosen from the noble and most influential classes of the district; the chief sergeants and the adjutants were captains and ensigns of infantry, chosen in order to teach military exercises to the militia. These corps were obliged to aid the frontiers on occasions of war, and then, while in active service, received food and pay. Lastly, the third line was formed by ordinance companies, wherein men of more advanced age entered and served in extreme cases to garrison the strongholds.

Having formulated this magisterial organisation, which embraced and made use of the whole population for the defence of the country, the King sought to raise three corps of infantry, commanded by D. Francisco de Mello, D. Antonio Tello, and Antonio de Saldanha. In order to avoid desertions from these armies an order was issued

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

that the corps formed of recruits should remain in the same provinces as they were formed, a capital measure of defensive war, which in effect was as though each soldier, when defending the country, likewise defended his home. Meanwhile it was resolved that the companies of Estremadura and of a part of Beira, which, being in the heart of the kingdom, was more free of invasion, should march on to the Alemtejo, where the war most surely would be fiercest.

No less important was that of forming a squadron, not only for the defence of the Portuguese coasts as for establishing communications with her colonial possessions and for their protection. The restoration of Portugal had occurred on an untoward occasion, when the Portuguese fleet had been completely annihilated—first, by the disaster of D. Manuel de Menezes, and subsequently by the unceremonious manner in which Olivares took possession of the Portuguese ships, and lastly, by the defeat of D. Antonio Oquedo, in the Channel of La Mancha, and that of the Count da Torre in Brazils.

Moreover, despite these losses, D. João IV. did not wish to raise fresh tributes, and therefore money was wanting for naval constructions. At length he, by taking the consulate dues, succeeded to collect together a squadron of ten ships, three frigates, and four *navetas*, furnished with 138 cannons, and manned by 594 seamen, and garrisoned by 512 soldiers. The post of admiral of the fleet was given to Antonio Telles de Menezes, who was a former governor of India.

After effecting all military preparations, it became urgent to attend to political affairs, and not only send ambassadors to foreign governments, as first of all to enter into relation with the insurgents of Catalonia, who were by many reasons natural allies of the Portuguese.

In effect, the war of Catalonia greatly favoured the defence of Portugal. So long as the east of Spain occupied the attention of Olivares and the forces of the monarchy, he could with difficulty withdraw forces towards the west of the Peninsula. Hence he judged that it was expedient to enter into friendly relations with the defenders of a cause so akin to the Portuguese one.

On the 14th of January, 1641, the Fathers Ignatius de Mascarenhas and Paulo da Costa departed for Barcelona and arrived to their destination at a critical moment, when treachery and despondency had done its work in the city. The arrival of the Portuguese ambassadors, bringing the unexpected news of the rising in Portugal, raised the courage of some and induced hope to spring up in the hearts of others,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and was more useful than the arrival of an army. The Catalans dreamed of victory so soon as the Portuguese should enter the lists against the common enemy. The ambassadors were received with all ceremony by a deputation forming the provisional government, and were enthusiastically welcomed and received along the route.

The Fathers witnessed from the heights of the walls of Barcelona the assault given to the fort of Monjuich and its brilliant victory, the news of which they took back to Portugal, jointly with the treaty of alliance with Catalonia. Moreover, they were accompanied home by a number of Portuguese deserters, both officers and men, who were in the ranks of the Spanish army, and formed a truly triumphal entry into Lisbon, and reinforced the Lusitanian army by men well practised in war and with intimate knowledge of Spanish tactics.

Meanwhile, on the 20th of January, 1641, the Cortes, convoked by D. João IV., of the three States, was opened. The King entered, accompanied by his eldest son, the Prince D. Theodosio, and all the ceremonial of ancient times was used.

The first subject treated upon by the three States was the laws of succession. "The kingdom," says Rebello da Silva, "besought, in 1641, of D. João IV., through her representatives, that he should explicitly declare by law the rules of hereditary succession to the throne, excluding the foreign king or prince and his children, though they should be nearly related to the last dominator, and to declare that only such as were legitimately born in Portugal be admitted and compelled to reside on the soil; and furthermore, should the descendants on the right line become extinct, the succession to devolve on the three families more nearly related to royal blood, which would be designated, thus putting a term to all doubts and uncertainties. Moreover, they demanded that should the monarch, princes, or infantes marry foreign ladies, their children—whether princes or infantes—be precluded from reigning. The nobles and the clergy, while agreeing to a similar scheme, widened it by proposing in the first instance that should it happen that the King inherit a larger estate, he should be compelled to reside in Portugal: and that, if having two sons, the eldest to succeed to the foreign crown and the second to rule the kingdom; and in the event of the King dying without leaving male issue, and only daughters, the succession to fall on the eldest, provided she be not married to a foreign prince, in that case the second daughter to inherit the crown; and should the Queen wed a prince who was not Portuguese, she and her

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

descendants to be considered unqualified, the Cortes in that case to elect a sovereign, provided there be no relative of the royal family existing of the male sex."

Many useful measures were taken at that Cortes, which ended its sessions on the 5th of March, 1641. The principle of a popular sovereignty had been proclaimed, and the rights of the King elected by popular will were by it judged superior to all dynastic pretensions. In this memorable assembly all the various states behaved with dignity—the people, the clergy, and the nobility, manifesting that they were disposed to make the greatest sacrifices to render triumphant the independence of the country, the King offering a flattering homage to the will of the nation, to the sovereignty residing in the Cortes. Alas! it was unfortunately but a flash of lightning, similarly as in past eras had been the marvellous resurrection of Portugal with all its instincts, chivalrous and noble, and its energetic vitality. The Spanish oppression had produced this reaction as a beneficial result, the cry of independence had galvanised the corpse, but it was not long ere it fell back into its former prostration, and in the same way as after the days of glorious wrestling against the Spaniards came the epoch of darkness, the period of the inertion of D. Pedro II. and of D. João V., so also the bright gleams of independence shed by the Cortes were succeeded by the shades of an unbridled despotism.

The restoration effected on the 1st of December was on the whole an aurora which was not succeeded by the brightness of day, but only by the twilight which precedes the night.

As soon as the enthroning of D. João IV. had taken place the plot of a huge secret conspiracy was revealed. The Court of Madrid, wherein resided a large number of notable Portuguese, corresponded with that of Lisbon, we dare not say with the only object of satisfying natural family anxieties. Mixed up with family relationship were perfidious plots. The Duchess of Mantua was undoubtedly the central point for all these combinations. This was so evident that popular spirit was aroused, and D. João IV., with the object of appeasing their fears and dissipate the storm which was brewing, ordered the Duchess to quit Portugal.

The plan of the conspirators was to set fire to various districts, and during the confusion which would ensue, to enter the palace in combination with confederates within, and arrest the King, Queen, and family. The Archbishop of Braga and others in the plot would then address the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

people, and with gentle words appease them, meanwhile that the Castillians concluded their work.

Fortunately this conspiracy was crushed at the very commencement. Pedro de Baeça, to whom the Archbishop had confided the secret, invited Luiz Perreira de Barros to join them, and proceeded to give him a list of the conspirators. Barros at once revealed the whole plot to the King, with all particulars. The information was confirmed by others whose fidelity they had attempted to corrupt, and lastly by the Count de Vimioso, who corroborated all that had been stated; because the Archbishop, knowing that he was out of favour with the King, endeavoured to win him over to the conspiracy by working up resentment. Having thus collected together all the threads which worked the plot, it was necessary to employ a firm hand.

The Marquis de Villa Real desired to make a declaration on seeing that Pedro de Baeça and two other conspirators, who had been arrested were causing terror; but on that very day he was secretly arrested, and with him the Archbishop of Braga, the Bishop of Martyria, the Inquisitor-General, and a large number of accomplices, among which figured illustrious names, such as D. Agostinho Manuel, D. Nuno de Mendonça, the Count de Castanheira, Fr. Luiz de Mello, and others, whose coat-of-arms could ill conceal the stain which soiled their hearts, viewed in the sinister light of history.

The death-blow levelled at the rebellion was as sharp as it was simple. The militia entered Lisbon at early morning of the 28th of July, 1641, but with no signs that they came to aid, and by midday had carried out the orders they had received of apprehending all the guilty ones.

As soon as the people became aware of the projected conspiracy, they rose up and demanded the traitors, to wreak upon them condign justice; but the King refused to accede to this momentary excitement, and the cause was judged with all the solemnity prescribed by law.

The Inquisitor-General confessed all, while the Archbishop of Braga appealed at first to the ecclesiastical exemption, on the plea that he recognised no superior but God and the Supreme Pontiff, and protested that he did not consent to a secular judgment, in order not to act in contradiction to the briefs and canons. Pedro de Baeça, placed under torture, confessed the crime, and besought that his life be ransomed for money.

On the 20th of August the action brought against the conspirators

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

was commenced, and after the cause was heard, sentence of death was passed on the Marquis de Villa Real, his son the Duke de Caminha, and the Count de Armamar, and others.

The Archbishop of Braga, the Bishop of Martyria, and the Inquisitor-General were condemned to imprisonment. The latter was incarcerated in the tower of Belem until 1643, when, through the clemency of the King, he was restored to liberty. The Bishop of Martyria, less fortunate, died in the convent of St. Vicente, after some years' imprisonment, and the Archbishop expired, repentant and humbled, in the tower of St. Julião. His latter days were cruel ones, a victim to remorse for the death of those he had immolated to his ambition, and to the solitude, peopled by bitter recollections, in which he ended his sad old age.

On the day and at the very hour when these nobles were executed, D. João IV., dressed in deep mourning, left his apartments and addressed feeling words to the assembled nobles, justifying this terrible duty which he had to perform. In truth, it was State reasons rather than the will of the sovereign which demanded the sacrifice. By wounding those who had raised their hand against the crown so recently placed on his brow, the monarch confirmed his confidence in the legitimacy and the future of the cause he defended, proving in this way to Castille, by a daring stroke, that she would find him and all his subjects ready to meet her on the path of arms. We are assured that Philip IV., in amazement at the daring of the process and execution, exclaimed, "Now indeed has the Duke of Braganza made himself a king."

Those whom justice considered innocent were at once released in peace, among those whose name was shadowed by suspicion was the glorious one of Mathias d'Albuquerque. This individual, whose great spirit could not brook the shadow of the smallest suspicion, exacted a most rigorous examination as a satisfaction for the offence. His fidelity being thoroughly proved, the Dr. Pedro Fernandes Monteiro and D. João Mascarenhas went to release him from his captivity. He came out in triumph, amid general acclamations, and proceeded to the palace to kiss the King's hand, and in the act of doing so said, with a severe countenance, "Thy Majesty hath before thee the most loyal vassal thou couldst desire." D. João understood the censure implied, and covered him with praises, promising to compensate for the affront by public testimonies of regard.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Let us now see what were the results of the first campaigns on the various frontiers. Had the Count-Duke de Olivares not been as obstinate as he was vain, the independence of Portugal would have been greatly imperilled. Had Spain broken out in an energetic war and brought its strong armies to invade Portugal, which was at the lowest ebb, deficient of means of defence, with no skilful officers and only undisciplined men at command and inexperienced in war, the undertaking would not have been a difficult one. But Olivares judged he ought to concentrate the forces against Catalonia, and only sustain on the frontier of Portugal a simple warfare of skirmishes. Had Olivares received his instructions from Lisbon, he could not have more greatly favoured the Portuguese cause. These skirmishes served by degrees to drill Portuguese soldiers; the Spaniards gave them a few lessons, no doubt, but nevertheless without in any way imperilling the fate of the country. They accustomed the men to place confidence in their officers and obey the dictates of discipline, because they saw how dangerous it was to avoid that wholesome restraint, and were useful in assisting Mathias de Albuquerque to correct the defects of fresh and impulsive troops which would prove fatal in a serious campaign. Conscious of the deficiency of so many essential things, the greatest wish of Mathias de Albuquerque, who had been nominated commander-in-chief of the army at Alemtejo, was to avoid the breaking out of hostilities. In this he was assisted by their enemies rather than by the Portuguese volunteers, who were all aglow with desires for the combat.

The first shots exchanged by the Portuguese and Spaniards in the Alemtejo was on the 9th of June, 1641, when thirty soldiers of the garrison of Badajoz attacked ten of the Portuguese. The events of the campaign of 1641 were the defence of Olivença by Francisco de Mello, the defence of Elvas by D. João da Costa, a second and more vigorous one of Olivença by its new governor, Rodrigo de Miranda, on the 16th of September, 1641, and the taking of the fortifications of Pedrenda, in Galicia, by D. Gastão Coutinho on the same month. The most important disaster was that of the defeat of Martim Alfonso de Mello, in Valverde, in the province of Spanish Estremadura.

The noteworthy victories of 1642 were in the province of Beira, the taking of Elches, Valverde, Leon, and Guadiana by Fernão Telles de Menezes and D. Sancho Manuel, while the greatest disaster was the defeat of Rodrigo de Figueiredo d'Alarcão in Verim on the northern frontier.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

In this way the Portuguese troops were becoming skilled in warfare, and producing good officers, who later on inflicted on the Spaniards most serious defeats. It was in the campaigns of Beira that D. Sancho Manuel began to be celebrated, he who was to become one of the heroes of the campaign, and illustrate the war of the restoration.

But if the Spaniards committed errors which the Portuguese took advantage of, it must not be supposed that the Portuguese administration and government had suddenly attained to a degree of perfection, which the continual decadence of the kingdom belied. In a memorial addressed to the sovereign by the skilful and prudent D. João da Costa we find that if the Portuguese were animated by love of the fatherland, and a vivid desire to preserve its independence, the indolence and errors of the administration were such that it was only due to the condition of Spain at the time that the Portuguese did not bitterly expiate the mistakes of their Government.

The war continued on both sides without any decisive advantages. News arrived that the King of Castille intended to preserve the defensive as regards the affairs of Catalonia, and was personally coming to maintain the offensive strife against that kingdom. Therefore D. João IV. resolved upon proceeding to the Alemtejo to instil some warmth to his troops, as we learn by the decree of 4th July, 1643, wherein he appointed the Queen Regent during his absence. The expedition was surrounded by all possible theatrical pageantry, as he desired to show that, like another Alexander, he would cut the Gordian knot of the dispute; but he took up his residence in Evora, from whence he passed on to Villa Viçosa, and then returned to Lisbon, without drawing his maiden sword on the battlefield. Nevertheless the swords of those who defended and sustained the throne were not lying idle in their scabbards. The Count de Obidos, with the commander of the cavalry corps, Francisco de Mello, and D. João da Costa, commanding the artillery—one of the most skilful officers of that epoch—invaded Estremadura on the Spanish side, besieged Valverde, which surrendered, and carrying his daring further, he even beleaguered Badajoz, but was compelled to raise the siege owing to insufficient forces. This imprudent unsuccessful act moved D. João IV. to substitute Mathias d'Albuquerque in the post, a general in every way worthy of holding the supreme command. A brilliant series of victories, but of no immediate interest to our history, served to

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

enkindle warmth into tepid spirits, and predisposed them for greater and grander undertakings. It was at this juncture that the King returned to the capital. In the period under consideration the place of honour must be accorded to the Count de Castello Melhor. He was in Spain on the occasion of the proclamation, and resolved upon returning to Portugal, leaving a memorable trail. With this intention he essayed to capture the fleet lying at Carthagena, but being denounced, he was arrested and condemned to death. The treatment he was subjected to only served to increase his firmness. He succeeded to escape, and placed his sword at the service of D. João IV., who received him with singular esteem and welcome. He went on to Minho, where he took complete revenge. The successful combats of Salvatierra were all due to the skill and bravery of the Count. The taking of that town was a veritable triumph. In vain the Spaniards, under the leadership of the commander-in-chief, the Cardinal Spinola, attacked him; they were splendidly resisted, and forced to beat a retreat.

These events took place towards the end of 1643. Many skirmishes took place in Beira and Tras-os-Montes, but bore no results as far as concerned the greater consolidation of the restoration. The greatest and most signal victory gained by the Portuguese was the battle of Montijo on the 26th of May, 1644.

Montijo is situated at a short distance from Badajoz, between the Guadiana and the Xevora. Montijo is synonymous with all that persistent skill can effect. Had any other individual but Mathias de Albuquerque been ranged against the Baron de Mollingen, and instead of a sudden impulse of indignation, he had given way to a moment of hesitation or terror, the 26th of May, 1644, would have been a day of mourning for the Portuguese nation. Let us not conceal the truth. The battle of Montijo does not crown with laurels all the Portuguese ranks. The flight of the cavalry succeeding the first attack was an act of deplorable weakness, and became well-nigh a defeat. The voices of the commanding officers were not heard, nor their expostulations heeded. The Portuguese companies were broken and crushed, the artillery did not work, and indiscipline was becoming fearfully extended, and, in truth, the murmur of the waters of the Guadiana must in that hour of hopelessness have sounded like funeral wailings.

Such was the commencement of the battle of Montijo. It was more a shameful defeat than a routing, and in its moral consequences an element of dissolution, and therefore of actual decadence. Envolved

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

in Montijo, and destroyed in so pitiful a way, how could the Government reply to the disquietudes of the country? how sustain its position before the courts of Europe? But Mathias de Albuquerque, in the midst of the confusion and ruin takes advantage of the actual enthusiasm evinced by the Spaniards for their easy victory, and gathering together the relics of an army which had disbanded without brandishing the sword, and adding a handful of those whose heart was still intrepid, he, so to say, gathers up the arrows whichhad been flung against them, and in accord with the general commanding the artillery, D. João da Costa, cast themselves upon the Spaniards, who had become dispersed as though they had already buried the enemy; and, driving all before them, without giving them time to recover themselves, compel them to cross the Guadiana.

When the news of the victory attained by Mathias de Albuquerque reached D. João IV., he rewarded the general with the title of Count de Alegrete. He was just in doing so, because the reward was well merited; the soldiers had lost the victory, but the general had won it back.

The news produced an enthusiastic impression in Lisbon, and amazement in foreign courts, and in truth this victory, in its moral results, served to consolidate the Crown.

Irritated at the defeat, the Baron de Mollingen endeavoured to take his revenge by attempting an entry into Portugal with 5,000 infantry and 1,800 horse, by falling upon the village of Santo Aleixo, but the Portuguese, fired with enthusiasm at the last victory, effected a most heroic resistance, although the enemy wrecked the whole place and had to retire after blowing up the church and walls, leaving under its ruins a population of heroes, but unable to unfurl its victorious banner.

About this time the Count-Duke of Olivares no longer ruled the destinies of Spain. The inconstant genius of fortune, which for twenty-two years had favoured the minister, now smiled upon another object. Philip IV., yielding to the demands of the nobles, and irritated by the petulant haughtiness of the Count, withdrew his favour, and dismissed him from his service. He was substituted in favour by D. Luiz de Haro, a man whose shoulders could ill sustain the weight of affairs. The new minister, believing that Portugal could be invaded at once, ordered the attack to be made on the frontier of Elvas with an army of 17,000 men, in December, 1644. The siege lasted only six days, because the Marquis de Torreciesa, although he had disquieted the Portuguese,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

finding it useless to prolong the siege, retired to Spain, pursued for a great length by the fusilades of the Portuguese. The King, on receiving the news of the defeat of the Spaniards, sent pecuniary rewards to the soldiers, and eulogised Mathias de Albuquerque, Count de Alegrete.

Soon after the revolution of December, and the restoration of the independence of Portugal had taken place, the Secretary of State, Francisco de Lucena, addressed the Infante D. Duarte, brother of D. João IV., inviting him to come to Portugal and leave the service of Ferdinand III. These letters, however, strayed, and some fell into the hands of Olivares, who determined to prevent his return, and afford Portugal the aid of his brave sword. This was not a difficult matter, because he made use of a renegade who was in accord with a disloyal king.

D. Francisco de Mello, Ambassador at the Court of Vienna for his Catholic majesty, was a Portuguese nobleman. He demanded the arrest of the Infante, and despite the protestations of the Archduke Leopold, brother of the Emperor, the Infante received peremptory orders to present himself at Ratisbonne, where the Court was at the time. He was so little apprehensive of perfidy that no suspicion was awakened by this order. When, however, on proceeding to obey the command, he found himself escorted by musketeers, he at once comprehended the situation, and that, from being a general of the Emperor's army, he was now only a prisoner. Portuguese hands opened the doors of his prison, and it was also Portuguese hands which opened the portals of his grave. Francisco de Mello was the tool employed, simply the official who apprehended him; the Marquis de Castello Rodrigo—he, indeed, was the malefactor. The Diet was indignant at this violence, but all in vain. The Infante was successively sent from prison to prison until, for the sum of 40,000 cruzados, Ferdinand III., like a crowned Judas, delivered him over to the Spanish Government.

When the commissary of the Emperor placed him in the hands of his enemies, it is said that D. Duarte spoke as follows: "Tell your master that he is a tyrant; that it grieves me more to have served him than to see myself sold and given over to my enemies. Perchance God may avenge me in his children, who, though they are of the House of Austria, are not more privileged than I am, being a descendant of the royal blood of the kings of Portugal."

Let us not think for a moment that the Portuguese Government calmly allowed this misfortune to pass unnoticed. A treaty was signed in Compeigne, between Louis XIV. and the King, in which it was

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

stipulated that after paying 60,000 Spanish pistoles to the King of France, he would pledge himself not to effect a treaty of peace with the Catholic sovereign unless the Prince D. Duarte be set at liberty. In the treaty of peace or amnesty entered into between the two powers it was declared that the Prince would be at once delivered up in pledge to the Pope and the republic of Venice, in their quality of mediators; or, lastly, to the Grand Duke of Florence, and these, at the conclusion of the treaty, to consider the Infante free and in full enjoyment of his rights, under the guard and tutorship of the King.

But fate willed it otherwise, Milan receiving him within her walls nevermore restored him to liberty. A religious, by name Francisco Toquet, was sent to Venice with instructions to endeavour by every means, by purchase or stratagem, to effect his release. What diplomacy could not effect D. João IV. hoped craft would. But all efforts proved unfruitful. At the end of eight years of rigorous imprisonment, during which he endured in life all the piercing pains and agonies of death, this Prince, as great in merit as in his misfortunes, yielded up his spirit to his God in the prime of life, being forty-four years of age, a victim to the treacheries and infamies of a few miserable men.

The news of his death caused a deep impression of sorrow throughout the kingdom for his untimely fate.

We said above that Francisco de Lucena had been appointed Secretary of State. His well-known intelligence and long experience of public administration had induced D. João IV. to summon him to the Council of State at a juncture when experienced and clever statesmen were difficult to find. But around the minister surged odious and revengeful enemies. Moreover, Francisco de Lucena was not the man to conciliate inimical spirits. He was rude in his manner and severe in his acts, and even cruel. In the Cortes of September, 1642, he was accused of felony by some of the members. They accused him of negotiating with Spain and having secret understandings with the Count-Duke, while the fact of his corresponding with a son who was detained at Madrid, afforded sufficient motives for calumny, ruining the Secretary of State. The process instituted against him was irregular and hurried, and clearly proved that it was determined to ruin him. It was a certain fact that Francisco de Lucena had enemies, and some of the generals did not view him with favour. Besides this, his severe manner and character predisposed all those around against him.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Francisco de Lucena was apprehended and imprisoned in the tower of S. Gião, and subsequently transferred to the Limoeiro. A son of his and a brother were likewise arrested with D. José de Menezes. Accusations were brought against them that a plan had been formed to deliver up to the Spaniards the fort of Santa Luzia, with the object of definitely taking possession of Elvas, and many other things too numerous to quote, but the sequel and tragic ending was that he was condemned to death, being found guilty of high treason, and executed on the 28th of April, 1643. Nevertheless, posterity has never endorsed that sentence, wherein every page teems with malevolence, odium, and repressed vengeance. His enemies wished to ruin him, and they succeeded in their scheme. When the sentence had been carried out, they then opened the prison doors to his supposed accomplices and set them at liberty. D. José de Menezes, moreover, was favoured with the title of Count. Royal munificence went so far as to reward those who were accused of treachery. D. João IV. lent himself to this sanguinary farce, and signed the condemnation of an innocent man. Those gifts of understanding and character which the King of Portugal so greatly enhanced by his letters patent of 31st of January, 1641, were cancelled by a stroke of the pen, or, rather, were forgotten and denied by he who laid down the sceptre, in obedience to perverse suggestions, to take up the executioner's weapon.

While these events were taking place in the Peninsula, the affairs beyond seas were truly contrary and pitiful. The Dutch, who, after the proclamation, had taken Angola, St. Thomé, and Maranhão, were preparing to send a powerful fleet against Pernambuco, where João Fernandes Vieira was harassing them in the name of the King of Portugal. With the object of dissuading them from this intention, Francisco de Sousa Coutinho resorted to a heroic but perilous measure, and thus, no doubt, avoided the ruin and loss to Portugal of its conquests. As the Dutch, resenting Portuguese intervention in the riots of Pernambuco, were preparing their naval forces, and steering their fleets to Portuguese colonies, Coutinho, perceiving their plan, filled in a blank document signed by D. João IV., in which he declared to the States that Portugal would fully cede Pernambuco to them. He then proceeded to write to the King to apprise him of what he had done, and asked him to save his honour by disapproving of this act, as he would rather sacrifice his own head than lose the stronghold. The storm, which was imminent, was thus for the time being dispersed.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

In the conspiracy of Pernambuco we must bring forward the name of one of the most illustrious Portuguese, and one of the most valiant, energetic characters of history. This was João Fernandes Vieira. To his perseverance and skilful bravery is due the complete triumph of the cause. So long as the Prince Maurice of Nassau presided over the government of the province, the loftiness of his mind and excellence of genius, and a certain noble dignity which is imposing without being violent, had exercised an influence over the Portuguese that had kept them in a passive state. When, however, he withdrew to Europe, leaving the Government in the hands of a council, the organisation of the colony assumed a different aspect, and public spirit was aroused from its lethargy.

To João Fernandes Vieira is exclusively due the course of events. Corresponding with the Governor of Bahia respecting his views, and winning his adhesion to the cause which was to imprint on the movement a seal of high signification, he proceeded to prepare the elements and plan of revolt. In this he employed the greatest discretion, as may be supposed, but nevertheless his actions were very closely watched, and snares were laid out to entrap him, until it culminated in a warrant of arrest being issued against him. Vieira was apprised of this in time to evade the order, and he, with a good number of followers, escaped from their clutches; but there was no time to lose in temporising, and he had to work resolutely. In the form of Vieira, whom the city of Funchal claims as its citizen, there are found the grand lineaments of heroes. No hesitation, no half-hearted measures does he take.

From the interior, where he resided, he issued orders like a sovereign. He was not a revolutionary nor an outlaw, he was simply moved to action from a sentiment of patriotic liberty. The promises of aid which had encouraged him were not fulfilled, and his army numbered only about 1,000 men, and these were badly provided and undrilled, while the Dutch, commanded by Henry, enjoyed all that means and a good organisation could afford.

Vieira, wishing to take the best possible position of defence against the attacks of the enemy, marched, by the advice of Cardoso, his sergeant-major, to the mountains called Das Tabocas, near the River Tapicura. This mountain has been since then renowned on account of the first battle and victory achieved in this State.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Dutch were followed by a great number of Indians, which added a terrible feature to the army. Henry Hus assailed the mountain with all the prudence of one who was quite aware that a slope covered with a wood of tabocas* might conceal an ambuscade. And, as a fact, within that dense plantation of wild reeds there were three laid for them in successive plains, commanded respectively by João Paes Cabral, Paulo Velloso, and Antonio Borges Uchoa. At the first attack the Dutch succeeded in forcing a path, and the defenders retreated in some disorder; but Vieira, who watched every point, descended from the heights with the reserve corps and ran full against the enemy and drove him back. The Dutch General perceived that it was useless to resist, and recrossed the Tapicura. This defeat took place on the 3rd of August, 1645.

As we said above, the Governor of Bahia, Antonio Telles da Silva, entered into the spirit of the machinations and plans of Fernandes Vieira; but to the questions put to him by the envoys he always replied disapproving the acts of the insurrection. Wishing to prove his words, he sent André Vidal de Negreiros and Martim Soares Moreno to the port of Tamandaré with two companies, in order, so he said, to punish the chief of the sedition. This was only a blind covering relief and reinforcement, and the two companies fraternised and were placed under the immediate command of Vieira. They then marched on, surrounded Capiberibe, attacked Hus, and compelled him to capitulate. By this time the Dutch had become cognisant of the stratagem played upon them, and set fire to the ships which were anchored in the Tamandaré.

The veil of mystery could now be rent asunder, the play was open and patent. Moreno besieged the fortress of Nazareth, and Parahyba unfurled the Portuguese flag, while Nicolau Aranha opened direct communications with Bahia, from whence aid came for the insurgents. Recife was alone wanting to crown these rapid triumphs. The siege was circumscribed, and the supplies of the stronghold began to fail. But the siege was prolonged, and Recife, despite the state it was in, had to wrestle against not only the beleaguerers, but against interior misunderstandings.

In the history of these frequent assaults and skirmishes we find Henrique Dias, the Governor of all the coloured men, distinguishing himself for his almost Spartan heroism. By the side of this name

* *Tabocas.* A Brazilian term, and means wild cane or reeds.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

must be placed with equal reverence that of the Indian Poty, better known in history as Antonio Filippe Camarão.

It was at this juncture that the new Governor-General of Pernambuco, Sigismund Van Schopp, entered the port, a fact which must have brought despair to the cause of Vieira, more especially as D. João IV. ordered his field officers to retire. The first steps taken by Van Schopp proved that he came determined upon giving the death-blow to the insurrection. By erecting a fort in the Barreta and another close to the Island of Itamaraca, he sensibly improved the condition of the besieged. He then sailed towards Bahia and attacked it impetuously. When the news reached Portugal, the Count de Villa Pouca was charged to aid Brazil and substitute Antonio Telles da Silva. At the same time a fleet departed, and although it was captured by the enemy later on, regained its liberty by evading the enemy at Recife, and took the lead in the events which followed. Holland sent a considerable force.

As Van Schopp commanded an army which numbered nearly 9,000 men, Francisco Barreto, who had been sent out in the fleet, perceived that it was necessary to choose positions which should command a safe resistance, because the Portuguese strength consisted of only about 3,000. The mountains Gararapes were chosen by Barreto, and a fierce combat took place, in which both sides performed brilliant feats; the victory, however, fell to the Portuguese, Henry Hus being among the dead. The Dutch being vanquished, were forced to betake themselves to Recife. This battle took place on 19th of April, 1648.

Once again did these mountains play an important part in history. On the 19th of February, 1649, the forces of Colonel Brink measured swords with the Portuguese unsuccessfully in a prolonged, obstinate combat, in which the commander was among the slain, and his army broken up. Holland was then undoubtedly labouring under an unlucky star.

By the Act of Navigation, England sequestrated from the Dutch the monopoly of the seas. Into English ports no other ships were permitted to enter but ships for actual trade, and the products of Africa, Asia, and America could only be imported in English vessels. The duty levied on the fish caught by the Dutch on the British coast embittered the contention, which was only resolved by force of arms. The English had conceived the idea of annexing the united provinces, but only succeeded so far as to lower the royal flag of Holland in two successive naval engagements.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

These circumstances conspired to favour the Portuguese, and in a manner the English became their allies. The complete restoration of Pernambuco was due to the existence of a general company of commerce, because Francisco Barreto, as soon as he learnt the disasters of Holland, took advantage of them as a powerful naval element to carry out his plan.

The merchants of the city, in his name, and those of all in trade in the kingdom and out of it, had organised a general company for the whole state of Brazil, from the Rio Grande to the Rio do Janeiro; Espirito Santo and S. Vicente, this district including the stronghold and ports under the dominion of the Crown as well as those occupied by the Dutch.

In this company were admitted all persons of any position, native or foreign, contributing a sum of twenty cruzados and upwards, for the term of twenty years. The company pledged itself to fit out, during the first two years, thirty-six men-of-war ships, some thirty pieces of artillery, and otherwise furnish the ships with seamen and soldiers. These ships to form two squadrons of eighteen ships each, one squadron to proceed each year to Brazils and convoy all merchant ships proceeding and returning from its ports. When on the Brazilian waters, the ships to separate, and enter the various ports and forts of the state, and after loading, to depart for Portugal, in accordance with their orders and regulations.

In remuneration for the service rendered, the company claimed fifty-two articles and conditions, among the latter being the express stipulation that their ships be constructed in any convenient part, and permission be granted for all necessary timber. Moreover, they claimed the right to summon in the city of the kingdom and in the islands, soldiers and seamen for the service of defence, leaving to the company the selection of generals, captains, and other officers. The prizes captured from the enemy to appertain to the company, and that no ship or craft leave the kingdom for the Brazils unless escorted by their squadron.

Many other clauses were inserted, too numerous to mention, but all were agreed to and confirmed by D. João IV., and the decree issued for the institution of the General Company for the State of Brazil was countersigned by the Count de Odemira, Antonio Cavide, Pedro Fernandes Monteiro, Thomé, Pinheiro de Veiga, and Estevão de Foyos.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Francisco Barreto took advantage of this company to compel the Dutch to evacuate Recife. The attack was commenced by the fort of Salinas, but Recife had a long line of defence. Having taken this point, that of Altanar soon followed, then the redoubt of Cinco Pontas fell, besides other points abandoned by the Dutch, who despaired of victory. Meantime the admiral Francisco de Brito Freire barred the entrance of any ship to succour Recife. This state of things forced Van Schopp to capitulate.

On the 27th of January, 1654, the Dutch garrison departed for Europe, leaving with all honours of war, and the Portuguese flag was hoisted amid the acclamations of the victors. The capitulation and surrender of Recife included likewise that of Parahyba, Rio Grande, and Itamaraca. The field officer Francisco de Figueirôa was charged to take possession of these fortresses, which he did without difficulty. The work initiated by João Fernandes Vieira had been at length completed.

D. João IV. received the intelligence from the mouth of André Vidal Negreiros, which must have been a joyful surprise to him, as he had contributed but in a small degree to so glorious a liberation.

After nine years of persistent strife, which can be ill comprehended at the present day, because the incredulity of the epoch cannot appreciate the greatness of these enthusiastic patriots, Brazils cast off the yoke imposed upon her, and could proudly assert that she had done it single-handed with her herculean hands and without the co-operation of her king.

Previous to the restoration of Pernambuco that of Maranhão took place, which, although it did not assume the proportions of that of Pernambuco, is nevertheless a fact, which rendered memorable the names of Antonio Moniz Barreto and Antonio Teixeira de Mello.

What especially characterises the strife of Maranhão is a certain feature of desperate ferocity. It commenced by an attack on the Dutch engines on the 30th of September, 1642, and after the death of its leader the warfare continued more or less sanguinary. We do not find records of battles, but only slaughter; the insurgents lay snares, and their opponents reply by the same barbarous means. At length the Dutch, fully perceiving that they could obtain no firm footing on a volcanic soil where conflagrations were constant and unexpected, abandoned the garrison of S. Luiz, after first devastating and ravaging all they possibly could, the ruins they left of the buildings being

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

an eloquent testimony to their singular brutality. Those who left Maranhão went to reinforce Pernambuco, and these departed for the Old World convinced of how much could be effected for the holy love of independence.

And while victory was gaining ground for the Portuguese in America, in Asia, which had been so greatly loved, there seemed to be a complete divorce. Those Eastern lands which so often had trembled beneath the heavy galloping of their triumphant horsemen was now no more than a stage for strifes, and upon which moved an immense tragedy. The truce with the Dutch had almost come to an end, and they only awaited the moment of its termination to put their forces into action, assisted by the discords existing among the Portuguese. In Gôa discontent was working up sedition. D. Braz de Castro had tumultuously assumed the power, and even arrested the Governor, the Count de Obidos. In Macao the haughty proceeding of D. Sebastian Lobo da Silveira had induced tumults which, to prevent reaching extreme limits, demanded the deposition of the Governor, who was substituted by Luiz de Carvalho. The eyes of Holland lingered ambitiously over the walls of Ceylon, and its alliance with the Rajah of Kandy more greatly stimulated the natives to greater exertions. At length, unable to hold out any longer, they attacked and took Kalture, a fortress standing not far from the city of Colombo, which was the capital. Gaspar Figueira de Serpa, during various sorties, which were unsuccessful, was nevertheless able to keep the stronghold victualled in case of siege. The moral depravity which pervaded the Portuguese ranks concurred to render the case a hopeless one. Aids sent from Gôa were rendered useless on account of want of discipline, while each became the leader of a mutiny. On the actual theatre of war errors and ignorant authority contributed largely to their shame and ruin.

At the beginning of 1655, Antonio de Sousa Coutinho was appointed to govern Ceylon, and arrived to Colombo after escaping the hands of the Dutch, who, in the port of Galle, had rudely pursued him. His presence instilled some spirit and heroism into their failing spirits, but however great heroism may be, it cannot supply what is indispensable. There was no ammunition, there was a deficiency of fighting men; intrepidity had cooled with weary marches; it was necessary to wrench down the standard from the heights of the rampart walls, and pass with it, though unfurled, across the invading army. Antonio

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Mendes Aranha was therefore forced to capitulate. The Dutch, in heir stipulations, were generous as far as enemies could be. The evil was becoming daily aggravated, and Antonio de Sousa Coutinho saw the wave increasing and the storm brewing, similarly as an experienced sailor perceives the tempest coming.

The Dutch were commanded by Gerardo d'Huld.

On the 12th of November the first attack on the stronghold took place, and proved an assault and defence which brought to mind the terrible chivalry of past epochs. Repelled in various points, the Dutch were forced to suspend their movements, leaving as prisoners those who, having succeeded to enter the city unperceived, found themselves in the end entangled in the mesh woven by their own hands. Frequent and deadly attacks followed this one, and Coutinho was reduced to his own forces, not the smallest aid coming from Gôa.

Five months of siege had produced want, and the Governor was compelled to eject all useless mouths. João Vlaas, who, owing to the death of Gerardo d'Huld, had assumed the supreme command, wishing to terminate the siege, resolved upon driving the combatants on in such a way that the city, dismantled and ungarrisoned, should be unable to hold out any longer. In effect, it was a defence both fearful and sublime. The Dutch attacked impetuously, but their fury broke itself like the sea wave against the immovable rock of patriotism.

The garrison numbered scarcely more than 100 men, yet their adversaries judged they fought against thousands. There was no probability of triumph, not a gleam of hope, nevertheless they fought on, and having reached the height of valour, they dashed themselves upon the enemy like famished lions. In the Eastern chronicles this page of Colombo can bear comparison with its sublimest ones.

It was, however, imperative to yield, and on the 12th of May, 1656, Coutinho was forced to capitulate, after holding a conference among the principal citizens, with whom the thought of protracting the surrender still found votes. But the herculean wrestling was ended, and though conquered, the Portuguese may still hold up their heads proudly when interrogated by posterity.

It behoves us now to pass on to Africa, and assist at the marvellous reconquest of Angola, due to Salvador Correia de Sá and Benevides. In this event, as in a few other cases, is demonstrated that the daring are the favoured sons of fortune.

Salvador Correia left Rio de Janeiro with only fifteen ships and 900

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

fighting men. Knowing that to carry out the undertaking it would be necessary to seek some pretext in order to conceal the true motive, he proceeded first to Quicombo, without any apparent hostility. As, however, the Dutch more or less continued to annoy the Portuguese, despite the peace clauses, Correia de Sá drew from this fact sufficient motive for steering for Loanda, and intimating to the Dutch to surrender in punishment of their treachery. His peremptory and arrogant tone induced them to believe that he had a large force to back him. At the end of the two days' term given them to surrender having expired, without doing so, the Portuguese who had come in the fleet, landed and fought the Dutch so vigorously and promptly that they were forced to withdraw to the forts of Saint Michael and Our Lady of Guia. From thence, when assaulted on the 15th of August, 1648, they succeeded in repulsing the assailants, causing them serious losses; but whether owing to distress among themselves or because some symptoms of sedition had arisen amongst the various nationalities, the fact was that Salvador Correia de Sá received proposals of capitulation at the very moment when probably he would have had to pay dearly for his hazardous undertaking.

As soon as the Dutch garrison departed, and the black army of Queen Ginga, which had come to the field to aid them, had been defeated, Salvador Correia set about organising commerce, and developed those rare administrative faculties of which he had afforded ample proof in Rio de Janeiro. St. Thomé and Benguella were restored to the Portuguese without offering resistance.

While in this way it was sought to reconquer or maintain Portuguese independence, D. João IV., yielding to the impulses o natural selfishness, plotted against it, solely caring for his personal and dynastic interests. Father Antonio Vieira, whose political importance was very great at this epoch, was entrusted with the mission of negotiating the marriage of D. Theodosio with an Infanta of Spain, with the object of uniting under one crown the two kingdoms of the Iberic Peninsula, but the plan was unsuccessful. The King, who had no courage to place himself at the head of the revolution of emancipation, and only accepted its consequences timidly, now cast in oblivion the heroic defence of his subjects, of their constant sacrifices, of the great and firm adherence of the people; and he actually undermines the work of restoration, and under specious clauses attempts to sell the country to Castille.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Castille, withdrawing from the contract, continued its destructive scheme; spreading intrigues, negotiating conspiracies, and nourishing a continual focus of distrust.

About this time D. Joao IV. granted to the Prince his son, and all other firstborn of his successors, all lands, jurisdictions, rents, and dues belonging to the house of Braganza, for them to defray the expenses of their position, and styling them from that time Princes of Brazil and Dukes of Braganza.

On the frontiers raids and combats were occurring without any decisive results. The Prince D. Theodosio, instigated by some of the young nobles, quitted Lisbon in November, 1651, and unexpectedly appeared at Elvas. This was, as a fact, an attempt against the royal power, because the journey of the Prince partook of the character of a voluntary desertion. It is true that by letters patent of the 25th of January of that same year he had been nominated Governor-General of the army against Castille, but this did not warrant him in taking the supreme command against the will of the sovereign.

D. João IV. was visibly disconcerted at his proceeding, not only because it was a formal act of disobedience, but likewise because being more shrewd than a youth of nineteen, he could not entrust the decision of a cause to his natural impulses of imprudence or vainglory.

It appears that this act of the Prince induced jealousy and distrust in the heart of the King, his father, and the Prince was unable to withstand the shock to his feelings caused by his father's displeasure and coldness towards him; this developed the germs of a long illness, which terminated his life on the 15th of May, 1653. His death was deeply felt by the people, who had placed fond hopes in him. After his death the Cortes were convoked in order to proclaim the youthful prince, D. Alfonso, heir to the throne.

Internal affairs were proceeding slowly and undecided, without deriving any advantage from external ones. In Rome, Alexander VI. —who succeeded Innocent X., and had given proofs of goodwill towards Portugal—altered his views and leaned towards Castille. France contented herself by censuring Portugal without aiding her; rather to the contrary, after a series of tergiversations, when Cardinal Mazarin and D. Luiz de Haro signed the treaty of peace respecting Bidassoa, Portugal was completely ignored and forsaken, thus giving the finishing stroke to the selfish policy prepared since the Congress of Munster. England alone remained to them in the midst of the general abandon-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ment, but Cromwell was at the time at the front in England, and D. João IV., by decree of 15th June, 1650, had ordered sequestration of property to be made of all the English in the kingdom who followed the voice of Parliament, and not that of the King.

Cromwell did not forget Portuguese sympathy for the throne he had cast down, and most certainly in his heart he had assigned to them a place of reprisal. His threats were always carried out, and he had laid out his plans to punish them severely.

The treaty of peace and alliance between the King of Portugal and the Protector of England, signed in Westminster on the 10th of July, 1654, consisted of twenty-eight articles, and manifests that Cromwell dictated the law to Portugal with all the haughtiness of a discretionary dictator. As a consolation it may be added that this humiliation was shown by other more powerful nations. But relations with England always continued cold until the death of D. João IV.

The last days of the King of Portugal were approaching. For some time past his health had been failing, and prevented him oftentimes from attending to affairs of State; but his wife, D. Luiza, on those occasions always presided at the Councils of State. A severe attack of gout laid him very low and presaged his death, which took place on 6th of November, 1656. His will appointed the widowed Queen, D. Luiza de Guzman, regent during the minority of the Prince D. Alfonso.

D. João IV. had seven legitimate children, four sons and three daughters. Two of his sons, D. Theodosio, the heir of the throne, as we said above, died at the age of nineteen, and D. Manuel in infancy. D. Alfonso and D. Pedro survived their father, and both subsequently occupied the throne under the titles of D. Alfonso VI. and D. Pedro II. Of the daughters, D. Anna died in infancy, and D. Joanna in her sixteenth year, soon after the death of her brother D. Theodosio, and D. Catherina who became Queen of England by her marriage with Charles II. He left an illegitimate daughter, called D. Maria, who led a religious life in the monastery of Carn ido and assumed the Carmelite habit. She died in her fiftieth year, on 6th of February, 1693, and was buried in the same monastery.

Undoubtedly D. João IV. possessed true governing qualities, among which shone a good sense which never forsook him, and induced him to view things in a practical, just light. He was prudent, timid rather than daring, and did not enter into risky undertakings, nor involved

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the kingdom in difficulties. This prudence and good sense, which always induced him to recoil from taking the initiative, impelled him to surround himself with excellent counsellors. He had no personal affections, and rarely allowed himself to be swayed by antipathies when the good of the cause was at stake. By his prudence he rendered a great service to Portugal, by not risking her strength in great undertakings, and affording her time to organise and recover herself in such a manner as to sustain with advantage her resistance against the supreme efforts of Spain, but his administration did not possess a reforming character, because Portugal continued to decline, and its only sign of life was the obstinacy with which the Portuguese defended their autonomy. His good qualities were all passive ones, hence his reign does not present in history any salient feature. What in truth rendered his reign a notable one was the awakening and uprising of the national spirit throughout the country, and in all parts of the world where the Portuguese flag waved. D. João IV. assisted at this great fact, and skilfully took advantage of it. His government was in effect a government of national defence: it had grave errors, and it was reactionary, of small ideas, mean and egotistical, nevertheless Portuguese generations must ever respect it and venerate the King, because he fulfilled his special mission—the organisation of resistance.

END OF NINTH BOOK.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE TENTH.

1656—1683.

REIGN OF D. ALFONSO VI.

Minority of D. Alfonso VI.—Regency of the widowed Queen—Want of intelligence of the Royal child—Rumours of substituting D. Pedro to the throne—Discords—Party feuds—Character of the Regent—Impression caused by the death of João IV. in Madrid—War projects—Fall of Elvas and Mourão—Reconquest of Mourão by Mendes de Vasconcellos—Siege of Badajoz—Horrors of the siege—Attack on Elvas—Victory of the Portuguese troops—Unfavourable condition of the Provinces—Loss of Monção and Salvaterra—The youth and character of D. Alfonso VI.—Antonio and João Conti—Influence of the Contis over the spirit of the King—Their expulsion by the Queen-Regent—Complaints brought against the King—His indifference—He is induced to fly to Alcantara—He demands the government of the kingdom—The Queen-Regent abdicates—Machinations of the ex-Regent—Accession of D. Alfonso VI. to the throne—The Privy Secretary, the Count de Castello Melhor—The Queen-Mother is ordered to quit the palace—She retires to the monastery in Grilo—Conspires with the Infante D. Pedro to depose the King—Marriage of D. Catherina with Charles II. of England—Tangiers and Bombay are bestowed on England as her marriage portion—Charles II. promises to aid Portugal—Departure of the bride—Arrival to Portsmouth—Arrival of the exiled Contis—D. John of Austria harasses the Portuguese in the Alemtejo—Siege of Evora—Its humiliating surrender—Panic in Lisbon—Tumults of the people against the nobility—Lisbon is threatened by an invasion—Reinforcements arrive from Beira—Skirmishes take place on the shores of the Degebe—Position taken by the Spanish army—Plan of action of D. John de Austria—The Portuguese charge the Spaniards—The battle and victory of Ameixial—The news produces immense enthusiasm in Portugal—Reception of the Generals—Valencia de Alcantara—Its surrender—Defeat of the Duke de Ossuna—Taking of Borba—Villa Viçosa—Battle of Montes Claros—Victory of the Portuguese—State of India—Treaty of peace between Alfonso VI. and the Low Countries—Holland renounces its claims to the possession of Brazils—Portugal cedes its rights to Ceylon—Moluccas and other lands held by the Dutch—The Infante D. Pedro manifests himself hostile to the King—Death of the Queen-Mother—Death of Philip IV. of Spain—D. Marianna of Austria appointed Regent—Negotiations of marriage of the King of Portugal with the Princess of Savoy—Dowry of the bride elect—Departure of the future Queen of Portugal from France—The Spaniards project to capture the escorting fleet—Entry of the bride into Lisbon—Influence of the Queen—Party conflicts—French influences—England enters into negotiations with

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the Spanish Cabinet—System of duplicity pursued by Louis XIV.—The Queen-Regent of Spain refuses the Portuguese ultimatum—Skilful proceeding of the Count de Castello Melhor—Conspiracy of the Infante D. Pedro—The Queen demands the dismissal of the Secretary of State—Refusal of the King—D. Pedro sides with the Queen—The palace is doubly guarded—Indignation of D. Pedro—He demands the dismissal of the Prime Minister—His resignation and retirement—Recall of the Secretary of State—Hostile attitude taken by D. Pedro—He proceeds to the King's apartments—D. Alfonso VI. orders him to deliver up his sword—Excitement of the populace—Coercion of D. Pedro—The King attempts to fly to the Alemtejo—The Queen separates from her husband—She enters the Convent—She demands a judicial separation—The King yields to the demands of D. Pedro and renounces his rights to the throne—The Cortes are convoked—D. Alfonso VI. declares the nullity of the marriage—Sentence is pronounced annulling the marriage—The Infante D. Pedro marries the divorced Queen—Banishment of D. Alfonso VI. to the island of Terceira—Conflict of parties—Birth of D. Isabel—The Cortes—Return of D. Alfonso VI.—He is taken to Cintra—Project of marriage of the Infanta D. Isabel—Insult offered by Savoy—Death of D. Alfonso VI.—Declining health of the Queen—End of the Regency of D. Pedro.

In accordance with the wishes of the deceased monarch, D. João IV., expressed in his last testament, dated 2nd of November, 1656, the widowed Queen of Portugal assumed the regency of the kingdom, until D. Alfonso VI., who was in his minority, should be of age to ascend the throne of his father. He was, however, proclaimed the legitimate heir and King of Portugal.

D. Alfonso was born in 1643, and was therefore thirteen years of age when his father died. It appears that he had a severe illness when only three years old, from which resulted paralysis, and he was never able to regain the perfect use of his right hand. Moreover, his intelligence suffered a rude shock, and despite that his preceptor was one of the most enlightened men of Portugal, Nicolau Monteiro, Bishop of Oporto, and some time ambassador at Rome—the royal child was never able to acquire even a medium education. To his want of intelligence was added a touch of ferocity, which no power could soften. D. Luiz de Menezes records that there were rumours of deposing D. Alfonso and substituting his brother, D. Pedro, as King of Portugal, but that the Queen-Regent opposed this, in order not to provoke civic dissensions, and save herself being accused of protracting her regency. As may be supposed, the death of D. João IV. caused discords in the Government. Two parties rose up between individuals who, even during the reign of D. João IV., disputed the supremacy.

The contention broke out fiercely, which D. Luiza de Gusman found difficult to repress. She was naturally of an energetic character, but

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

a lady, and eminently Spanish, and could barely impose respect or command men possessed of the highest governing qualities. Therefore, though flattering historians may state that she was quite able to wield supreme power, we know that the ministers disputed the most trivial measures, and that the Queen, unable to conciliate them, held only a shadow of power.

It appears, however, that at the commencement the old party—that is to say those who had enjoyed the esteem and confidence of D. João IV.—were victorious.

Among this party were such men as the Count de Odemira and the Count de Soure. The latter, in spite of the bitter truths he told his King, was nevertheless considered invaluable for the good government of the kingdom, and had lately captivated the good graces of the sovereign by opposing D. Theodosio. This opposition to the Prince was simply because he judged the military measures recommended by him were evil, and not because he desired to lessen his authority as a general, in view of the pretensions of the friends of the heir to the throne.

D. João IV. held him as a faithful and devoted minister, and on the very eve of his death ordered him to assume the command of the forces in the Province of Alemtejo. This appointment was confirmed by the Queen-Regent, despite all the intrigues of the opposite party, and the Count de Odemira took his position as tutor to the King.

By the side of these two parties a third rose up, which threatened to become influential, headed by an Irish monk called Dominic O'Daly, known in religion as Father Domingos do Rosario, who exercised great influence over the spirit of the Queen-Regent, and who was in truth the head of a third party, and one exclusively clerical, and his influence was such amongst convents and clergy that the Government was forced to intervene and expressly forbid religious orders from interfering in politics. Nevertheless Fr. Domingos do Rosario continued to exercise a personal influence, especially in foreign affairs.

Events were presaging a rapid change in the policy of the Portuguese Court, and the Count de Soure departed for the Alemtejo fully convinced that hostilities would soon break out of a far more serious character than any former ones.

It is certain that Spain had to combat with England—a new and powerful enemy—but from that quarter Portugal need fear only a naval strife. Catalonia, which more especially withdrew Spanish forces from

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the Portuguese frontier, had nearly stamped out the rebellion, therefore Spain was fairly free, and could now be in a condition to send large forces to her western frontiers.

Hence when the intelligence of the death of D. João IV. reached Madrid, the inhabitants were considerably elated, because they judged that this would offer them a favourable opportunity to regain Portugal, owing to the critical circumstances which she laboured under, and, moreover, had to wrestle against all the difficulties inseparable to a minority.

Desirous of profiting the occasion offered by the divided state of affairs in Portugal, he sent from Catalonia a force of 2,000 horse, well practised and experienced in the art of warfare to Portugal; he raised infantry, and opened an enlistment of nobles, and ordered ammunitions and supplies.

The Count de Soure, while announcing these acts to the Government, counselled great activity in the fortification and armaments of the kingdom, and in order to give a greater effect to his words, he proceeded to the capital. He encountered, however, unexpected obstacles. The conflict with the various parties continued raging fiercely, and increased to the point that one night the Count de Soure was fired at, and narrowly escaped; and so great was the influence of the opposite parties, that the Queen was obliged to appoint the Count of S. Lourenço commander of the forces of Alemtejo. The Count took the command, but soon manifested that he was unfitted for the post, by following a totally different system from that pursued by his predecessors. Hence the campaign of 1657 did not promise to be a successful one. During the last years of the reign of D. João IV., war had been made only as a defensive one, and the generals were forbidden to make war, but the Count's plan was to make an offensive war. The opposing general did not afford him time to follow out his plan, because the Duke de San Germano, who was under positive orders to open the campaign vigorously, marched on the 12th of April, 1657, upon Olivença with an army of 6,000 infantry and 2,500 horse, leaving instructions that all reinforcements which should arrive were to march on and join them opposite the Portuguese stronghold. Olivença was well garrisoned but badly officered. It held 4,000 men, unfortunately commanded by an incapable officer, Manuel de Saldanha. The Count de S. Lourenço quitted Elvas to succour the beleaguered stronghold, which was offering an obstinate resistance, and though firm and heroic, was not skilfully

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

directed by the governor or the general in command, and, therefore, were forced to capitulate in May, 1657. On the following month the Duke de San Germano, who had returned to Badajoz, charged upon Mourão, and this stronghold likewise fell, after six days' fierce fighting, owing to the rude incapacity of the commander.

After these shameful defeats and losses, the influence of all parties were directed against the Count, and it was felt that he could no longer be allowed to continue at the head of the destinies and dignity of the nation. The command was then bestowed upon Joanne Mendes de Vasconcellos, a man of restless, haughty character, but justly esteemed for his military knowledge of the science of war. His first act was to recover the stronghold of Mourão on the 28th of October, which greatly enhanced him in the estimation of the army and induced confidence in the ranks. But wishing to give scope to his rebellious nature, by entering into some extraordinary action and establish his power, he decided upon beleaguering Badajoz. This project was opposed by prudent spirits, but as the Court favoured his idea by an absolute concurrence, he departed from Elvas on the 12th of June, 1658, and on the 15th had ranged his army opposite Badajoz, after having assaulted and taken the fort of S. Miguel in a most gallant manner.

The Spaniards, led by D. Luiz de Haro in person, did not delay to succour the stronghold, which had been under siege for four months; and Joanne Mendes was forced to recross the Guadiana, leaving more than a third of his army on the battlefield. For this disaster and defeat he was arrested, but being declared not guilty was released, and did not lose royal favour.

The haughty Prime Minister prepared himself to carry out great undertakings, and sought to head a new and dangerous chapter in history. A large and well-organised army was about to attack the Portuguese under precarious circumstances. Elvas was a place for resistance, and D. Sancho Manuel the proper person to command the resistance; nevertheless a long, close siege would indispensably entail fearful results. The first step was to remove the wounded to Campo Maior, and the second to victual the fort.

The Count de Ericeira, whose testimony is valuable, tells us "that hunger was not the greatest danger experienced by the besieged; it was pestilence, which carried off as many as three hundred per day; and these lay unburied, while the auxiliary and volunteer troops, who had no barracks or knowledge of the place, at night lay down to sleep

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

in the porches of the churches, and took the clothes off the dead to cover themselves, thus spreading contagion. The dead could not be buried outside the walls, because it was not desirable to allow the Spaniards to know that the stronghold was deficient of men, nor undeceive them that the army was larger than the stock of provisions. The churches were full of the dead; some were buried along the entrenchments and earthworks around the walls, while misery increased to such an extent that the living actually fell on the dead bodies." Such was the horrible scene depicted by the Count and confirmed by all his contemporaries.

Meanwhile the winter was approaching, and though D. Sancho Manuel had at command an intrepid garrison and even superior conditions of defence, he could not procure victuals, clothing, or medicaments. It was urgent that aid be forthcoming promptly, yet this was delayed, to the despair of the besieged.

On the 14th of January, 1659—a brilliant day in the annals of the Portuguese nation—D. Antonio Luiz de Menezes, Count de Cantanhede, departed from Estremoz at the head of a small army of some 11,000 men, with Andre d'Albuquerque as general field officer, assisted by D. Rodrigo de Castro, Count de Mesquitella, and Affonso Furtado de Mendonça in command of the artillery.

The Spanish army, powerful in numbers and superior in discipline, daily strengthened their lines, and were almost impregnable. The plan adopted was to bear down heavily and vigorously, engage in a serious combat, and thus distract them, and by these means favour a sortie from the stronghold which should be desperate and decisive. D. Sancho Manuel within the fort was in full knowledge of the scheme, and prepared to act in accord. The 14th dawned heavy and misty, and the state of the weather assisted the victory. The morning mists enveloping all things prevented the Spaniards from perceiving the order of battle of their adversaries, and by eight o'clock the sun shone out in all its glory, and like its own rays the Portuguese flashed out, rending the mists.

The vanguard, composed of 1,200 infantry, under the orders of Diogo Gomes de Figueiredo, fell precipitately upon the lines, and assisted by the garrison of the fortress and the confusion of the Spaniards, who had been surprised by the attack, succeeded in breaking through and guarding the breach. By this open avenue the division of the Count de Mesquitella rushed in defended and accompanied by the cavalry, which at that juncture behaved in a most brilliant manner.

D. Luiz de Haro, despairing of organising the troops, which were

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

now dispersing panic-stricken, fled towards Badajoz, delivering up the fate of the combat to the Duke de S. Germano, who, becoming wounded, the defeat was soon pronounced. The forts had been captured, the lines were fast decreasing, and left without a firm hand to guide them while the Portuguese cavalry pursued and bore down the fugitives. The day was drawing in with all the melancholy of a January day, and the last rays of its weak setting sun gleamed over the heaps of dead bodies which lay on the shores and waters of the Guadiana. At this moment the Count de Cantanhede was entering Elvas, being received with enthusiastic demonstration by the heroic D. Sancho Manuel. The victory was complete : few defeats can be compared to this one. At one fell blow the Portuguese shook off the enemy and annihilated its forces. Hundreds of their best and most valuable men were either slain or being made prisoners. The losses among the Portuguese did not exceed 700, while on the Spanish side was truly extraordinary and a great number taken prisoners. The engines of war captured were considerable. Among the dead was Andre d'Albuquerque, who fell fighting.

The enthusiasm with which the intelligence of this victory was received in Lisbon may be well imagined, and the names of the Count de Cantanhede and D. Sancho Manuel were praised with the highest eulogies. We must, however, confess that the victory was due rather to the errors of the enemy than to any foresight or calculations of the Portuguese generals. The Count de Cantanhede did not formulate grand strategic plans, but had the prudence and foresight to anticipate the formation of the line of battle, and thereby avoid the grave inconvenience of forming in presence of the enemy.

D. Luiz de Haro proceeded in a totally opposite plan. He did not prepare beforehand any plan of war, and after forming the army to resist the Portuguese, he ordered it to be dispersed in the belief that the Count de Cantanhede would not fight that day. As soon as the news reached Lisbon, the Count repaired to the Church of Santa Engracia, and the "Te Deum" solemnly sung. On the spot where the battle was fought a column was erected, and on the pedestal were inscribed these short but significant words: "No Anno de 1659. Reinando em Portugal D. Affonso VI." (In the year 1569. D. Alfonso VI. being King of Portugal.) Another commemoration was the chapel dedicated to Saint George.

Even to the present time, in obedience to a pious sentiment, the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

inhabitants of Elvas go out in a religious procession with the municipal Camara on the 11th of January. Perchance there are many who, when listening to the hymns chaunted, remember the heroes slain on the battlefield two hundred and thirty years before.

But success was not general throughout the kingdom. In the Province of Entre Douro and Minho affairs were disfavourable to the Portuguese. The Count de Castello Melhor, who, at the time, was governor, after being repulsed by the Spanish general, the Marquis de Vianna, was compelled to take refuge in the Serra de Coura, allowing the enemy a free entrance, and after taking, without great loss, the Castle de Lapella, proceeded in rapid marches towards Monção. The defence of this stronghold had been entrusted to the Lieutenant-General Lourenço de Amorim Pereira, who had under his orders 600 paid and auxiliary troops and officers of acknowledged merit. The siege had commenced on 7th October, 1658. The defence was heroic, and the women, as in the defence of Diu, assisted the men. On the 1st of February, 1659, the Spaniards attacked with furious onslaught the stronghold, and the combat was truly terrible, and losing all hopes of continuing the defence after four months' obstinate siege, Pereira capitulated. On the 7th of February the garrison quitted the Praça with all military honours possible under the circumstances.

The loss of Monção was followed by that of Salvaterra. The Marquis de Vianna continued his victories, while the condition of the Portuguese frontiers was far from reassuring, and difficulties increased both in the financial as in the military point of view.

The youth of Alfonso VI. was certainly far from hopeful. His fierce, ungovernable temper would not allow of any restraint, and his tastes were low. He preferred the society of the common people, and formed an acquaintance with the sons of a Genoese merchant, who kept a stall in the market-place, called Antonio and João Conti, natives of Vintimiglia. These boys attracted the attention of the King, who used to watch them playing at ball from the balcony of the palace, and from being a spectator he descended to take part in their games and coarse tricks. To such a degree did the fashion for low pastimes and midnight raids and squabbles, patronised by the young King, reach, that the Government was forced to proclaim severe penalties upon such as perpetrated these dangerous raids, which kept the people in constant terror. A resolution of 29th of October, 1659, imposed the lash and transportation upon all culprits from fifteen years and upwards who

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

should be caught throwing stones. The severity of the penalties was the most eloquent proof of how intolerable this abuse had become. As for nocturnal raids and assaults, they exceeded all limits. Bands of scoundrels armed with cutlasses committed the greatest excesses and even assassinations, and it was said that the King was at the head, and the peace and lives of the people were at the mercy of a band of ruffians favoured by a crazy King. The brothers Conti meanwhile continued to curry favour and to rise in his estimation. It was especially the elder brother, Antonio, who moved this royal puppet at the beck of their designs. The narrative of the scandals, ribaldry, and malpractices which initiated this reign was no less than the shameful chapters which stain the pages of Roman history.

The Regent, D. Luiza de Gusman, unable to avert the evils which resulted from this state of things, purposed to resign the regency and deliver up the power to her son, but the Ministers of her Council laid before her the evils which would result from this step, and the preponderance of power the brothers Conti would thereby assume, to the utter ruin of the nation. What they urged expedient was to banish them out of Portugal.

This expediency was at once assented to, and endeavours made to carry it out.

With this object the Queen sent for her son to attend the Council of State, after having decided to effect on this occasion the arrest and banishment of the Contis. The Duke of Cadaval was entrusted with this mission, and in truth he was the right person to carry it through.

Antonio Conti had taken refuge in the apartments of the King, and the doors were broken down. This proceeding caused great indignation to the Count de Castello Melhor, who protested against the violation and disloyal proceeding. The favourite, who felt that his time of favour was at an end, and that further delay would be useless, surrendered on the promise that his life be spared. He was at once conveyed to a ship which was ready to sail for Brazil. As soon as the Queen was apprised of the successful capture, she summoned the principal Corporations of the State, and a lecture was then delivered to the King, in which, besides various complaints, was the one that he had introduced into the Court, and to actual close intimacy and friendship with his royal person, subjects of inferior rank, who practised such low habits and arts and counsels, that, in order to obtain power and favour, they disseminated discords and ill-will among

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the nobles and the powerful. Furthermore they made use of the royal clemency for their private interest, thereby causing great perturbations under the shadow of royalty, interfering with the government of the kingdom and the furtherance of justice, and committing most scandalous excesses by day and by night. In view of the evils caused, it was necessary to end this by withdrawing from the King these enemies, who were placing the Court in greater perils than the Castillians on the frontiers, because, according to the actual text, "The Castillians take our lives, while these enemies deprive us of life, reputation, and the favour and mercy of God."

From this proceeding of the Queen and the congress resulted all the events which as a natural consequence followed; but instead of the expected solution, the cause assumed a totally different aspect, and one which the partisans of the Regency were unable to avert.

The reprimand was totally unheeded by the King, who listened with the greatest unconcern, and the Count de Castello Melhor, who was energetic and high-spirited, at once took up the gauntlet in the conflict, and placed himself on the side of the monarch. Taking advantage of a moment of wrath—like the blacksmith with the red-hot iron, to mould it at will—he induced him to proceed to Alcantara, followed by an enormous *cortège*, and from thence to issue a proclamation to all strongholds and generals, that whereas the King had entered into his majority, he took possession of the royal throne and government of the kingdom and its colonies.

The Queen, amazed at this unexpected event, at once summoned her ministers and held a council, in which it was resolved upon to send Manuel Pacheco de Mello in such guise as to prevent the passage of those who should be proceeding to Alcantara. The Queen wrote to D. Affonso in gentle, affectionate terms, beseeching him to return to the palace, when the government would be at once delivered up to him. The Count de Castello Melhor, always shrewd in his acts, endeavoured, without loss of time, to consolidate firmly the power, and organised a fresh ministry, in which he was Prime Minister, with such able colleagues as D. Jeronymo d'Athaide, Count de Athouguia, and Sebastião Cezar de Menezes, the Bishop-elect of Oporto.

The Queen had necessarily to abdicate the power; unfortunately, the deprivation of the command induced her to resort to machinations which were disparaging to her memory. She placed the Infante D. Pedro in contraposition to the King, and to him directed all her

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

plots and favours. In this risky scheme she set up one son against another.

On the 22nd of June, 1662, the King entered into the full possession of the government, declaring that he did so on account of the state of the country, harassed by the armies of the enemy; and likewise to ease his royal mother of the continual labours she had borne so long a time. A month later he re-established the office of Privy Secretary, to which he nominated Luiz de Vasconcellos e Sousa, Count de Castello Melhor. This appointment was the highest of all, and its prerogatives were such that he had free entry to the King's presence in any house or place where the Prince should be, even into his bedchamber.

It may be imagined what influence and predominance such an individual would exercise over the spirits of all, who held in his hands a supreme and absolute power, and who possessed, moreover, great energy of character, a wide, deep intelligence, and lofty education, joined to a lucid, penetrative spirit. Such was the new Privy Secretary, the Count de Castello Melhor.

D. Luiza de Gusman was most decidedly out of power. But as all who reside within the regions of power contract habits which become a second nature, the deposed regent sought every means to insinuate herself in the good graces of her son—whose weakness she was fully aware—in order, later on, to turn him round at her pleasure.

The Count of Castello Melhor, jealous like all favourites, on perceiving some manifestations of affectionate reconciliation between mother and son, at once wished to place a term to this, by persuading the King to order the Queen-mother to quit the palace. This was effected on 17th of March, 1663, and she withdrew to a monastery in Grilo, which she had selected.

We do not desire in any way to palliate the violence of this proceeding on the part of D. Alfonso VI., but it is an undoubted fact that D. Luiza and the Infante D. Pedro were conspiring together to ruin the King, and the latter, by following the intimations of his first minister and counsellor, guarded against these disloyal attacks.

We must here mention an event which had taken place some time previously. This event was the marriage of D. Catherina with Charles II., King of England. The projected marriage of this princess with Louis XIV. had fallen through, and after various negotiations the treaty of peace and of the marriage of the Infanta D. Catherina with

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the King Charles II. of Great Britain was signed on the 23rd of June, 1661, by Francisco de Mello, the Count de Ponte, Ambassador Extraordinary on the part of the King of Portugal, and by the Dukes of Clarendon, Albemarle, Southampton, Ormond of Manchester, and Edward and William Monie, Knights of the Golden Spur, secretaries of the King, and commissioned on the part of the King of Great Britain.

The King of Portugal pledged to give, transfer, concede, and confirm to the King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, the city and fortress of Tangiers with all dues, profits, territories, and belongings, giving as a dowry with the Infanta 2,000,000 Portuguese cruzados and to cede for ever the port and island of Bombay in Eastern India, and this according to the declaration of Art. II. of Treaty: "In order that the King of Great Britain be better prepared to assist, defend, and protect the vassals of the King of Portugal in those ports against the invasion of the Dutch."

In exchange for all this, and other concessions and privileges, Charles II. promised and declared that "he would take at heart the affairs and conveniences of Portugal and her dominions."

On the 10th of March, 1662, the English fleet arrived to Lisbon, and the Queen embarked, followed by a suite of thirty persons, among them two Portuguese nobles, the Counts de Penalva and Monteval.

The squadron arrived to Portsmouth after twenty-four days' rough voyage. The Duke of York, brother to the King, who later on became the unfortunate James II., came to receive her, as likewise the Duchess of Suffolk and her chaplain, Lord Aubing. On the 30th of May the King arrived, and on the 6th of June the newly wedded pair proceeded to Hampton Court.

It is not our intention to narrate the unhappy life led by the Queen for twenty-three years with her dissolute husband. The evils caused by the Countess of Castlemaine to the hapless Portuguese Infanta were the sharpest sorrows experienced by her. Yet Charles II. was attached to her and fully appreciated her character, and on her death-bed sincerely besought her forgiveness.

Let us now return to Portugal, which is battling with the tempests against which the alliance of Charles II. was of small avail.

As we are aware, by the act of banishment of D. Luiza, the Count de Castello Melhor entered into absolute power. But wishing further to strengthen his position and destroy any germs of envy which might

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

be developed later on, he took care to withdraw all those who had supported him, the first victim being the Count de Athouguia.

Desirous of averting the evil which was imminent, Sebastião Cesar de Menezes counselled the King to send for the favourite Conti from the Brazils.

The Count of Castello Melhor being informed of the plot, worked in such a manner on the volatile spirit of the King that he induced him to banish the bishop before the arrival of Conti. Disencumbered of his colleagues, he now strove to withdraw the dangerous adventurers. As soon as the Contis arrived, he represented to the King that after having affirmed his authority by raising the sentence of banishment, it was not expedient to receive them at Court, in order not to irritate the nobles. The King agreed to this, nevertheless the Contis succeeded in obtaining a secret audience without any further consequences than for the Count to proclaim all conspirators, and among them the Contis, worthy of exile.

Meanwhile D. Alfonso VI. continued his career of senseless acts. The Spaniards, led by a veritable war captain, were playing sad havoc on the Portuguese. In the Alemtejo D. John of Austria rudely harassed them. The campaign opened by him in May, 1662, was proceeding rapidly without the Portuguese being able to arrest their progress. The forces were led by the Marquis de Marialva, the hero of Elvas, assisted by the Count de Schomberg. The point sought to be held principally on account of its military importance was Estremoz; and to this point D. John of Austria led his army, although he had to retreat later on, foreseeing the risks it would subject him to. Without loss of time he marched to Borba, and took the town, besieged Jeromenha and compelled it to surrender despite an obstinate defence, and continued his conquests by taking possession of Montforte, Crato, Assumar, and Ouguella, and in order to rest from his victorious march he withdrew to Badajoz, where resources failing him he was unable to enter further into Portuguese lands.

On the other frontiers, the Portuguese gained a few successes which were of no positive advantage. The Count de Prado fought against D. Balthasar de Roxas and won all the engagements entered into on the Minho, while in Beira D. Sancho Manuel, the Count de Villaflor, brilliantly responded to the Duke de Ossuna in various feats of arms.

To this and to his heroic antecedents was due that the defence and

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

guarding of the Alemtejo was entrusted to him, the Alemtejo being truly the objective part of the Spaniards, and where the Portuguese were so unfortunate. He was assigned, as Field-Marshal-General, the Count de Schomberg, and a new epoch of serious strife was entered into. On the 14th of May, 1663, D. John of Austria laid under siege the city of Evora, with an army of 18,000 men perfectly equipped and ammunitioned. Ten days later the capital of the Alemtejo surrendered shamefully without offering any resistance.

Lisbon became panic-stricken and rose up in a revolt. It dreaded that the phantom of invasion should come battering at its doors. The loss of Evora and of 7,000 prisoners was a terrible event, and needed that efforts be made, if not to effect a complete re-conquest, at least to gain some advantages that would inspire courage into desponding spirits. Danger was imminent and disastrous, irremediable ruin was threatened.

The Count de Villa Flor, without once losing heart, and encouraged by the Count de Schomberg, projected to engage in this desperate undertaking. The evil was great, and it was needful to shake off the yoke at one fell blow. When D. John of Austria was informed of the panic caused in Lisbon by the news of the taking of Evora, and that a mutiny had occurred among the people who accused the nobles of perfidy and treachery, and even assaulted and broke into the palace of the Marquis de Marialva, the episcopal residence of the Archbishop of Lisbon, and the house of Luis Mendes de Elvas, he endeavoured to give further motives for revolt and induce a civic war in Lisbon. This would greatly further his plans, and he sent a vanguard of 3,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry to advance as far as Alcacer do Sal, levying heavy tributes on all open places.

Never had Lisbon been so closely threatened with an invasion, and the people in terror seemed to see the hosts of the son of Philip IV. on the other side of the Tagus, waving aloft the detested banner—the sign of oppression. It was imperative to effect a daring movement, and compel D. John of Austria to retreat and leave the road clear. There were no longer walls and forts between the invaders and Lisbon, the only bulwark to the capital being the army of the Count de Villa Flor. The Count had received an important reinforcement from Beira. Pedro Jacques de Magalhães had come with 2,500 infantry and 500 horse to join Villa Flor, hence he was in command of 17,000 men. This number was judged sufficient to enter the lists against D. John of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Austria, and therefore the commanders proceeded to march on and effect a surprise. Skirmishes took place along the shores of the river Degebe which were the preludes of a great victory. The author of *Portugal Restaurado*, D. Luis de Menezes, who was the general in command of the cavalry, details, as eye-witness, all the movements and strategy of this glorious battle. The Spaniards occupied the eminences and hill-tops, and thereby held almost unassailable positions.

D. John de Austria had not intended to offer an actual battle, his plan being to simulate resistance and cover the retreat. But his plan of action having been discovered, the Portuguese took the offensive, and following the resolution of the Count de Schomberg, fearlessly charged upon the Spaniards. This took place on the 8th of June, 1663, and this date remains a memorable one in the pages of Portuguese history.

The enemy's cavalry was incomparably superior to the Portuguese, while the condition of the land, slopes, and rocky places raised many obstacles. The divisions of the Count de Villa Flor and the English auxiliaries climbed along the mountain steep with the agility of goats. The Spaniards, surprised, precipitately withdrew. On the plains the cavalry continued to harass; but as soon as the heights were gained, the infantry were able to lend their aid and concluded the work of defeat.

The losses on both sides were great, for the battle was a fierce one; but the Portuguese captured 1,400 horses, 2,000 engines, all the artillery, and even the standard of D. John of Austria, besides 4,000 Portuguese soldiers composing the garrison of Evora, and which accompanied the army to Spain. These prisoners at once proceeded to take all the arms they found on the battlefield, and rejoined their Portuguese comrades.

Whilst the Count de Villa Flor joyously complimented his officers, and especially the Count de Schomberg, to whose daring initiative and skilful disposition of the troops the victory was due; D. John of Austria, from Arronches, where he had taken refuge, indignantly reprehended his troops, who had robbed him of the fruit of his prudent manœuvres.

The intelligence of the victory of Ameixial was received with immense enthusiasm in Lisbon, nevertheless the Count de Castello Melhor did not rest upon the laurels won by the swords of his officers. He projected to reconquer Evora, and for this object the army of the Marquis

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

de Marialva was incorporated to that of the Count de Villa Flor. The Count de Schomberg reconnoitred the city, and then the siege was commenced by raising entrenchments and other movements usual in sieges.

The resistance of the Spanish troops was brilliant, and constantly interrupted the work of the besiegers by frequent sorties, and so tenaciouly defended the forts that it was necessary to assault them one by one, with great losses. On the 24th the Count de Sertirana had to capitulate, the garrison remaining prisoners of war up to the 15th of October, or until the end of the campaign for that year, the officers having permission to withdraw to Badajoz, should they desire to do so on promising not to serve during that term.

After the retaking of Evora, the Marquis de Marialva and the Count de Villa Flor returned to Lisbon, while the Count de Schomberg remained at the head of the military government of the Alemtejo. The two generals were enthusiastically received in Lisbon, and the Count de Villa Flor more especially became the hero of the day, but not the smallest reward was accorded to the conqueror of Ameixial. Posterity, however, is not always so ungrateful as Courts are, and if the Count de Villa Flor was forgotten by the monarch or his ministers, in Portuguese history his name is found inscribed with enthusiastic eulogiums side by side with that of the Marquis de Marialva and of Mathias d'Albuquerque.

This heroic name of the Count de Villa Flor had the rare destiny of being twice rendered illustrious during the space of two centuries, by two generals equally worthy of the nation's gratitude; one because he saved its independence, and the other beceuse he gave it freedom. Twice was this name mingled with the hymns of victory, and of popular gratitude in the Ameixial and in the Villa da Praia.

National spirit recovered somewhat from its hopelessness in view of the advantages gained, but unfortunately internal affairs were not satisfactory. D. Alfonso IV. continued his senseless course, and the murmurs of the people were becoming audible. On the other hand, the Infante D. Pedro endeavoured to win the good opinion of the people by ostentatious demonstrations of wisdom. Between the two rose up the Privy Secretary, dominating the group with his eminent form. The waves, however, were beating against the base of the group and wearing away the foundations, and at the end of labours which rendered him illustrious among the great, he was forced to take refuge amid dismal woods, an unmerited though voluntary exile.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Count de Castello Melhor, by his indefatigable, well-directed activity, gathered together a mounted army of 28,000 men, which he placed under the command of the Marquis de Marialva, with instructions to take the offensive in order to compensate the losses sustained by the Portuguese by conquering the strongholds of the enemy.

Valença d'Alcantara was the point selected. The forces were directed towards it, and after attacking the fortress which offered an heroic resistance, and even repulsed them in a night assault, it was forced to surrender, though with all honours of war. The governor was D. João d'Ayala Mexia, a brave, valiant soldier.

In the other provinces the ambushes and skirmishes continued with no definite results. The only important event which occurred during 1664 was the defeat of the Duke de Ossuna close to the walls of Castello Rodrigo. With an army of 4,000 men and a few pieces of artillery, he proceeded to besiege the town, whose military governor was Antonio Ferreira Ferrão, a daring soldier, but with few forces at command. Apprised of this, Pedro Jacques de Magalhães hastened his aid, but so hurriedly that he did not send supplies. As soon as h arrived, he perceived that the besieging army was being repulsed, and believing it was a favourable moment to take hand in the contention, ordered the cavalry to charge the enemy accompanied by shouts and sounds of instruments, similarly as Tacitus tells us the Franks acted.

This unexpected apparition, joined to the confusion which already reigned amid the beleaguering army, caused a panic, and unable to restrain the soldiers, the Duke of Ossuna beat a retreat, setting fire to the entrenchments, desiring by so doing to cover and protect themselves. But this plan was unsuccessful, because the conflagration spread so fiercely that disorder increased among the ranks. Meanwhile the Portuguese cavalry chased them without rest or mercy, and the Ribeira do Aguiar alone can tell how many lives this flight cost. The losses on the Spanish side were immense, for besides the war materials captured, many superior officers were taken prisoners.

The Government of Spain, irritated by these successive defeats, endeavoured to end the contention by employing a powerful army. This was practicable at the time, because it could easily make use of elements which hitherto had been indispensable, whether in Italy or in Switzerland, organising in this manner an army whose numerical power was enhanced by the aptitude of the General, the Marquis de

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Caracena, whose great experience and military science obtained for him the surname of the Mars of Spain.

The invading army consisting of 15,000 foot and 7,600 horse, besides 14 cannons and 2 mortars, marched on the 1st of June, 1665, and on the 9th arrived within sight of Villa Viçosa, taking immediately the town of Borba.

The Portuguese army was at the time in Estremoz under the command of the Marquis de Marialva, and consisted of 15,000 foot soldiers, 5,000 horsemen, and twenty pieces of artillery. As may be perceived, the disproportion of numbers was not great. This was due to the activity and praiseworthy foresight of the Marquis de Castello Melhor, who had concentrated important reinforcements in the Alemtejo, some from Lisbon under the command of his brother Simão de Vasconcellos e Souza, rising to 2,300 men; others from Tras-os-Montes, commanded by the Count S. João, with 3,500 men; and lastly from Beira had marched 2,000, headed by Pedro Jacques de Magalhães.

The Spaniards encircled Villa Viçosa, whose governor was Christovam de Brito Pereira, and by the 15th of June they had already effected an assault with manifest advantage, and it became impossible to prolong the resistance. Meantime the Portuguese army departed from Estremoz, and on the 17th, stopping in Montes Claros, accepted battle, which, somewhat imprudently, had been offered by the Marquis de Caracena. The rapid action taken and the good success of the manœuvres were due to the skill of the Count de Schomberg.

The Spanish general, quitting the lines of Villa Viçosa, proceeded to encounter the Portuguese forces, intending by so doing to crush one of the wings with the weight of his cavalry, and at once preparing the victory. Foreseeing this strategy, the Count de Schomberg disposed his army in excellent order of battle array.

At the first assault the divisions of Tristão da Cunha and of Francisco da Silva Moura were broken up, despite the incessant fire of the artillery. The first line being displaced, they attacked the second, at whose head was the Marquis de Marialva; but fearing to become involved by the Portuguese army, which was again forming, they retreated in order to charge anew with impetuous fury. The battle became a sanguinary one. The Spanish infantry fought with heroic daring, and the Portuguese divisions, with the foreign auxiliary regiments, had been completely destroyed. The fate of the battle seemed to be favouring the side of Spain, when the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

general of cavalry, Diniz de Mello e Castro, ordering the horsemen to charge the enemy's cavalry, which retired counter-marching, permitted the Marquis de Marialva to employ all the strength of the army, severing the Spanish infantry, which, surrounded by the Portuguese, was forced to deliver up arms. The defeat was general. Those that fled from Montes Claros were met by the soldiers of Christovam de Brito Pereira, who had repulsed the besiegers in a successful sortie.

The Marquis de Caracena, who assisted at the battle from the heights of the Serra do Vigario, retired hurriedly to Jeromenha, leaving on the battle-field all the baggage, 4,000 slain, and 6,000 prisoners, among the latter being eight generals. On the Portuguese side the number of dead and wounded rose to nearly 3,000.

Montes Claros was the last and decisive confirmation in respect to Portuguese independence. After this signal victory there are few deeds to be mentioned, excepting the crossing of the Rio Minho by the Count do Prado, followed by the taking of Guardia.

We said that by the treaty of marriage between D. Catherina of Braganza and Charles II. of England, Portugal ceded the city and fortress of Tangiers, with all its rights and territories, and of the whole dominion of Barbary only Mazagão remained to Portugal. In India affairs were in a disastrous state. Those who were charged to watch over it, spent the time in personal discords and intestine contentions, meanwhile that the Dutch were dispossessing the Portuguese of what they were unable to govern.

The Admiral Ryklof Van Goens expelled them out of Ceylon after a strife which testified that Portuguese bravery and heroism were not eclipsed. Among those who distinguished themselves must be mentioned the name of Alvaro Rodrigues Bonalho, who, after a noble conduct during a naval combat sustained for three days against the Dutch fleet, disembarked to continue the chapter of deeds, which only terminated when Jafnapatam, deficient of means, surrendered to the enemy. Cochin and Cananor followed, and were lost soon after. Cochin was defended by Ignacio Sarmento de Carvalho, who for years bravely resisted the enemy, and Cananor by Antonio Cardoso, who, attending rather to his own safety than to his honour, surrendered at the intimation of the assailants.

In the treaty with England, Bombay had been ceded in order to be more easily helped by the English in those parts; but the fact was

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

that the enemy was depriving Portugal of all its dominions, without the English brandishing the sword in her defence.

In the year 1662, after the felony practised by D. Fernando Telles de Faro when negotiating with Holland became known, and these negotiations had been finally concluded by the Count de Miranda, Portugal signed the peace treaty with the United Provinces—a dismal peace, which was no more than the forced liquidation of its riches in the East. Of all that vast possession raised by the herculean hands of Alfonso d'Albuquerque, only a few vestiges remained. Portuguese power had been very great in Asia, but now others held predominance. Such is the fate of all greatness.

The treaty of peace and confederation entered into between D. Alfonso VI. and the United Provinces of the Low Countries was signed in Haya on the 6th of August, 1661, ratified by Portugal on the 24th of May, and by the States-General on the 4th November, 1662. This treaty consisted of twenty-six articles, the principal stipulations being as follows:—

"Portugal pledges to pay the States of the United Provinces four million cruzados in hard cash, or in sugar, tobacco, and salt. The people of the United Provinces were free to trade between Portugal and the Brazils and *vice versâ*, and likewise to navigate to all the colonies, islands, and ports of Africa held under Portuguese dominion. Holland renounced its claims to the possessions held by her in the Brazils, while Portugal on her part renounced likewise her rights over Ceylon, Moluccas, Malaca, and other lands held by Holland at the time of the date of the treaty."

If the imperative need of concentrating her forces against Spain which was menacing Portugal with tremendous power, compelled the existing Government of the kingdom to arrange and accept the terms of a disadvantageous treaty, it was likewise so to Holland, on account of the great advantage derived from the commerce of Portugal, and the indemnification of eight million florins, that it renounced the idea of expelling the Portuguese altogether out of Asia, where they encountered only a feeble resistance. For a great length of time England, which stood as mediator, greatly embarrassed the negotiations, because she was opposed to Portugal conceding to the Dutch privileges equal to those held by the English in respect to commerce.

The history of the Portuguese colonial possessions may be reduced to a few lines. Others profited from all Portugal had discovered and

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

conquered, and other powers took possession of them. It is true to say that her feverish daring had impelled her to extend overmuch her quest. She had not forces at command, or proper ones, for such a huge undertaking. This is what Camões sings with his deep good sense when he places in the mouth of the old man the well-known verses which conclude the Fourth Canto. Moreover, their administrative genius was sorely deficient, and government action was misdirected, while the native population did not possess that initiative love of work and method which up to a certain point justified the invasions as a profitable civilising medium.

Home affairs were daily acquiring fresh features which tended later on to come out in all their hideousness. The Infante D. Pedro was placing himself in manifest disaccord with the King, and despite the prudent tact of the Prime Minister, the storm was unable to be prevented which threatened to break out. Simão de Vasconcellos e Sousa, being now out of favour with the Infante, there was one link less to induce a reconciliation. It is true to say that D. Alfonso VI. was an imbecile; but D. Pedro was a rude trickster. The mask of Tartuffe fitted his physiognomy. The unexpected death of a servant of his, Agostinho de Ceuta, induced him to pretend that it was a divine call to urge him to pursue a better course of life, and he gave himself up to practices of piety and to attending religious assemblies, and by this conduct imposing upon the credulous. This was an efficacious means of placing in salient relief the senseless licentious acts of the King.

The death of D. Luiza de Gusman, who, though deeply favouring D. Pedro, nevertheless never permitted during her lifetime any open rupture between the brothers, occurred on the 27th February, 1666, and severed all restraint in carrying out his designs.

Let us say a few words to her memory, now that she rested after a life of difficulties wherein she gave ample proofs of a lofty intelligence and a masculine spirit. If during the last period of her regency we have seen her a party to machinations unworthy of a mother and a queen, nevertheless history must acknowledge that Luiza de Gusman served the country that had made her its queen during the life of her consort, and subsequently as regent, with a diligence, generosity, and solicitude that honours her character. She founded two convents in Xabregas, and likewise the Irish Dominican Monastery of Corpo Santo in Lisbon, and that of the Discalced Carmelites of the Torneiros. She was buried in the Monastery of Grillo.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Some months previous to her death Philip IV. of Spain had died. The news of the reverses experienced by his army greatly depressed his spirit. In himself possessing no conditions of strength or initiative genius, and always surrounded by low politicians, he saw his great empire, once the grandest of the world, crumbling away. It was long since Philip II., gazing from the windows of the Escorial, had widened that gaze far beyond, and in mind compassed the immense extent of his vast dominions. It may well be said that all nations trembled when Spain became agitated. Calling to mind her lost greatness, Philip IV. felt himself small and unimportant. From this pre-occupation of mind was engendered an incurable melancholy which undermined his health so persistently that it ended his life on the 7th September, 1665, leaving the throne to Carlos II., appointing the widowed Queen, D. Marianna de Austria, Regent during his minority. At the time the Count de Castello Melhor was projecting the marriage of D. Alfonso VI., and had appointed the Marquis de Sande to negotiate the affair, as being one of the ablest statesmen of his time. The marriage was to be effected with a French princess. At first affairs did not run as smoothly as might be supposed. Mademoiselle de Montpensier was the first lady offered the throne of Portugal, but she declined on futile pretexts, which induced Louis XIV. to withdraw his favour and esteem, and order her to retire to her lands of Saint Fargeau.

In these matrimonial plans the one who greatly furthered the Portuguese with efficient interest was the celebrated Marshal de Turenne. It is undoubted that there were secondary views in respect to the arranged betrothal of the Princess Anna Isabel de Lorraine, daughter of the Duke d'Elbœuf, and subsequently as regards that of the daughter of the Duke of Bouillon with the Prince D. Pedro, but on this occasion, as well as in other of greater difficulty, the glorious name of Henrique de la Tour d'Auvergne, who was a notable one in France and in the world, comes out in sympathy with Portuguese views. At length, owing to the proposals of the Duke de Guise, they turned their thoughts to Mademoiselle de Nemours and Aumale, D. Maria Francisca Izabel of Savoy, daughter of Charles Amadeus of Savoy, Duke of Nemours, and therefore of royal lineage. As the Duchess of Nemours had promised her daughter in marriage to Charles of Lorraine, heir of the sovereignty of that name, and conscientious scruples rose up respecting breaking nuptials already solemnly agreed upon, the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Duchess summoned a meeting of theologians to advise her on this delicate case. Death surprised the Duchess of Nemours in the midst of these deliberations, and removed in a manner the difficulties of the occasion, and the contract of marriage was entered into which entailed so many misfortunes on a king, and filled shameful pages in history.

On the 24th of February, 1666, the marriage treaty between the King D. Alfonso VI. with the Princess Maria Francisca Izabel of Savoy was signed in Paris by the Ambassador Extraordinary, Francisco de Mello de Torres, Marquis de Sande and Count da Ponte, on the part of the King of Portugal, and by the Maréchal de France, Duque d'Estrees, and Cesar d'Estrees, bishop, and Duque de Laon, on the part of the princess.

In this treaty it was arranged that the bride be endowed with 600,000 escudos, or 324 contos de reis, the new Queen to succeed the Queen-mother in her possessions of Faro, Alemquer, Cintra, and other places, whose revenues and jurisdictions belonged to the widow of D. João IV.; and that while she did not enter into these possessions, which were equal to 100,000 cruzados annually, she was to receive a rental of 30,000 cruzados.

On the 4th of July the Queen of Portugal departed from France, escorted by a brilliant fleet, commanded by the Marquis de Ruvigny, and Louis XIV. behaved in a most chivalrous, gallant manner. Knowing that the Spaniards were projecting to sally out and capture the Queen, he ordered the Duke of Beaufort to watch the Portuguese coasts, repelling, if necessary, any attack from the enemy. In effect, the Spaniards had arranged to sally out from Cadiz and meet the escorting fleet, but they contented themselves with a few feats of small moment, and, doubtless, did not dare to place a barrier to a fleet which carried the French flag.

On the 9th of August Lisbon witnessed the entry of their new Queen, and D. Alfonso VI. gazed with all the rapture of youth upon the beauty of his bride.

The Viscount de Santarem tells us "that as soon as the Queen arrived to Portugal, she endeavoured to take the principal part in all State affairs, and diminish the great influence exercised by the Count de Castello Melhor. The King at once perceived that he had to wrestle with an immense influence which would shortly dominate all things, because the Queen was upheld by the representatives of Louis XIV., counselled by M. Vergus, his secretary, and many

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

individuals of the Court, aided by the Maréchal Schomberg, who commanded the French troops. The Queen succeeded in being admitted to the Councils of State, but her party was not satisfied with this, nor was the princess herself, who desired to retain the exclusive direction of affairs, but this the Court opposed. From this conflict resulted multiplied and almost daily disagreements between the Queen and the minister, and between the King and his consort, while all these affairs were circumstantially detailed to Louis XIV. by M. de Saint-Romain and M. Vergus. The Queen, meanwhile, conducted herself so skilfully that she succeeded to gain such an ascendency over the King that the latter recommended the Court not to resolve any affair without the knowledge of the Queen, or without receiving her orders."

Many were the deplorable discords which took place and momentary reconciliations, to be succeeded by renewed discords, which only increased the influence of the Queen, and with it, the preponderance of France in all Portuguese affairs. The King was thus forced to receive M. Vergus in audience in his quality of representative of the House of Vendôme, and from that date, more than from all that had previously passed, this agent became the principal instrument of the political working of Saint-Romain, and of whom he made use of to become informed of all particulars of the most important affairs of Portugal, which were all communicated to Louis XIV. and M. de Lyonne.

At first the Queen's influence was not very mischievous, and it was even so far beneficial that it facilitated negotiations for a league, offensive and defensive, with France—a union which had been for a length of time greatly desired by the Portuguese Government, although at the actual moment it was rendered less necessary, owing to the victories of Ameixial and Montes Claros, but greatly desired by the Count de Castello Melhor. The success of Montes Claros had placed the Portuguese in better conditions for effecting, under advantageous terms, a peace with Spain.

After this feat of arms, others of lesser importance followed, which further established the independence of Portugal. Schomberg entered Andalusia and took San Lucar. Pedro de Magalhães, after defeating D. Juan Salamanques, had taken the town of Umbrales. This, in a manner, compensated for reverses sustained on the frontier. England, desirous of acting as mediator, hastened to enter into negotiations with

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the Spanish Cabinet, in order to bring about a concord. Meanwhile Louis XIV., not wishing to yield at that juncture, was sending his ambassador in Madrid, the Archbishop of Embrun, to interpose in the affair, nominating at the same time M. de Saint-Romain ambassador at Portugal.

These transactions were not successful. The Count de Castello Melhor ever maintained himself on a footing of patriotic pride, imposing conditions with such overbearing command, that the Queen-Regent of Spain could not accept his conditions, and she rejected the Portuguese *ultimatum*. Nevertheless, the English Government once more offered to mediate, because the English policy was then unfavourable to France, and all the efforts of the English ambassador (Lord Montague) were directed to negotiating a peace treaty between Portugal and Spain, in order later on to form a league of the three powers against France.

To avoid this danger, Louis XIV. resorted to a system of duplicity, which he carried out successfully. While proposing an offensive and defensive league to Portugal, which was so greatly desired, and which he wished to conclude, he likewise proposed to Spain an alliance offensive and defensive that would be fatal to Portugal. As the submission of Portugal was the great wish and aim of Spain, the seductive proposal of France would paralyse the negotiations of England, which made the independence of Portugal the basis of its proposals.

The Archbishop of Embrun was charged with this negotiation in Madrid, and had instructions to propose, but only verbally, the league against Portugal, without in any way binding himself in writing to aid Spain against Portugal. Meanwhile Saint-Romain, who in Lisbon was instructed to counsel the Portuguese Government not to enter into a peace treaty with Spain, by promising to aid them, did not receive, likewise, plenary powers to invest his proposals with an official character. Thus at the same time that the Count de Castello Melhor insisted upon Saint-Romain showing in writing the promise made by the French Government, the Archbishop of Embrun found himself urged by the Duke de Medina de las Torres likewise to pledge in writing to afford the promised aid. This duple insistence might have ruined completely the cunning policy of France had not the rejection of the Portuguese *ultimatum* by the Spanish Government definitely broken up the negotiations; and the war, so greatly desired by Louis XIV., was, therefore, continued.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

In view of this fact, it was seriously projected to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with France; but the energy and skill of the Count de Castello Melhor on more than one occasion embarrassed and terrified the Abbot of Saint-Romain. Every stratagem employed by the latter to secure to France liberty of action under the smallest sacrifice, and his efforts to make Portugal enter with all her resources into the strife, were calmly dissolved and broken up by the sagacity of the Count de Castello Melhor. Driven to the last extremity, the Abbot of Saint-Romain, assuming a great zeal for the cause of Portugal, offered to maintain in France two armies—one on the Pyrenees, another in Galicia. But the Count de Castello Melhor was not pleased to have this powerful ally so close at hand, and he replied so rudely to his offer by saying that in Galicia only Portuguese troops should enter, that Saint-Romain, actually indignant and offended, wrote to his Government that it could form no idea of the haughtiness employed by the Count in his regard. The end of it was, that a league was in effect concluded on the 31st of March, 1667, without the French Ambassador insisting upon the occupation of Galicia, and on the eve when France was about to break hostilities with Spain on account of the right alleged by Louis XIV. his wife had to the possession and seigniority of some of the Flemish provinces.

The Count de Castello Melhor proceeded in this affair with all the skill of a consummate diplomatist, and with an energy which we shall only find equalled by the great Portuguese statesman, the Marquis de Pombal. We must bear in mind he was the representative of a small power that thus contended with a most powerful nation, and with a sovereign such as Louis XIV., who was accustomed to dictate the law to other potentates of Europe. Yet we find that Saint-Romain was obliged to accept the conditions laid down by Castello Melhor, conditions most just, because they were limited to exacting for this alliance a reciprocity of rights and duties, but which no Portuguese statesmen had hitherto been able to obtain.

By the manner Castello Melhor received the proposal of Saint-Romain, relative to the French army in Galicia, is seen that it was his intention to draw from the victories the corollary then admitted as legitimate, and annexing a part of Spain. In the treaty which terminated the war engaged in in 1667, Spain ceded to France vast portions of their possessions in the Pays Bas, while Portugal did not obtain a single acre of land. The Count of Castello Melhor was then no longer the Minister.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

By the aforesaid treaty between Alfonso VI. and Louis XIV., the latter bound himself to make war to Castille for the space of ten years, and to intervene with the general States of Holland to restore to Portugal, Cochin and Cananor, and the Pope to confirm the Portuguese bishops elected.

We have now to touch upon a part of history which is one of the most deplorable and shameful for Portugal. The Infante D. Pedro from the first was laying out his plans to dethrone his brother Alfonso VI., and rob him of the wife he had chosen. The arrival of the beauteous French princess had dazzled the unnatural brother.

We have traced the subtle influence exercised by the Queen over the Government, and the ambitious petulance with which, from the moment of her arrival, she had opposed the plans of the Prime Minister, and defeated him in the Councils of State. The primary cause for the animosity which rose up between the Queen and the Minister was due to the opposition made by the latter to the Queen entering the Council, and the motive which gave rise to this opposition was jealousy of the influence which the Queen was gaining over the spirit of D. Alfonso VI., whom she completely dominated, and of whose favour Castello Melhor was never certain of, knowing as he did the changeableness of that weak, fickle spirit. This skilful minister, who so well held his independence and dignity in the negotiations with the great foreign powers, could not resign himself in any way that with the entry of the Princess de Nemours into Portugal should likewise enter French influence, and that Louis XIV. should hold in the wife of the King of Portugal a docile instrument for his policy. From this naturally resulted a hostile feeling, at first disguised, but subsequently openly manifested. The Count de Castello Melhor being a man of highest intellectual education and a consummate statesman who had travelled much, and had learnt in the Courts of France and Italy to conceal beneath courteous forms the inflexibility of resolution, never gave occasion of complaint to the Queen; but this was not the case with the Secretary of State, Antonio de Sousa de Macedo, a poet and renowned writer, an intelligent statesman, but somewhat rude and unsympathetic. An insignificant question respecting the dismissal of a servant led the Queen to censure Macedo, who replied to her in a brusque manner. The Queen was greatly irritated, and complained to the King, demanding the dismissal of the Secretary of State. The King, who, despite his small intelligence,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

had the instinct of safety, clearly perceived that the shots levelled against the faithful men who surrounded him and formed a government highly esteemed by foreign nations, were meant for him, and, therefore, would not accede to the extravagant demands of the Queen; moreover, as in the reply there had been no want of respect. In this refusal the King was upheld by the Count de Castello Melhor. The Infante D. Pedro manifested himself deeply incensed at the treatment of his sister-in-law, and from this dates the tacit alliance made between the two guilty parties.

The Infante D. Pedro began by simply opposing the Prime Minister, and subsequently when D. Alfonso VI. grew unpopular, he commenced to nourish a vague hope of conquering the power, but between them stood the form of the energetic Prime Minister. Then a spirit of enmity rose up against the Count, while the protection always accorded to him by the King proved that he well knew the safety of the Crown consisted in the security of the minister. When the Queen likewise began to manifest herself a deadly enemy of the Count, there arose between her and her brother-in-law a tacit alliance and understanding which became scandalous. The fact was patent. The physical and moral defects of D. Alfonso VI. were utterly incapable of inspiring love.

Maria Francisca of Savoy was, in the bloom of her youth, proud and beautiful, and fresh from a voluptuous court, bound to a decrepit, well-nigh insane object. Unscrupulous as she always manifested herself, she began to look around, seeking some legal way to break her marriage vows. By her side, as her champion, ever stood the Infante D. Pedro, her political ally, in the prime of life and full of energy. Moreover, she had been accustomed in the Court of France to extreme courtesy and good breeding, and beheld now the King of Portugal taking delight in the company of low-born people, and she herself treated by him with coarse familiarity, which often made her shed tears. In these bitter moments she always found D. Pedro sympathetic and kind. The Count de Castello Melhor was too far-seeing not to suspect how these domestic affairs would end, and that the Queen and D. Infante were plotting the King's ruin, while they on their part felt that the eyes of the experienced Prime Minister were fixed upon them, and they were well aware that their greatest opposition and danger must come from him.

Hence odium increased on both sides, and the refusal of the King to grant the Queen's demand for the demission of the Secretary of State

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

brought matters to a crisis. The excitement of both parties increased to the degree that in the house of the Infante D. Pedro the conspiracy against the Count was openly avowed, and the latter actually armed the palace, doubling the guards, and intimated to the cavalry to be ready for any call or event. In order to prove that these precautions were not taken for his own personal safety, but for that of the King, and for the defence of the royal person and the inviolability of the palace, he went out in the evening in his own carriage and proceeded to his residence in the Calçada da Gloria, where to the present day still reside his direct descendants.

This act greatly irritated D. Pedro, and it certainly was a blow levelled at him. Then commenced a remarkable correspondence, the bearer of which was the Marquis de Marialba. The Infante D. Pedro insisted on the demission of the Count de Castello Melhor on the plea that he had insulted him by placing the Palace under arms against himself, and spreading a report that he wished to assassinate the King, and that therefore he deserved a severe punishment. The King refused for a great length of time, but at length was overruled, and the Count de Castello Melhor was basely forsaken by his hapless master, although he well perceived the fatal consequences which would result, for he declared that he ought to be judged first ere he be condemned. But affairs had become so involved that the Count de Castello Melhor took the initiative and spontaneously tendered his resignation, asking the Queen to obtain from the Infante a safe conduit, and quitting the Court, withdrew to the Convent of Arrabide, seven leagues from Lisbon.

The retirement of the Count, however, did not alter the situation, and D. Alfonso VI. would not forgive his brother the sacrifice he had constrained him to make; while D. Pedro incited an easy popularity by opposing the weak government which succeeded that of the Count de Castello Melhor. In effect, D. Alfonso VI. delivered up the government into the hands of Henriques de Miranda, an individual of the stamp of the Contis, who fulfilled the lowest charges; and the intelligent and most eminent men of the kingdom therefore passed over to the party of the Infante. Hence D. Alfonso VI. was placed in a difficult position. The capable men were all on the side of the Infante, and he could not any longer seek among them for a prime minister, and therefore the choice fell on Miranda. The Infante was well aware that this minister would inevitably fall, owing to his

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

incapacity, and in effect, finding that the weight of affairs was more than he could bear, he quitted his post, urging ill-health as a real or simulated plea.

Then D. Alfonso VI., although he foresaw that storms would arise, summoned back from exile Antonio de Sousa de Macedo, and entrusted to him the government. The recall of the Secretary of State was naturally obnoxious to the Queen and to D. Pedro, because both his exile and that of the Count de Castello Melhor had been combined by the accomplices as a preparation for the scheme they had projected, which was the deposition of D. Alfonso VI. Hence when the King asked the Queen to pardon Macedo, for the faults brought against him, she openly refused. This denial of the Queen irritated the King, and he resolved to bring the cause before a Council of State, and sent this decision to D. Maria of Savoy, who declared she took this proceeding as an insult to herself, and withdrew to her apartments, protesting against the proceeding of her husband.

Antonio de Sousa came notwithstanding, and knowing that the Infante D. Pedro made common cause with the Queen, and would not recoil from resorting to the extreme of employing force against him, traversed the streets of Lisbon, escorted by guards; but this act of his greatly irritated the people. Accustomed to beholding the King and his boon companions always traversing the streets at all hours, the inhabitants would not admit that this action taken was a case of legitimate defence, and that the Infante menaced the King, but that, on the contrary, he was the victim to the plans of the King and of his secretary.

Feeling certain of the protection of the public, the Infante D. Pedro judged he could safely have recourse to open force, and placing himself at the head of a party of fidalgos, he marched through Lisbon in war guise, and proceeded to the Palace. The people in alarm rose up and followed him tumultuously, and it was in presence of a veritable revolution that the Infante entered the Royal Palace. This was on the 5th October, 1667. D. Pedro, followed by the nobility in arms, leaving outside the excited crowds, proceeded sword in hand to the King's apartments, and haughtily demanded the demission of the secretary.

Indignation lent force to the weak, epileptic form of Alfonso VI., and drawing himself up he wrathfully ordered his brother to deliver up his sword. D. Pedro did not expect this; but keeping cool, and calculating all the consequences of his proceeding, he presented the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

sword to the King, saying, "You may turn it against me if you wish it, but I only unsheathed it in your defence." The hypocrisy of these words, the hypocrisy of this simulated respect, the hypocrisy of the Infante and of the Queen, who declared they only desired to be faithful to the sovereign, is simply revolting. But the wrath of Alfonso VI. could not be appeased. In vain did the Queen appear and endeavoured to calm her husband; he continued to cry out that they had murdered his secretary, and to pacify him it became necessary to bring him safe and sound into his presence.

Meanwhile the people outside were in the greatest state of excitement, and shouted for their beloved Infante, because a report had spread that he had been assassinated within the Palace walls. The tumult assumed such proportions that it was judged necessary for the Infante to show himself at one of the windows, and in order to show that the royal family were reconciled, the King and Queen appeared together with him. Nevertheless the King felt that his liberty, if not his life, was imperilled, and that the true king from that date was no longer himself but his brother. All things conspired to demonstrate this fact. The Infante established his residence at the Palace to hasten the departure of Antonio de Sousa Macedo, and did not quit it until he saw him on his way. He then quietly departed for Côrte Real, and at once proceeded to convoke the Cortes in order to treat upon the subject of the deposition of the sovereign. But as Alfonso VI. still held the sceptre and the royal prerogatives, it was only he who could convoke them; and as he foresaw what the object desired was, he obstinately refused to do so. Nevertheless D. Pedro insisted, and succeeded in wrenching from him his consent to convoke the Cortes; yet wishing to delay them, he appointed February, 1668, as the date of meeting; but again D. Pedro overruled the King, and exacted that the Cortes be opened at the commencement of the year. At length D. Alfonso VI., in order to free himself from the system of coercion imposed upon him by his brother, attempted to fly to the Alemtejo, but D. Pedro took every precaution to prevent the flight.

Events followed each other with painful rapidity; and the hapless D. Alfonso, without a guide, counsel, and incapable of guiding or saving himself, became entrapped in the toils which his implacable brother and his own wife were weaving around to depose and banish him. Up to this moment the principal part in this infamous comedy had been

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

assumed by the Infante D. Pedro, but now the Queen appears on the stage, and takes the helm of affairs.

On the 21st of November, 1667, D. Maria Francisca de Savoy departed in her carriage from the Palace, as though she were simply about to take a drive, and bade the coachman drive to the Convent da Esperanza.

On entering, the Abbess hastened to receive the royal visitor who was thus unexpectedly honouring her convent, but was completely amazed when the Queen declared to her that she had come with the intention of remaining in the convent, and from thence demand from the Ecclesiastical Court a separation from the King, by reason of the marriage being null and void.

As soon as the King was informed of the Queen's departure and her resolve, he was assailed with one of his frenzies, and sped to the convent to break down the doors; but D. Pedro, his hypocritical warder, came forward and wrenched him away from the spot, and took him back to the Palace, vainly endeavouring to calm him. When the paroxysm was over, he fell into a state of imbecility, quite unconscious of the abyss which was yawning at his feet. He never suspected that his wife and his brother had concluded the web in which they had involved him, and that the moment had come to pluck the crown from his head. On the following day the Council of State resolved to ask the King to deliver up the power to his brother, but retaining the title and dignity of King, and making the Infante, so to say, his prime minister. D. Pedro expected that his brother, goaded by these continued bitter blows, would have burst out into one of his excesses of wrath, and refused roundly what he was besought to do, in such terms as would justify him to deprive him of the crown. But Alfonso VI., prostrated and exhausted by his late trials and paroxysms, was weak and in a vacillating state, from which it was impossible to draw him out. Instead of refusing, he only asked time for reflection; and the day passed without any definite result. But D. Pedro, fearing lest the King should accept his proposal and be left on the steps of the throne, precipitated events, and on the 23rd provoked a manifestation from the Chamber of Twenty-Four, jointly with the nobles who were of his party and a large number of the populace, who carried him in triumph to the Palace, wishing to proclaim him King.

D. Pedro, however, did not wish to be thus tumultuously impelled to take the crown; he preferred that it be spontaneously offered by

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the Cortes, which had been definitely convoked for the 1st of January, 1668. Therefore, he contented himself with a renunciation of the rights to the crown exacted from the King D. Alfonso VI. The hapless sovereign, unable to cope with the existing affairs of government, knew not how to act in this supreme crisis. Without a friendly hand or a capable man at his side to direct the helm of affairs; in the midst of them, and without even the strength to break out in his paroxysm of wrath which at times seemed to impart energy, he allowed himself to be led by his enemies; and without scarcely knowing what he was doing, he signed all the acts of renunciation which were demanded from him.

But on that occasion the ambitions of D. Pedro were not crowned with success, and the hope that the Cortes would offer him the crown was not fulfilled. The popular classes, who were on his side, desired that D. Pedro should be proclaimed the King, and for this object made known their demand through two of their representatives, the Marquis de Marialba and Pedro Fernandes Monteiro; but neither the nobles nor clergy added their votes. D. Pedro hesitated, and the opposition of the privileged classes made him reflect what natural prudence dictated to him, that he could not well dethrone his brother during life and place the crown on his own head without lowering in the eyes of the people, who were commencing to ponder on these things, the inviolability of royal majesty, were he to show them that the brows anointed with the holy chrism were not sacred, and moreover offer them an example of violence. Hence he rejected the crown offered him by the representatives, and only assumed the title of Regent until 1683.

Meanwhile the epilogue of this drama was being acted. The Queen nominated as her procurator in the cause of nullity of her marriage, the Duke of Cadaval. On the 9th of December, 1667, the commission was appointed in Lisbon to judge the cause.

These were the Bishop elect of Lamego, the Bishop of Elvas, the vicar of the Archbishopric of Lisbon, and various canons. The libel presented by the Duke de Cadaval manifested that the process would be a truly scandalous one, and the King, notwithstanding his weakness of will, perceiving that he ought to avoid such a scandal been brought out against himself, the Queen and the Crown, made a declaration acknowledging the nullity of the marriage, dated 8th of January, 1668.

This letter ought to have sufficed had the Queen been solely urged by the dictates of her conscience, as she said, but the love she felt for

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

D. Pedro impelled her to proceed with the juridical process necessary for the dissolution of the ecclesiastical sacrament by which they had been united.

In a word, the cause was proceeded with and the sentence pronounced, annulling the marriage on the 24th of March, 1668. The Queen and the Infante D. Pedro at once proceeded to effect their marriage, which took place on the 27th of March of the same year. The Infante and the Queen had not the prudence to delay their marriage, and their hasty proceeding clearly showed that all these events had been the outcome of the conspiracies combined long before. This union, which it was said was desired and urged by the Cortes, on the plea that the people loved the Queen, was certainly frivolous, as also the further allegation that the nation was unable to repay the dowry of the Queen.

The Infante D. Pedro had at length obtained the double object of his ambitious plots. He had taken possession of the power and he had married his sister-in-law. But the presence of his brother was unwelcome to him in Lisbon. In the midst of his rejoicings the form of his witless brother, whom he had so cruelly despoiled of all things, of that spouseless husband, that crownless king, rose up before him like a pectre, a living remorse, and what was worse still, became the pretext for agitations. The enemies of the Infante, although too weak to oppose the revolution which delivered over the power to him, nevertheless succeeded in causing some disquietude to the new government. Hence the Regent judged it would be expedient to withdraw the deposed King from the realm, and after mature deliberation, decided upon sending him to the island of Terceira. This was actually effected, and D. Alfonso VI. departed in 1669, escorted by a fleet commanded by D. Francisco de Sousa, Conde do Prado.

D. Pedro then issued a circular letter to all the Courts of Europe explaining his proceeding. In this letter he stated that, wishful that his brother should enjoy a fuller liberty and all the pleasures and amusements he was accustomed to, he had by the advice of physicians sent him to the island of Terceira, which was very fertile and healthy, his residence being in the Fort of S. Philip, or in the Praia in the city of Angra, whichever he should be pleased to dwell in, and in order that all honours and security should be accorded him, he had sent a fleet to escort D. Alfonso VI. to the island.

D. Pedro could not disguise under these words that the deposed

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

king was no more than a state prisoner. Freed of his brother, D. Pedro turned his attention to the affairs of government, in which during his lifetime his wife always took a principal part, as being far more educated and intelligent. This princess, besides her intelligence and learning, possessed a notable governing genius. Older than D. Pedro by a few years, she had directed the whole plot of the deposition of D. Alfonso VI., which, although not a creditable one, reveals in a feminine spirit a rare activity and varied resources. She was likewise a poet, and left some notable poems.

Her mental gifts contrasted sadly with those of D. Pedro, whose spirit was undoubtedly shrewd but uncultivated, and he only differed from his brother, D. Alfonso, in being more robust in body and mind.

During the Queen's lifetime she directed, in an especial manner, the policy of the kingdom, and after her death the Duke de Cadaval continued to hold the confidence of the Infante, which he had always possessed, and his wide influence over all affairs, second only to that of the Queen. From the commencement of the Regency, the former secretary of D. João IV., Pedro Vieira da Silva, subsequently elected Bishop of Leiria, was summoned to the Council of Ministers.

The first act of D. Pedro as Regent was to send to France one of his most able statesmen, Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, to apologise to Louis XIV. for having agreed to the peace treaty with Spain without the assent of France. Louis XIV. received the excuses without manifesting any great irritation. His ambition and pride impelled him to desire the conquest, or at least the abasement of Holland, and it was for this war that he had coveted an alliance with Portugal.

From that time commenced in the Court of Lisbon a declared conflict between the Spanish and French parties. The French party reckoned with the aid of the Queen, who was French by birth, beloved of Louis XIV., and greatly esteemed by him. The Spanish party, feeling that it had little to expect from the constituted government, took the side of the malcontents, and began to aid the partisans of Alfonso VI., which increased daily in numbers, owing to the disappointment of the ambitious ones, who judged themselves insufficiently recompensed by the government they had contributed to establish. In truth, D. Pedro possessed the traditional defect of his family: he was egotistical and ungrateful. The dangers which this party offered the Regency were further increased by the fact that Madrid was sending as

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Ambassador to Lisbon the Baron de Bateville, one of the ablest diplomatists of Spain, and a celebrated intriguer.

All this impelled D. Pedro to send his brother, Alfonso VI., to Terceira, and thus withdraw from Portugal this incentive to a counter revolution. The strife between the Spanish and French parties forms one of the most notable episodes in the regency of D. Pedro, a strife which became an open war. As both governments desired to exercise an exclusive influence in Lisbon, it led to the result that Portugal was courted by two powerful nations, as though the small power represented by Portugal could have in Europe any decisive action. It is true that the long and victorious campaigns of the restoration had rendered the Portuguese army distinguished and warlike, and that all the powers desired to be allied with her in their strifes; and even Rome wished to employ the Portuguese army to stay the progress of the Turks. As soon as Louis XIV. was apprised of the birth of the Princess D. Isabel, daughter of D. Pedro and the Queen, he sent a special envoy, the Chevalier de Béthune, to convey his congratulations, and soon after the Count d'Oropesa came from Spain to solicit the hand of the Infante in marriage for the Catholic King. The ambition was fostered which D. Pedro conceived of inheriting the Crown of Spain, in the event of the death of Carlos II., whose weak health rendered his life precarious.

It was the revival of personal ambitions, against the sacrifices made by the people. The Braganzas would not be convinced that the revolution of 1640 was not effected, or the strife sustained for twenty-eight years, simply to place them on the throne, but for recovering their own lost independence. Thus they strove to reform the Iberian union under some other form, as though it would not be equally odious whether ruled by a Portuguese prince or a Spanish one.

The Queen, however, would not consent to this marriage, and even declared to the Ambassador that the bridegroom of her choice was the Duke d'Anjou. In order to counterbalance this victory of the French party the Spanish Ambassador began to circulate that Louis XIV., in secret negotiations with the Court of Spain, alleged some supposed rights to the succession of these kingdoms, and asked leave for a French army, composed of 30,000 men, to cross Spanish territory and conquer Portugal.

It became necessary for Saint-Romain to contradict formally and indignantly this calumny of the Baron de Batteville.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

On the 22nd of June, 1671, Saint-Romain was substituted in Lisbon by M. d'Aubeville, gentilhomme of the Court of Louis XIV., who brought instructions to declare to the Portuguese Government that the warlike and maritime preparations of France, which were disquieting the European cabinets, were directed against Holland, and likewise to propose an alliance against that power and Spain, which could not be withdrawn from the league. M. d'Aubeville was instructed to represent strongly to the Government of the Regent the great advantage it would be to wrench from those audacious republicans the Eastern possessions of Portugal which they held in their power. But the French ambassador encountered an unexpected difficulty in the refusal of the Queen, whom he had quite expected would be, owing to her French origin, in sympathy with the proposal. But Isabel of Nemours and Aumale was sufficiently of a diplomatist to foresee how inconvenient for the country and disagreeable to the people would be a renewal of war; and, therefore, she at once declared to M. d'Aubeville that Louis XIV. could not count with Portuguese alliance in the combat he was about to undertake. The French ambassador had occasion to verify what the Queen had said, because the people several times rose up tumultuously and proceeded to the palace, shouting, "We want no more war."

Spain, fearing lest the Portuguese should be seduced by the promises made by France, sent to the Court of Lisbon as ambassador, the Count de Humanes, to propose a counter-league formed by Spain and Holland, and promising in the name of Holland to restore Cochim and Cananor. But the Infante D. Pedro refused to be fascinated by the advantages offered, and retained a constant neutrality, although some high-minded men lamented that Portugal should not take this opportunity of regaining the possessions she had lost in India. The advantage could be but a fleeting one, because it would be impossible for her to sustain her own against two such powerful maritime powers as England and Holland, nor was Portugal in a position to take or form strong roots in India.

The Prince-Regent was firm in following the system of "peace at any price," and we must own that his policy appears a justifiable one in view of the existing condition of the kingdom. Unable to obtain his desired end, the Count de Humanes began to conspire for the restoration of D. Alfonso VI. to the throne; and in the year 1673 some of the Portuguese malcontents, incited by the Spanish ambassador, planned a

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

plot to kill the Regent, his wife, and their daughter, a child of four, and rescue Alfonso VI. from the island of Terceira by the aid of a Spanish squadron of fourteen ships, which had anchored at Cascaes. The conspiracy was discovered in time, and a quantity of Spanish money found that had been sent to defray the expenses. Owing to this plot, Antonio Cavide, Secretary of State, and some of his accomplices, were executed, and the Portuguese Government refused to have any more negotiations with the Count de Humanes, or receive him. Orders were sent to the Marquis de Gouveia, Portuguese Ambassador in Madrid, to return to Portugal.

It appears that this proceeding irritated the Spanish people, and the house of the Marquis de Gouveia was attacked and sacked, and he himself insulted by the people, the Spanish Government not taking any measures to repress the attack or protect him.

Satisfaction was given by the Spanish Government, however, and the Count de Humanes was recalled, and the Abbot Macerati substituted, with instructions to deal with extreme prudence. Many other disturbances took place during the regency of D. Pedro, among these being the revolt of the fanatics against the new Christians, when the latter appealed to the Court of Rome. Owing to all these events, the Regent D. Pedro decided to convoke a Cortes in January, 1674. There was a large party who desired that he should be crowned King at these Cortes, and thus put an end to the disturbances which daily arose, owing to the complications brought about by the monarchical title of Alfonso VI. Moreover, it would terminate the pretexts which the Spaniards made use of to disturb the country by party risings and revolts. The partisans of the Inquisition likewise desired the meeting of the Cortes to take place, because they hoped to gain the votes of the clergy to repress the attempts of the new Christians to obtain some securities against the arbitrariness of the judges.

These Cortes, instead of proving a sincere appeal from the people, only served for the Regent to give a formal refusal to assume the sovereignty. Those who had endeavoured to place on his head the crown plucked from his brother, found themselves violently repulsed when, in the exercise of its powers, they attempted to rule their authority in respect to tributes and public moneys. The Regent despotically intervened and dissolved the sitting. The three States hence limited themselves to declaring the Princess Isabel presumptive heiress to the throne, and to presenting their appeal against the new

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Christians, an appeal which the Regent totally ignored, this attitude meeting with the approbation of the supreme Pontiff Clement X. For some years the office and exercise of the holy office was inhibited.

During the Cortes the law respecting the succession and tutorship of sovereigns was sanctioned, which ruled that the Regent would always be the testamentary tutor, and in his absence or death, the Queen-Mother, and at her demise a regency be formed of five councillors, presided by an Infante, brother of the late sovereign; these councillors to have a decisive vote only in public affairs of the highest importance. It was also resolved that the King D. Alfonso VI. should return to Portugal in order to be more vigilantly guarded than in the Island of Terceira against any attack from the Spanish squadrons.

A fleet was equipped under the command of the admiral of the royal navy, Pedro Jacques de Magalhães, Viscount de Fonte Arcada, and sent out to the Island of Terceira to convey back to Portugal the King D. Alfonso VI. He arrived to Lisbon on the 14th of September, 1674, seemingly indifferent to his misfortunes, and solely occupied with his material welfare. D. Alfonso VI. was then taken to the Palace of Cintra, where he was veritably incarcerated in a golden prison.

In 1679 D. Pedro convoked anew the Cortes. He desired to marry his daughter D. Isabel to a foreign prince, the Duke of Savoy, and for this object he desired an article of the Cortes de Lamego to be altered, and as the consent of the Cortes was no more than a mere formality, the vote was soon obtained. This was the last Cortes ever held until the revolution of 1820. Whenever it became necessary to levy new taxes the sovereign would do so, as in 1706, without convoking the Cortes, ever alleging the urgency of the case, but promising to do so soon, but never took place. This system was followed by D. João V., and so far was the tradition of the Cortes forgotten that never more did they meet even for the formality of swearing in the heirs of the throne, or for the proclamation of kings on their ascending the throne.

The marriage negotiations continued, and a fleet was prepared to proceed to Nice to bring the youthful Duke to Portugal, and the utmost splendour was employed in its fittings. But this marriage was unpopular in Portugal as in Savoy, and when the fleet which conveyed the Duke de Cadaval as Portuguese Ambassador weighed anchor on the waters of Nice on the 23rd of May, 1682, affairs

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

had so far altered that the people mutinied and rebelled, foreseeing that from this union would result in future the absorption of Piedmont by France; and these ideas were imparted by some of the nobles to the bridegroom elect, Victor Amadeus. The Duchess, his mother, unable to overcome the difficulties which had arisen, resorted to a truly comical expedient. The Duke feigned illness, and for five months the Duke de Cadaval was kept from holding an interview. At length the Ambassador was convinced that it were useless to remain any longer, and gave orders for the fleet to return to Portugal, and the projected marriage fell through. The humiliation felt by the Duke de Cadaval, who was thus made the victim of a jest unparalleled in the history of diplomacy, the grief of the Queen, the confusion of the Infanta, and the astonishment of the Regent and the indignation of the people, are impossible of being described. It was simply to the fact that this projected marriage was so unpopular in Portugal that war did not break out with Savoy, in which the advantage would surely have been for Portugal. D. Pedro devoured in secret silence the affront, but his haughty wife felt it so deeply that her health began to fail from that moment. Many other suitors were proposed for the Infanta, it is said to the number of sixteen, but she died unmarried in the year 1690. Meanwhile D. Alfonso VI., whom people had well-nigh forgotten, was wearing out his miserable existence in Cintra, and after nine years' imprisonment was suddenly stricken down by an attack of apoplexy during Mass, on the 12th of September, 1683, and after a few moments ceased to exist. When the Infante D. Pedro received the news of his brother's death, we are told by Caetano de Sousa that he shed bitter tears. He at once gave orders for the funeral to be conducted equal in all respects to that of D. João IV. It is said that when he expired, his countenance became suffused with a resplendent light. He was buried in the Monastery of Belem, by the side of his brother D. Theodosio, and his sister, the Infanta D. Joanna.

His existence had been a truly wretched one, but his brother, who so cruelly wronged him and had taken such a mean advantage of his weakness, bitterly expiated his faults. His regency extended over a period of fifteen years, was so full of trials and sorrows, that even after the death of D. Alfonso VI., he felt reluctance in accepting the crown he had at one time so eagerly desired. Under the domestic point of view both he and the Queen suffered deep and piercing griefs.

The Queen, who could not endure the low habits of D. Alfonso VI.,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

found almost equal tendencies in D. Pedro. She was loved by him, but he often treated her in a manner which must have deeply wounded her pride. D. Pedro, on his side, after fifteen years of married life, saw his wife, for whom he had so deeply sinned, taken from him soon after the death of D. Alfonso VI., and his only child, the sole fruit of this marriage, D. Isabel, expire in the bloom of her youth.

The period under consideration is one which calls for the deepest commiseration for the victim of these disgraceful plots. D. Alfonso VI. was a king perfectly incapable to occupy the throne, but the manner in which he was treated completely extinguished his insignificance, and invested him with the aureole of the martyrs. In a word, D. Alfonso VI. was guilty of no crime; he was simply weak of mind and body, the cause and origin of his physical and moral infirmities, of his low tastes and habits.

But D. Pedro II. and D. Maria of Savoy were stigmatised by posterity with the foulest names for their manner of proceeding, for their shameful actions, while D. Alfonso VI., who most probably would have passed away in history hidden away beneath the shadow of his Prime Minister, rises to a sublime height with all his errors and weaknesses, ennobled and vindicated by the cruel agony and treatment he endured. Pitilessly dragged by his brother along foul paths of scandal, and discrowned, and then subjected to incarceration, D. Pedro judged he could defame him for all posterity; but posterity, on the contrary, enveloped his form in the pious legend of misfortune.

END OF TENTH BOOK.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google
Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE ELEVENTH.

1683—1706.

REIGN OF D. PEDRO II.

D. Pedro II. takes possession of the kingdom—Death of the Queen—Second marriage of the King—State of Europe—The throne of Spain disputed—The Treaty of Partition—Duke de Anjou is chosen King of Spain—Ascends the throne under the title of Philip V.—Portugal acknowledges him—Treaty of mutual alliance—Death of D. Isabel—The widowed Queen of England—Treaties—War rumours—Declaration of war between Philip V. and Pedro II.—Events in Portugal—The Duke of Berwick—Capture of Valença d'Alcantara—Entry into Catalonia—Character of the Catalans—The taking of Brozas—Surrender of Alcantara—Charles III. acknowledged in Catalonia—Progress of the Allies—Entry into Madrid—Death of the Queen of Portugal—Character of the Ministers of D. Pedro II.—Death of D. Catherina of Braganza—Illness of the King D. Pedro II.—Despondency of his latter days—Pitiable state of the country—Death of D. Pedro II.—Description of his children—Retrospect of his government—Three great events of his reign.

By the death of D. Alfonso VI., the Infante D. Pedro, his brother, takes possession of the throne which he had eagerly desired, under the title of D. Pedro II. It appears that he was not overjoyed at assuming the crown, because we are told he even desired his youthful daughter, D. Isabel, to be proclaimed Queen, saying that he had no wish to reign. Perhaps this was a presentiment of future sorrows.

Three months after his accession to the throne, his wife, Queen D. Maria Francisca Isabel de Savoy, expired on the 27th of December, 1683, in the Quinta de Palhavã, the palace of the Count de Sarzedas, where she had gone for change of air. During her later years she had manifested a melancholy tendency, and she fell into a state of despondency, which carried her to the grave. She was in the thirty-ninth year of her age. In her testament she desired to be clothed after death in the habit of St. Francis, of which order she was a Tertiary, and to have 20,000 masses said for the repose of her soul, two masses to be said daily wherever her body be laid. She further-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

more ordered that five women and three children be ransomed from the lands of the Moors, and distributes valuable donations among various charitable institutions. She freed all her slaves, and left the Princess D. Isabel sole heiress of all her possessions and of her dowry, which amounted to one million cruzados. Her will was dated 29th of November, 1683.

She had founded the Monastery of French Capuchin Nuns of Santo Crucifixo in Lisbon, and her remains were placed in the choir of their church.

Powerful State reasons impelled the King to enter a second time the bonds of matrimony. His only child, the Infanta D. Isabel, was but a weak pledge for the succession of the throne, and therefore it was necessary to secure an heir. The choice fell on D. Maria Sophia Isabel de Neoburg, daughter of the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, Philip William of Neoburg, notwithstanding that Louis XIV. endeavoured to promote an alliance with the daughter of the Duke of Bourbon. The Count de Villa-Maior, created Marquis de Alegrete, was charged as Ambassador to proceed to Heidelberg to arrange the marriage of the Portuguese King with the palatine princess.

D. Pedro was at the time in his thirty-ninth year, and the bride-elect was in her twenty-first. All things being arranged, the future Queen of Portugal embarked in an English yacht, escorted by an English fleet, which James II. of England had sent in her honour to convey her to Portugal. This fleet was commanded by his cousin, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton, the natural son of Charles II.

The bride arrived to the port of Lisbon on the 11th of August, 1687, and was received with extraordinary pomp; the King proceeding to await her in a brigantine splendidly fitted, and accompanied by the grandees of the kingdom, officers of the royal household, and other distinguished personages. She was affectionately received by her new daughter-in-law, with whom she subsequently lived on the best terms.

But the political horizon was becoming clouded in a threatening manner. Let us glance over the state of Europe, in order to be able to fix and comprehend the position of Portuguese affairs in respect to the European movement.

The revolution of England, in 1688, which deposed James II. and enthroned William of Orange, was the point which ruled the great political movement. James had kindled the germs of the revolution by

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

violently opposing the religious tendencies and sentiments of his kingdom. On one side stood Kirke, and on the other Jeffries, and these the sovereign of a Protestant people hunted down as rebels, carrying his persecution to the verge of ferocity. He ostentatiously manifested his cortege of monks, and sent an embassy to Rome, meanwhile that he imprisoned the Archbishop of Canterbury, with six of his suffragans.

A reaction quickly took place. The people mustered together, because an invasion of personal rights is as worthy of being combated as an invasion of territory, and the banner, *Pro religione et libertate*, was soon unfurled and led the revolution.

The Stadtholder of Holland proceeded to London, where he was received with the most vivid demonstrations of joy. James II., who did not possess a single faithful friend, found himself forsaken by all, and fled in disguise to seek a shelter in France.

A Declaration of Rights was promulgated (1689), a parliamentary government established, security of political rights guaranteed, and the theory of divine right received a deep wound with the peremptory argumentation of Locke.

From the moment that England took this path, France, in obedience to her royal discretionary predominance, was compelled to move against her. Success at first smiled upon her in the conflicts of the Bay of Bantry and in Beachy Head, thanks to Tourville, but James II., unfortunate in the battle of the Boyne, was defeated and forced to take refuge on the shores of France. But these were only the preludes of tremendous strifes. Louis XIV., unable to bridle his Olympic vanity, drove the armies on to seek victory.

Not satisfied with having made himself master of Philipsburg, Manheim, and Worms, he brandishes the firebrand in the Palatinate. The allies constantly resisted. Luxembourg wrestled with them in Fleurus (1690), later on in Steinkerque, and in Neerwinden (1692), but nevertheless William did not delay to take his revenge, attacking Villeroy. In Piedmont, Catinat was conqueror in Staffarde and in Marsaille, meanwhile that corsairs infested the sea, giving no truce to the enemies.

The state of health of Charles II. of Spain induced attention to be drawn to the fact of the succession. Louis XIV., by alienating the Duke of Savoy from the alliance and giving him the Duke of Burgundy as husband to his daughter, placed himself in an advantageous position

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

to treat of peace. Negotiations were entered into which were strengthened by the Congress of Ryswick (1697).

William III. was acknowledged by France as the legitimate sovereign. The Duke of Lorraine returned to take possession of his States, and Spain saw her conquests restored to her. It was because France was deeply exhausted.

The contests were now fiercely fought around the sick bed of Charles II. France, Austria, and Bavaria disputed the throne of Spain. Each advanced its supposed rights, but the cause was not decided. Then Louis XIV. deliberated upon dividing and apportioning Spain. For this object he placed himself in accord with William III., and with his assent the treaty was signed in Haya.

By this treaty of Partition, it was arranged that the Dauphin should have as his portion the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the Spanish cities situated on the coast of Tuscany, the city and marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, with the cities of Fuenterabia, S. Sebastian, and the Port of Passagem, with the sole restriction, that other cities in the same province situated beyond the Pyrenees, or other mountains of Navarre, Alava, or Biscay on the side of Spain, should be ceded to that country; and all others dependent of the provinces of Spain situated on this side of the Pyrenees, or other mountains of Navarre, Alava, and Biscay on the side of the Province of Guipuscoa, to be ceded to France.

To him also belonged the States of the Duke of Lorraine, namely, Lorraine and Bar, and transferring to the Duke the Duchy of Milan. Other kingdoms, islands, states, and cities possessed by the Catholic King, whether in Europe or outside, should appertain to the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor, excepting such as had been already apportioned. In the twelfth article of the treaty it was declared that all kings, princes, and states would be admitted who might desire to enter into this treaty, both sovereigns being at liberty to invite or ask all those whom they deemed expedient to have in this same treaty, they being guarantors for its execution and the validity of its clauses.

It was in virtue of this article that Pedro II. signed, on the 15th of October, 1700, his act of accession, by which he pledged his word and bound himself to the plenary and simple execution of all its obligations, sureties, and reciprocal aids mutually promised. The treaty was signed by the plenipotentiaries of France, Count de Tallard and the Count de

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Briord; by the Earl of Portland and the Earl of Jersey, on the part of England; and on the part of the General States, Johan Van Essen, Frederic Baron de Reed, Anthony Heinsius, William of Nassau, Everhard de Weede, William van Haren, Arnaldo Lemker, and Johan van Heeck, these being the deputies from the States of Guelderland, Holland, Westfrieze, Zealand, Utrecht, Friezeland, and the rest of the States.

The dying King of Spain, on being informed of this insulting treaty, felt an access of wrath thrill through his frame. For a moment noble instincts were awakened, and he felt he was a king, and as such that he could not remain inactive when they were dividing his regal mantle.

Charles II. sought around him for a legatee of his States, and his choice fell on the Prince of Bavaria, but this prince did not survive the King of Spain, and difficulties again rose up, and Charles II. hesitated in perplexity. At this moment it was Austria that entered the lists with France. Louis XIV. did not wish at once to declare for war, but for a time of delay, and commenced to trace a new project of partition to the interests of those concerned in the question. With the adhesion of England and Holland, there was no fear of grave difficulties arising to interfere with the success of the dismemberment. Meanwhile, the Duke de Hartcourt employed all and every persuasive means as French ambassador at Madrid to conciliate the irritated spirits and smoothe the way for the Duke d'Anjou. Moreover, the obstinacy of Leopold in refusing the treaty, and the hesitation of the Archduke Charles, increased the probabilities of triumph for the Dauphin. The Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt could not counteract these influences, and affairs continued in a vacillating state. It was at that moment that the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Portacarrero, using his influence with the dying king, and in accord with some of the nobles, resolved the doubting mind of Charles II., by definitely choosing a Bourbon. The King, timid and irresolute, tossed about by diverse counsels and suggestions and at the mercy of those around him, judged best to beseech the Holy Father to decide and name the royal legatee. The Pope, Innocent XII., did not delay the resolution of the question in council, and assigned the verdict in favour of France, and when on the 1st of November, 1700, the hapless King of Spain expired, the Duke d'Anjou ascended the throne under the title of Philip V.

Europe was thrilled with amazement. The house of Bourbon was extending its dominion from the mouth of the Scheldt to the Straits of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Gibraltar, and from Otran to Brest. The project of forming a universal monarchy, attributed to Louis XIV., did no longer appear impossible, and a large party of England, that of the Whigs, voted for war, in order to save the liberties of Europe and of humanity.

Portugal at once acknowledged the King of Spain, and by the Treaty of Alliance of the 18th of June, 1701, the necessary guarantees were fixed between the two Crowns, to the disappointment of some ambitious spirits in Madrid, who still enjoyed the golden dreams of conquest. The King of Portugal pledged, on his part, to uphold the testament of Charles II., and should any prince or power promote a war to Castille or France with the object of opposing or diminishing the rights of succession, he would close the ports against the ships or vassals of such princes or powers. And as between Portugal and England there still existed some doubts respecting the compensation due for reprisals which took place during the sojourn in the latter country of the palatine princes Robert and Macaire, and as the demands made by the English were so exorbitant, the King of Spain pledged, in the event of a rupture, not to enter into any peace treaty or amnesty, or cessation of arms with the English crown until it released Portugal of what related to those debts.

This treaty of mutual alliance, in which on either side were pledged most peremptory stipulations, was to hold good for the space of twenty years. All the clauses were assented to and concluded by the plenipotentiaries, the Marquis de Alegrete, Count de Alvor, Mendo de Foyos Pereira, and M. Rouillé.

Another treaty for the same object was celebrated between D. Pedro II. and Louis XIV., the clauses being of a like nature.

Let us return to the King's palace, and for the moment leave the European theatre, where serious events are about to take place. Once again the angel of death has extended its darksome wings. The Infanta D. Isabel, naturally of a melancholy disposition, and moreover deeply hurt as a woman and a princess in her delicate pride and dignity by the fiascos of her repeated projected marriages, commenced to decline rapidly in health, and in the flower of her age—beautiful, gentle, her spirit gemmed with many natural gifts—passed away at the early age of twenty-one, on the 21st of October, 1690. Feeling the approach of death, she asked permission of the King to make her will, and in it she expresses the love and kindness she had met from her stepmother, the Queen, and beseeches her to pray for the repose of her soul. On the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

following day the body was conveyed to the choir of the convent of French religious of Santo Crucifixo, outside the city, and in presence of the highest dignitaries of the Court, the Mayordomo of the late Princess, the Count de Val de Reis, delivered the coffin to the Abbess, Soror Cecilia de San Francisco.

On beholding both his wife and daughter taken from him by death, D. Pedro II. may probably have remembered in terror his hapless imbecile prisoner of the Palace of Cintra.

The Infanta D. Catherina, widow of Charles II. of England, had returned to Portugal after the death of her husband. Her married life had been a long chapter of misfortunes and martyrdom. When she returned to Portugal, on the 20th of January, 1693, and took up her residence in Lisbon, she was freed from her painful emotions. But, being a lady of highest principle and character, did not feel cordially towards her brother, D. Pedro II., and although she was well aware of the mediocre spirit of Alfonso VI., she never could excuse the treatment he had been subjected to in his honour and his kingdom. She withdrew far from the court, and from all its vain life, but the King felt for her, nevertheless, all that respect which superiority imposes.

The reign of D. Pedro II. was fertile in treaties. A commercial treaty was entered into between D. Pedro II. and Queen Anne, the negotiations being carried on by the ambassador of Great Britain, John Methuen, and by D. Manuel Telles, Marquis d'Alegrete, and signed on the 27th December, 1703.

We said above that serious events were about to take place in Europe, and in effect a firebrand, imprudently flung, was the cause of an enormous conflagration.

Louis XIV., who, by the treaty of Ryswick, had acknowledged William III. king of England, did not hesitate, on the death of James II., to recognise his son, James III., the legitimate sovereign. Besides this being a direct violation of all conventions, it was a formal provocation, and the reply was not long forthcoming.

The confederation of the powers was the reply to this Bourbonic treachery. The death of William III., which might have prevented the continuation of the conflict, did not avert it, and Queen Anne, who succeeded him, took the path laid out by him. The States-General had as their leader Hensius. England placed its sword in the hands of Marlborough, while the Prince Eugene led the standards of the House of Austria.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Portugal, which, as we have seen, had assented to the acknowledgment of Philip V., did not hesitate nevertheless to break through all agreements, and enlist beneath the banners of the adversaries. On the 16th of May, 1703, a treaty was signed in Lisbon, being a league entered into defensive and offensive between D. Pedro II. and Queen Anne of England and the States-General of the Low Countries, the plenipotentiaries being the Duke de Cadaval, the Marquis d'Alegrete, the Count d'Alvor, Roque Monteiro Paym, José de Faria, Head Keeper of the Archives, or Torre do Tombo, and Chief Chronicler of the Kingdom, Paul Methuen, and D. Francisco Schonenberg.

In the event of the kings of Castille or France making war to Portugal, either on the Continent or in her dominions, England and Holland would aid her against the aforesaid kings with a force of 12,000 men, armed and supported at their expense. They would maintain on the coasts and ports of Portugal the necessary number of war-ships for the defence of the enemy's forces. Should these said auxiliary ships of the aforesaid powers join those of Portugal, it would be the officer of the flagstaff of the Portuguese fleet or squadron which would give the call to battle and summon a council of war. The allies to afford all freedom, assistance, and favour to the commissary officers of Portugal in order that they take from the ports and lands all necessary ammunition, powder, arms, and all kinds of supplies.

Should France promote a war against England or the States-General, Portugal would unite with her with all her forces, and was pledged to fit ten ships for her aid and defence and that of the allies.

Another treaty, bearing the same date of 16th of May, 1703, was agreed to, of mutual alliance, defensive and offensive, in which entered Leopold, Emperor of the Romans, with the object of maintaining the liberty of Spain, avoid the common danger of all Europe, and maintain the right of the most august House of Austria to the Spanish monarchy. The new plenipotentiary was Count Waldstein, ambassador in Portugal.

In this treaty was stipulated that all the powers entering this alliance should labour to their utmost to place the Archduke Charles in possession of the whole of Spain, Portugal to make an offensive war against her, and providing on her part a corps of 12,000 infantry, and 3,000 cavalry.

The allies would furthermore raise a corps of 13,000 Portuguese soldiers in order to bring up the whole strength to 28,000 men, of which 5,000 would be horsemen and 23,000 infantry. The armament

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

to be furnished by the united powers, and pledging to give the King of Portugal one million patacoons every year during the continuance of the war, and to have ready a further sum for the equipment of the men. In the twenty-nine articles of this convention were inserted many other clauses respecting the armament and furnishing of the troops. The whole of this army, it was stipulated, should be subject to the orders, not only of the King of Portugal, but likewise of his governors, generals, and other superior officers. To this treaty was added two secret articles, which were ratified by Charles III. on the 13th of September, 1703, wherein he yielded up to the Portuguese the cities of Badajoz, Albuquerque, Valença, and Alcantara, in the province of Estremadura; and in the kingdom of Galicia, Guarda, Tuy, Bayonne, and Vigo, with their strongholds, and castles, and territories appertaining to them. Furthermore, he cedes the rights he may possess to the lands situated on the northern banks of the Rio de la Plata, this river being the dividing line of the dominions of the two crowns, on American territory.

The prospect of extending the kingdom, and the projected marriage of the Infanta D. Theresa with the Archduke, were ample reasons for D. Pedro to enter the grand alliance.

Louis XIV. perceived the significant importance of this step on the part of Portugal, and foresaw that should the Portuguese succeed in effecting an entrance on the frontier, a dangerous blow would be levelled at the throne of his grandson. In order, therefore, to avert the imminent danger, he sent the Marquis de Chateauneuf as Ambassador to Lisbon, with instructions to dissuade Portugal from taking such a step. The resistance he met with was insurmountable. During the month of March the Archduke arrived, and the Ambassador withdrew; the Spanish envoy also left, and the Portuguese Ambassador in the Court of Spain, Diogo de Mendonça Corte Real, was recalled. War was then declared, and without further delay D. Pedro II. made a statement of the motives for his procedure. In justification of the action taken by him, he stated to the European powers that he had been moved to take the step for the following reasons: That the state of ill-health of Charles II., and the fact of being childless and without the hope of children, had afforded a plea for the Dauphin to advance pretensions to the succession of the throne, and had impelled England and Holland to enter into a treaty of Partition with France, wherein the Spanish Monarchy was divided between the Dauphin and Prince Charles, Archduke of Austria.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

As France was a border country with Spain, and well furnished with every resource for warfare, it was assumed she would take possession of the neighbouring kingdom, and thereby constitute herself the arbiter of Europe.

In order to avoid this contingency, the conditions of the partition were signed with the accession of Portugal. When, however, at the demise of Charles II., it was found that by his testament the Duke of Anjou would succeed to the throne, Louis XIV. altered his plan, and regardless of the convention entered into, accepted the crown for his grandson. Despite this manifest and evident infraction of the treaty, Portugal, in order to end the disquietudes of war, made a treaty with Louis XIV. and his grandson, in which he only bound himself to refuse admittance into his ports to the ships of such nations as should make war to the two Crowns; but as the powers would not consent to this stipulation, the Catholic king pledged to provide the Portuguese with men and ships. The Duke of Anjou likewise had yielded up his supposed right to the lands situated on the northern bank of the Rio de la Plata, and bound himself to indemnify the Royal India Company.

However, as France had not fulfilled the treaty in regard to the part relating to the aids, and the Duke not having indemnified the India Company, and contrary to what he had promised, placed under strict siege the Colony of Sacramento, the King of Portugal judged himself released from the pact, rendered false by the other contracting party. French policy at once made itself felt in the councils of Spain. Her dominion was becoming immediate and despotic.

From all these causes it was proposed to the Spanish nation to recuperate her liberty, her reputation, and her glory by excluding from the throne a prince of a nation and family most hostile to her interests. But when the Spaniards, stricken by panic, or inebriated by the chimerical persuasions of the French, should close their eyes and ears to so many evidences, the King placing himself on the side of Charles III. and protecting the justice of his cause, in union with the allies, would endeavour by forcible means to afford the desired remedy to the Spaniards. The justification concluded with the following decisive terms: "All Christian blood which should be spilt for this cause, and the evils received must be imputed to those who assumed to sustain a prince, the unjust possessor of the monarchy which by all titles is due to the Catholic king, Charles III."

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Having thus laid before the world the motives which actuated the spirit of D. Pedro II., and taking into account the expediency of sustaining a just European equilibrium, war was about to wage on both sides, and the Portuguese arms had to awaken anew the echoes with their fearful clangour.

The justification of Portugal was issued on the 9th of March, and meanwhile two manifestoes were published in Lisbon from the king, Charles III., respecting his rights to the Crown of Spain. On the 30th of April was likewise issued in Placencia the declaration of war from Philip V. and D. Pedro II., on account of the latter having embraced the party of the Archduke of Austria. War was definitely kindled. Austria had commenced her hostilities in Italy, in order to conquer the Milanese; Prince Eugene defeats Catinat in Carpi (1701), enters for a moment into Cremona, by surprise, and there involves Villeroy, but is vanquished in Luzzara by the Duke de Vendôme (1702).

Villars, in this same year, wins his bâton of Marechal in Freidlingen, and by the victory of Hochstedt opens the road to Vienna, while the ally of Portugal, the elector of Bavaria, has not the resolution to place himself in campaign (1703). But Marlborough had already landed in the Pays Bas; the Archduke Charles in Portugal; the Duke of Savoy was betraying France, and the Calvinists had mutinied in the Cevenas.

The routing of Tallard and of Marsin in Hochstedt swept the French from Germany (1704); that of Villeroy in Ramillies (May, 1704) delivers up to the allies the Low Countries: the defeat of Marsin in Turin (September, 1706), yields up to the Austrians the Milanese, and in consequence, on the following year, the kingdom of Naples. Toulon becomes threatened in 1707.

France, which Europe had judged to be in an exhausted state, sends, in 1707, to the Pays Bas a magnificent army of 100,000 men, under the command of Vendôme. Defeated in Oudenarde, and despite the heroic resistance of Boufflers, the surrender of Lille takes place; and a corps of Dutch soldiers succeed to enter as far as Versailles. Meanwhile Spain appears lost. The English surprise Gibraltar. The Archduke Charles enters Madrid, and notwithstanding the victory of Berwick, in Almanza (1707), judges himself master of the Peninsula.

Such were the heads of the contention. Let us follow in detail the unfolding of events in Portugal.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

On the 7th of March, 1704, the Archduke Charles arrived to Lisbon in a squadron commanded by Admiral Rooke, and was received by the King according to the programme of ceremonial previously issued, in which was described all the demonstrations of respect due to him as sovereign.

What D. Pedro II. had alleged in his justification, concluding by calling Spain to the path of liberty and honour, as though she had allowed herself to slumber away in a deadly fever, had not the expected termination.

Spain, who saw no event in the fact of the deposition of Philip V. and in the enthronement of Charles III., which could deliver her from her responsibilities as a people, took up the standard which a legitimate king had unfurled, and once again measured her strength with Portugal, after a truce of thirty-six years.

This is a fact which the severity of history cannot qualify as providential, because absolute laws are not violated for private interests, but one which calls for our attention, because it was at least providential in later events. In the war of restoration, as in that of the succession, the Portuguese stood on the brink of a precipice towards which they were being driven by their enemies, had not unexpected but favourable circumstances arrested their steps. We witnessed the first encounter; let us now narrate what took place in 1704.

The Spaniards had as their leader the Duke of Berwick, the illegitimate son of James II., a general who was not only active in the movements he made, but talented in the plans he conceived. The Portuguese had at their head two princes to whom the science of war was only a myth, and were solely surrounded by the splendour of a vain generalship. The Dutch were commanded by the Baron de Fagel, the English by the Duke de Schomberg, son of the general of the same name, and the Portuguese had their king, as it was said, but whose general field officer was the Duke de Cadaval. Nevertheless, there was wanting unity in idea and order; there was no one to definitely take the lead in affairs, from which resulted that as each general had a portion to direct, each felt, so to say, invested with the absolute command.

To General Fagel appertained more strongly the chief command, but this caused a motive of emulation to the Count de Schomberg.

Hence as there existed no union in will or discipline, or a military genius to take the lead in a cause which moreover did not kindle in any

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

degree the firebrand of patriotism, Portugal was about to enter a senseless combat, and at the end of so many heroic sacrifices was about to risk all the fruits she had so untiringly garnered in one unfortunate blow.

The providential circumstances which we referred to above were those proceeding from the part of Spain to the advantage of Portugal at the moment when the probabilities of a successful issue were most in her favour.

The Duke of Berwick had not at his command the indispensable necessaries for the support of his army. Notwithstanding that he had been told that all things were ready and in good order, he had to be very prompt and decisive in his first operations, in order to obtain the necessary supplies from outside sources. This he did by entering into Beira on 7th of May, and taking a large number of strongholds by vigorously assailing them, he was able to gather together in Castello Branco a large quantity of ammunitions. After having defeated General Fagel, he crossed the Tagus and captured Portalegre. Meanwhile in Alemtejo and the Algarve disasters were taking place.

Such was the condition of things, without a government, such as that of the Count de Castello Melhor, to organise a victory. To the Marquis das Minas is due that Portgual did not altogether succumb at that juncture. Moreover—such was the fallacious destiny of Spain—it was fortunate that she did not confidently deliver herself up to the talent and direction of the Duke of Berwick.

Had Spain supplied him with all the means he required and asked for, he would not have been compelled to retreat to the frontier, after performing two feats of arms at the commencement of the campaign. Entering into the heart of Portugal, spreading terror and cutting down the ranks, and not finding a general to arrest his steps, and thus logically deducing triumph after triumph, knowing that each stitch cut from the web would bring it nearer to the complete loss of the net, the Duke of Berwick would have continued as he had begun—making new conquests and preparing further ones. But, finding that he was entirely thrown on his own resources, he feared lest an imprudent movement on his part would gravely compromise him; therefore he turned back home, thus leaving his fondest hopes frustrated.

Spain was plotting against herself, preferring the ideas of courtiers to the efforts of the Duke of Berwick, while Portugal conspired against its future by forgetting what she owed to the Marquis das Minas, and turning to court foreigners.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Baron de Fagel, despite that he had been beaten in the passes of the Serra da Estrella, continued to be esteemed by the King after the Marquis de Ruvigny (Lord Gallway) had substituted the Count de Schomberg, who wearied the King by continually demanding that the soldiers be paid who had served his father. Meanwhile the Marquis das Minas, to whom was due that Portugal was not altogether crushed out, was left to an unjustifiable inaction.

Fortunately Spain was as inept or ungrateful as Portugal.

The Duke of Berwick delivered up in the same manner the command to the Count of Bey and to the Marechal de Tessé. The Count das Galveias, who was the military governor of the Alemtejo, obtained from the beginning signal advantages over the Spaniards. The taking of Valença de Alcantara was his first feat of arms. Next followed that of Albuquerque, in which the General, notwithstanding his advanced age, manifested he still possessed that energy and spirit which he had given ample proof of in former encounters. In both factions the losses of the enemy were considerable. By capitulating they not only abandoned an ample war material, but delivered up into Portuguese hands a large number of soldiers. D. José de Losada, who was the commandant of Albuquerque, left the fortress with all military honours. In Valença, however, the stronghold was sacked, although the white flag had been hoisted. Such were the events which took place in May, 1705. In the council of war which was afterwards held to discuss the plan of action, it was resolved to afford the army rest, and the men were sent to their quarters. Hence at the very moment when the attack should have been prompt and decisive, since it was a question of dismembering one dynasty and engrafting another in its place; and when it was imperative to enter into the lands of Spain at full gallop, and cut down all obstacles to its official existence, when in a word it wanted one daring blow—they deliberated, and resolved upon following out a prudent, cautious war with all its delays.

Each day that passed in this wise was a step gained in favour of Philip V. The Archduke was also singularly inactive. As they had assigned to him the crown, he awaited that it be brought to him, and he never moved to further the work in which he was the only interested party. Seemingly indifferent to events, he accepted its conclusions. The Marquis das Minas, D. João de Souza, at length practised a wonderful feat, and precipitated events in benefit of the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Pretender, and at the same time inscribed a glorious page in the history of the nation. Portugal was battering at the doors of Spain, not like Catilina at the doors of Rome, to become buried in the wreck, but to follow up from land to land, and from combat to combat, and from victory to victory, until she should strike her camp in the capital of the kingdom, and unfurl her royal standard on the triumphal arches of Madrid.

Towards the middle of the year 1705, the Earl of Peterborough arrived to Lisbon. He found the Archduke a prey to listless inaction, and he endeavoured to awaken in him some spirit of chivalry, and induce him to exert himself and enter willingly into the perilous scheme of visiting Catalonia. He was well aware that there was much to explore and gather in Catalonia. As though he were only an auxiliary of Peterborough, Charles agreed to the project, and they both departed for Catalonia—that province whose features are so poetic and original.

We know not whether the Catalans of that period were as jovial and courteous as in the days of Diogo de Campo, the Chancellor of Castille (1218), who, when referring to the Archbishop Rodrigo the characteristics of various peoples, when he mentioned the Catalans he styled them "Cathalanos in Lœtitia," on account of their jovial temper; but we do know, that they allowed themselves to be carried away by the suggestions and promises of Charles, or rather of those of Peterborough, for in a short time and despite the resistance offered by Barcelona, Charles III. succeeded to enter the capital, and probably penetrated into the very palaces whose halls had echoed the clanging sound of the armoury of D. Ramor Berenguer and of his nobles, and wherein had resounded the ringing poems of Bertran de Born. He entered in with his maiden sword in its scabbard; led, we may say, by the hand of a firm, resolute, yet withal simple English nobleman.

He was acclaimed King of Spain, and some of the other provinces, yielding to the call of Catalonia, sent in their adhesion.

Although on the frontiers the Marquis das Minas was in possession of the army of the Marechal de Tessé, the shock felt by the government of Philip V. was so severe that he was summoned back to Madrid without delay—without considering the evil results which might accrue from this recall. If on one hand this was only an attempt at crushing out the rebellion while still in embryo, it was, on the other, opening an easy access to a body directed by one who would not miss

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

profiting from such a propitious conjunction. From this fact of simultaneous operations resulted the success of the conflict.

France flew to aid the threatened monarch, and Barcelona resisted a regular blockade; but Peterborough, who possessed as lofty an intelligence, as he was dowered with decided energy, succeeded by prolonging the resistance to give time for the Anglo-Dutch squadron to steer alongside that of the Count de Tolosa, and for Philip V., hunted out in his retreat, to take the road to France. It was at this very moment that the Marquis das Minas entered his fallen capital. Having the supreme command of the army entrusted to him on account of the advanced age of the former commander, the heroic Deniz de Mello é Castro, Count de Galveas, the Marquis das Minas, released from the narrow sphere wherein the plans had been circumscribed, traced another of higher range which was calculated to bring affairs to a termination. His first attempt was unsuccessful, and after besieging Badajoz he was compelled to raise the siege, owing to the reinforcement of the garrison of the fortress brought by the Marechal de Tessé. But he was not disheartened or deterred from his purpose, and proceeded to pursue his path. This was the campaign of 1706, which was commenced by the attack of Brozas. When the surrender of this town took place, after a fierce combat on both sides, the garrison was forced to take refuge in a wood near Caceres. The Duke of Berwick hastened in aid of the fugitives; but the Portuguese, who had gained energy in the pursuit, followed it up and dispersed the Spaniards; some of them effected their escape, and the others were taken prisoners.

The command was held jointly by the Marquis das Minas and Lord Galway, or as some say, the Marquis de Ruvigny. He undoubtedly possessed high military qualities, although deficient in the gifts of genius of great characters. Lord Galway was in conflict with the Marquis, and while taking to his own credit all the successes of fortune, he made the Marquis das Minas responsible for all the disasters and defeats. The raising of the siege of Badajoz, which occurred at the commencement, was due to the negligence, or want of co-operation, of Lord Galway.

The Marquis, however, was able to redress this disaster by compelling the Duke of Berwick to retreat to Caceres; and he continued his march to Alcantara, a city that offered a most gallant resistance, but which did not prevent its eventual surrender on the 14th of April.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

This feat of arms is one of the most notable recorded in the history of Portugal.

The Governor of the fortress, D. Miguel Gasco, was an intrepid officer, and his garrison a body of heroic men, who fought with the greatest bravery, and it was only under the greatest pressure of circumstances that they consented to lay down their arms. In this action the Marquis de Fronteira took an important part, by crossing the Tagus and attacking the right wing. The whole garrison, which numbered over 4,000, were taken prisoners and conducted to Portugal. The spoils of war were sufficiently important in ammunition, arms, and supplies. The heroism of this action was in the fact of the Portuguese entering into conflict with those who had endeavoured to manacle them in their power, and proved that the Portuguese arms were still powerful, as with giant strides they pushed on the road that led to the capital of Spain. What the Spaniards had been unable to effect, they were about to do.

When the Duke of Berwick, who had been unable to afford any aid to Alcantara, owing to the rapidity of operations, was informed of what had taken place, he at once endeavoured to anticipate the action of the Portuguese by defending the city, whose safety was imperilled.

The road to Plasencia was now the object of the attention of the Marquis. Being a strategist of the highest order, he at once reconnoitred the conditions of the ground he had to traverse, and like a prudent chess player, who is aware that his opponent is no less skilful than himself, he prepares beforehand his moves, but without losing its cunning. On the 28th the allied forces, without requiring to remove obstacles of any dangerous nature, entered into Plasencia, and were thus only about two months' march from Madrid.

The history of the evolutions of these two armies brings out in relief the merits of the commanders. Both were fully convinced of each other's skill, and both parried the blows and sought a defence. In the Duke of Berwick could be perceived consummate tact, an astute foresight and calculation, the science that weighs all things, and attends to every move; that penetrative insight which discovers at a glance the smallest weak point in the armoury of his adversary and in that of his own; meanwhile that in the action of the Marquis das Minas there is more brilliancy in the daring blows levelled, more largeness in the scope of his moves, more confidence when falling, more dignity when standing on his guard. The son of James II. reveals the qualities of a

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

distinguished general, but this distinction is tempered with a certain British phlegm. D. João de Sousa, without being unduly impatient, is yet calm and collected when retreating, and he even then prepares a fresh movement, and watches for an opportune moment to rise up with renewed energy to fall with agile rapidity on his adversary like a panther.

Having once entered into Plasencia, it became imperative to continue his plan. Charles III. had been acclaimed King throughout a large portion of Spanish territory, thanks to the efforts of those who so willingly had placed themselves at his service. The plan or scheme of the Duke was to summon to war the Portuguese, on a spot where the accidents of the ground should be rough and rugged, because it would further his plan to find a sterile, uncultivated land wherein by exhausting marches and fatiguing, useless raids, to diminish the health and strength of the enemy. But these venturesome schemes did not please the Marquis das Minas; therefore as soon as he approached Naval Moral and there learnt that the Duke had retreated, leaving before him the open, rugged ground to be traversed, he perceived the system by which he sought to decimate his strength, and he at once retroceded, without attempting to pursue his track, and thereby favouring the clever scheme projected by his adversary.

The Marquis das Minas after having thus simulated a retreat, fell in full force on Ciudad Rodrigo without giving time for any succour to arrive. It was a misfortune which the Duke of Berwick had ever to regret—that of having always arrived too late; in the same way as Spain had to lament not having known and appreciated him earlier. Had he had at command, when opening the campaign, the resources which Spain ought to have placed at his service, the Marquis das Minas would never have been able to repair the damages done. But the evil hour was for the Duke now that the invasion had assumed so grave an aspect. His part, and well he must have comprehended it, could no longer be acted in a decisive, peremptory way. He was simply playing the last moves in rule notwithstanding that he knew he could not win the game.

He therefore withdrew to Salamanca, and then to Alba S. Termes, and thus, as it were, unfolded at the feet of the Marquis das Minas the wide carpet of his conquests. From thence up to Madrid it was in truth no path strewn with roses; but the Spanish general, owing to the desponding state of his troops, did not dare to effect any decisive blow.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Salamanca was proclaiming Charles III.; and the neighbouring lands, with the natural egotism of those who prize their own security rather than the claims of the nation, were replying in chorus; and on the 24th of June the allied armies, encamped on the field of Retamal, could perceive the spirals of smoke which arose from the dwellings of Madrid.

The Marquis did not wish to enter the city until news should arrive. The delay was not long. Madrid, Toledo, Segovia, and many other places offered their keys to the conqueror. Like humble captives, they knelt before those who dictated the law to them, and offered him the charms of their affections.

On the 28th the allied armies entered the capital of Spain with unfurled banners and laurels in their hands. It was but an ephemeral triumph; and they would have to seek anew the path to the frontier, forgotten by the king whose cause they had sustained and won; but though it were ephemeral it was no less radiant. What is swifter than a flash of lightning? Nevertheless its streak of fire, which cleaves the air like an arrow, leaves its vestiges on the earth for a great length of time.

Let us leave awhile the victorious armies in the capital of Spain and return to the Court of Portugal, where grave events were succeeding each other rapidly, and where it appears D. Pedro II. was expiating in life the crimes he had been guilty of. Few men have been so deeply wounded in their affections and domestic relations than he, who was touched by a series of catastrophes. His second wife, to whom he was sincerely attached, was taken from him by death on the 4th of August, 1699, in the thirty-third year of her age. Once more he was wifeless, and again left to solitude, for in the midst of an obsequious court he could find no one to alleviate his sorrows. In truth, the purple does not wipe away tears.

D. Pedro II., who was in his fifty-first year, was beginning to feel the effects of the many bitter trials he had endured, and of an existence of violent commotions joined to remorse of conscience. As an individual he had been tossed about by destiny, and as a king he felt deep disquietude for his responsibilities. Unable to withdraw from the European crisis, he had involved his country in it without knowing what the consequences of this perilous game would lead to. Moreover, the ministers who surrounded him were not of the metal to support, aid, or strengthen him, nor were they dowered with sufficient prevision

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

to apprehend or forecast future events. Hence the whole weight and responsibilty of affairs had to be borne by the King, who was guided by a certain administrative tact which he seemed to have inherited from his father, but which like him was not sufficient for superior deliberations, nor had he the instinct necessary to carry out great undertakings.

His sister, D. Catherina, who governed on two occasions during the absence of the King, was a lady of lofty attainments and clear genius, which quite fitted her to take the helm of affairs. On the 31st of December, 1705, she expired at the Palace of Bemposta, in the sixty-sixth year of her age.

Meantime, as we said above, the allied armies had entered Madrid. Their stay was not of long duration, and the star of victory soon became dimmed and all plans frustrated. Spain was certainly yielding many points beneath the pressure of the victorious arms, but she did not applaud the new order of things which they sought to implant. The Marquis das Minas proclaimed the Archduke Charles king, but his voice did not find an echo in any Castillian breast. Madrid bent under the weight of the domination, but only awaited an opportune moment to rise up and protest.

Throughout the breadth of the lands traversed by the allies, they left, so to say, a trail of reprisals. No sooner had they crossed the bounds of a district than it rose up with all the bitter feelings of an enemy. Added to this, the indecision of the Archduke, who was not prepared to fall promptly on Madrid, placed the Portuguese under terrible conditions, not only as regarded the actual position of things, as for a secure resistance.

The Duke of Berwick, without allowing himself to be influenced by fear or reports, continued actively and successfully to carry out the plan laid out. Reinforced in his army, and further strengthened by the concourse of the revolted populations, he could well bind the hands of the Portuguese, and the latter be unable to escape by capitulation.

We should not dare to say that Philip V. sustained on his head the crown which had been bestowed on him simply on account of the energy he manifested, in contradistinction to the hesitating perplexity of his rival; because what really maintained him in the possession of his kingdom was the enthusiastic will of the nation.

Had the Archduke shown more promptitude and quitted Barcelona when he was summoned by the Marquis das Minas, and presented

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

himself at the head of a brilliant army in Madrid, it would have hastened his enthronement, for possibly Spain might have hesitated for a moment and her reaction been less prompt; but the throne tottered beneath its weak supports, and at the first blow it crumbled down, and the new king was buried under its ruins. It was because the whole of Spain claimed the free exercise of its own rights, and after having acknowledged the sovereignty of the Duke of Anjou, would not tolerate that any other claimant should be imposed upon her under any ostensible reason whatsoever.

Hence, finding himself engulfed in that stormy ocean, and justly fearing to be beaten by the enemy's troops, the Marquis das Minas effected a retreat to Valencia, thus affording a further proof of his great skill as a general. Such was the termination of all calculations and the loss of so many lives. By following the straight road to Valencia, the Marquis das Minas had in view to profit by the advantages obtained by Peterborough. The star which had, however, shone with such vivid brilliancy was on the point of being dimmed; while his reputation as a military officer was maintained high and irrefutable. Under the existing conditions no one could have prevented the subsequent disasters. The narrative of these we must leave for a future occasion, as they appertain to the next reign.

At the beginning of the month of December, 1706, D. Pedro II was warned that his end was nigh. Sad and melancholy must those days have been in view of the state of public affairs. He was leaving the nation in the grip of tremendous calamities, the helm of affairs at the mercy of a youth who could not manage it. Around him he saw only the direst despondency depicted on every countenance. After having attained to a state of peace, and entered a period which promised to be a flourishing one, the Portuguese were returning to the former scenes of invasion, and to the clangour of war throughout the breadth of Portuguese territory. All these considerations must have assailed the dying moments of D. Pedro II. He was taken ill in the Quinta of Alcantara with a severe attack of pleurisy, to which he succumbed on the 9th of December, 1706, being fifty-eight years of age, seven months, and thirteen days.

From his first marriage with the Infanta D. Maria of Savoy he had issue the Infanta D. Isabel, and by his second wife, the Prince D. João, who died in infancy, and another prince of the same name, who became subsequently D. João V The Infante D. Francisco, who was made

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Grand Prior de Crato, D. Antonio, D. Theresa, who became the promised bride of the Archduke Charles, D. Manuel, who when eighteen years of age departed secretly for Hungary, where he entered the service of Prince Eugene, and fought in the battles of Peterwaradin, Temeswar, and Belgrade, and lastly, the Infanta D. Francisca.

Besides these legitimate children, he left three natural ones, D. Luiza, who resided in the Convent of Carnide with her aunt, D. Maria, and was married first to the Duke D. Luiz Ambrosio de Mello, son of the Duke de Cadaval, and at his death, which took place on 13th of November, 1700, married her brother-in-law, the Duke D. Jayme. Also D. Miguel, recognised by D. João V., who ordered that he should be treated as his brother; and lastly, D. José, who was consecrated Archbishop of Braga.

D. Pedro had governed Portugal in the capacity of Regent sixteen years, and twenty-three as king, in all thirty-nine years. His government, on the whole, may be termed an unfortunate one, although three very notable events in the history of Portugal took place during his administration—the acknowledgment of Portuguese independence by Spain, the entry of Portuguese troops into Madrid, and lastly, the discovery of the gold mines in the Brazils, about the year 1664.

But these felicitous events were marred by a series of disastrous measures, which served to hasten the decadence of Portugal. Through not profiting by the victorious campaigns of the restoration in 1668, D. Pedro II. missed the opportunity of strengthening the frontiers, and thus secure to the nation a more solid defence against the powerful adjoining enemy; while the gold of the Brazils commenced at once to run the path of extravagance, and one that was subsequently followed wildly by D. João V. Meanwhile that the fleet sent out to Nice, only to receive a humiliating affront from the Duke of Savoy, was covered with gold and magnificently equipped, the trade in Portuguese fabrics was dwindling to nothing through inanition; agriculture was declining, and the Portuguese strongholds in the East had neither garrisons nor navy with which to resist the European powers. But above all other errors and disasters, the Treaty of Methuen was the greatest stain that defaced the reign of D. Pedro II., because by it was annihilated the nascent arts of Portugal and all agricultural industry, excepting vineyards, and constituted Portugal exclusively the purveyor of wines for England.

D. Pedro II. had not ministers around him endowed with sufficiently

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

skilful governing qualities, or in any way comparable to the administrative genius of the Count de Castello Melhor. In a word, the reign of D. Pedro II. was one of the most disastrous in the history of Portugal. In all the events and in all its pages is perceived her sad and pitiful downfall. The subsequent reign, that of D. João V., may be a more disastrous one, but its evils are logically the results of the events of the former one. Immorality and fanaticism, unbridled luxury and deepest misery, a despotic rule, which was neither enlightened nor energetic; and the useless intervention in European affairs, and abstention from them when these affairs directly concerned Portugal. Such was the sad spectacle which these two reigns unfold before our eyes, and during which we trace the enervation of that Portuguese energy that we found so vigorously rising at the call of liberty during the heroic lightsome days of the revolution of 1640

END OF ELEVENTH BOOK.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE TWELFTH.

1706—1750.

REIGN OF D. JOÃO V.

D. João V.—Battle of Almanza—Arrival to Lisbon of the Marquis das Minas and Lord Galway—Portuguese losses—Marriage of D. João V. with the Archduchess Mariana of Austria—Signing of the treaty—Continuation of war with Spain—State of French affairs—Victory at Caia—Campaigns on the frontiers—Treaty of Utrecht—Armistice between Portugal and Spain—Treaty of peace—Bitter feelings of the Spaniards and Portuguese—Return of the Portuguese troops to Portugal—Energetic action taken by D. Pedro d'Almeida—Enthusiastic reception of the troops at Olivenca—General peace of Europe—New distribution of its Map—State of Brazils—Affray between French and Portuguese Corsairs—Bombardment of Guaratiba—The government of D. João V.—Foundation of the Academia Real da Historia Portugueza—War declared by Charles VI. against Achmet—Clement XI. beseeches the aid of Portugal—Departure of the fleet—The allied fleets attack the Mussalman squadrons—Return of the Portuguese fleet to Lisbon—Erection of the Patriarchal See—Matrimonial treaties for the marriage of the heirs to the thrones of Portugal and Spain—Erection of the Palace of Vendas Novas—The ambassador at Madrid affronted—Political state of Europe—Poland—The Princes Jaques and Constantine Sobiesky—Stanislaus Leczinsky—The Infante D. Manuel is put forward as candidate to the throne of Poland—The alliance of Portugal besought—France offers to mediate—Portugal solicits the aid of England—A fleet departs from England—An army is raised by D. João V.—Capture of the colony of Sacramento—Convention between Spain and Portugal—War between Spain and England—Smuggling on the American coasts—Portugal maintains her neutrality—Seven years' war—Cordial relations established between Spain and Portugal—Portugal is besought to mediate with the Powers—Treaty of peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Erection of Mafra—Convent of das Necessidades—D. João V. is stricken with paralysis—The Queen assumes the government of the kingdom—The Mosaic Chapel of S. John the Baptist—Public works—The aqueduct, hydraulic works, baths—The Mint—Goldmines—Diamond fields—Fleets to convoy merchant ships—Treaty of demarcation—Angola—Character of the King—Arts, letters, and science—Manufactures—Death of D. João V.—His children—Literary movements during the reign of D. João V.—Decrees against defacement of monuments—Conclusion.

THE Prince, who was ascending the throne under the title of D. João V., was only seventeen years of age. He was a youth of generous spirit, intrepid, intelligent, and full of noble ambition and goodwill; never-

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

theless his reign, which extended over a space of forty-four years, was fatal to the country. It was due to his education having been a mistaken one. He was brought up with the idea that his power was a complete delegation of Omnipotence, and therefore all the Portuguese were no more than his slaves; and like what the Marshal de Villeroy said to the youthful king of France, Louis XV., was told him—"Sire, tout ce peuple est à vous." And in the same manner as Louis XV. was a bad king, despite the brilliant qualities which distinguished him, so also D. João V., who bore a strong resemblance to that king of France, did nought else but drag his kingdom down the precipice. The period comprehended by the reign of D. João V. was a mixture of corruption and religion, of show and misery, of weakness and haughtiness. When entering into the possession of his States, at the early age of seventeen, he found himself overwhelmed by the grave litigation which was taking place, and he traversed—somewhat scornful of its consequences—calamitous difficulties, and, similarly to Louis XV., succeeded to engrave in the scutcheons of tradition certain lines of luminous perpetuity.

On commencing this twelfth book as in tracing out the preceding ones, we have had in view no severe or wanton criticism. Party passions are not dazzling our eyes at this moment, because distant two centuries they have been long-buried in the abyss of time. Moreover, although the blast of modern ideas may have cut down some flowers of the sweet beliefs of former days, we still worship the past as the cradle of many of our innocent dreams. To these we have still recourse in our hours of disillusions and discomfort, to seek the only refuge which can be found for those who, not believing in the future of history, begin to doubt even the present. But by the past, we do not imply what it symbolises in regard to perversity and fanaticism, or rather what is unduly understood by that phase in its worldly, selfish sense. Positive philosophy has destroyed many futile preoccupations, but it has also with them, swept away many a pious relic. Of this portion of the human race that laments the destruction of many consolatory monuments, may be said what one of the most eloquent historians wrote respecting the philosopher Epimenides—"He well knew that the popular statue, the obscure penates, the balm of the unhappy, was more useful to humanity than the book of the philosopher, which never can wipe away a tear."*

* Chateaubriand, *Essai sur les Révolutions*, tom. i., page 67.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

In the youth of seventeen was already revealed the immense pride of the individual who knew that caprice was all powerful, and that his ignorance could prevail above the experience and talents of ministers grown grey in the service of the nation, and the generals who had gained victories.

His first act was to withdraw from power the Duke de Cadaval, the trusty servant of his father, assigning the highest charges of the state to noblemen who were more of his mind, such as the Count de Vianna, the Marquis de Marialva, and the Marquis d'Alegrete. His second act was to ratify the treaties contracted with the European powers, binding more firmly the bonds that united the allies together, and issue orders for the prosecution of military operations.

Fortune did not continue to smile on the Portuguese arms. His reign, which was to be so disastrous, was inaugurated by the loss of the battle of Almanza, which took place on the 25th of April, 1707. It was a sad augury for the reign which was opening.

As we have seen, D. João V. inherited the sceptre of his father at the time when the troops were obliged to retreat to the frontier. As Asfeld, the second in command of the army of Berwick, endeavoured to attract the Marquis das Minas to the plains of Valencia, and as the Portuguese government had announced the junction of a new corps to the army in aid of the allies, the Marquis, as well as Lord Galway, decided to quit their retreat among the mountains to accept battle in open campaign.

On the 25th of April, 1707, the Portuguese army poured down the plains of Almanza. The first moment of the battle was truly fascinating. The Portuguese troops charge with tremendous impetus, the centre is broken through, and the Duke of Orleans who, in forced marches, had come to aid, was informed that the battle was lost. But on the right and left wings the Portuguese as well as the English and Dutch forces were unable to resist their adversaries. The enemy's cavalry played an important part in this engagement, those who had become involved thirsting for victory, which they judged to be certain, now abandoned by these two extremes of the army, found themselves without aid or hopes. At nightfall the two Portuguese wings had retired in a disbanded state, while the centre was hemmed in amid the passes of the declivities to surrender on the following day. The prisoners of the battle of Almanza were over 8,000.

Philip V., who up to that moment had had to wrestle with dismal

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

probabilities, now entered a period which promised to be more hopeful and bright. As victory, however uncertain it may be, always carries with it the hallucination of intoxication, the Spaniards and French, without waiting to cull the laurels, endeavoured to extend the advantages obtained. As we are aware, Valencia, Catalonia, and Aragon followed the party of Charles III., and it was on that account that the Duke of Berwick and the Duke of Orleans attempted to crush down these rising ferments.

Their mode of action was truly brutal. Not satisfied with putting to the sword all who resisted, they moreover deprived these kingdoms of their ancient privileges by a royal decree, promulgated on 29th June, 1707. The capitals of Valencia and Aragon surrendered without a combat, and their example was followed by a large number of fortresses, among them Lerida, which at first resisted the Prince de Condé. Denis, Xativa, and Alicante resisted, but were forced to submit. The inhabitants of Xativa, in punishment for their furious defence, were put to the sword. The walls were razed to the ground, and when the city was reconstructed, its name was changed for that of S. Philip. Catalonia resisted. The complete and enthusiastic adhesion of Catalonia to the cause of the Archduke, and subsequently the desperate defence of Barcelona, was a bitter sequel to the vengeance wrecked by Philip V.

The Marquis das Minas and Lord Galway arrived about this time to Lisbon in the fleet of Admiral Hicks. Both were substituted in the command by the Count de Atalaya and Lord Stanhope.

The general state of the war was, however, varied, and on the Portuguese side very dismal. They had lost the stronghold of Alcantara, the towns of Serpa and Moura, and in Spain Ciudad Rodrigo. The efforts of their generals, and the courage and heroism of the men, could not avert the precipitate retreat. Such was the state of things in the years 1707 and 1708. The formation of the army in the Beira, which should have gone in aid of the Portuguese before the battle of Almanza, was the cause of the defection of troops in the line of Alemtejo.

From thence proceeded the above-named disasters. When the Marquis de Fronteira prevailed upon the Duke de Ossuna, and the Marquis de Bey not to invest Olivenca, he practised a notable feat of arms. To this was added the demolition of the fortress of Alcantara and the taking of the fort of Alqueria de la Puebla, whose commander surrendered with 200 soldiers and 13 pieces of artillery.

Before proceeding with the history of the campaigns following

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the order of chronology in the narrative of facts we shall state the marriage of the King with the Archduchess D. Maria Anna of Austria, the daughter of the Emperor Leopold, and sister of the Emperor Joseph I.

The treaty of marriage of D. João V. with this princess was signed in Vienna on the 24th of June, 1708, and ratified on 12th of March 1709. By it his Imperial Majesty bound himself to give the princess as a dowry 100,000 scudi, or gold crowns, payable in two years. The marriage portion of the future Queen of Portugal to be 100,000 cruzados. After her marriage, D. João V. to assign to her the same states, rentals, cities, jurisdictions, privileges, prerogatives, and royal bounties as to other queens her predecessors. In the event of the King's demise without issue, should the Queen desire to reside in Portugal, the whole of her dowry, jewels and goods she had brought would be reserved intact, and should she return to Germany the whole of the dowry she brought would be restored to her, with the addition of a third part of the marriage portion assigned to her. Should the King, however, die, leaving issue, and the queen-widow refuse to live in the kingdom of Portugal, a thĩrd part of her dowry, and a third part of her marriage portion, should be allowed her; but should she remain and reside in Portugal she would enjoy for life all her states, rentals and prerogatives. The negotiation of this marriage treaty was entrusted to the Count de Villar-Maior and Fernão Telles da Silva.

The Princess departed for Portugal on the 11th of July, 1709, but owing to contrary winds, which delayed the voyage, she did not reach Portsmouth until the 5th of October. She embarked on the 8th in the fleet of Admiral Bing, reaching Lisbon on the 26th, her entry taking place beneath a large number of triumphal arches magnificently ornamented, and a concourse of people who joyously and enthusiastically received her.

War with Spain continued, and both Spain and France were in deplorable circumstances as regarded the general aspect of affairs, notwithstanding that the fate of arms in the Peninsula was propitious. That period was especially for France a most painful conjunction. The fearful winter of 1709, with its consequent famine, was added to the disasters sustained by Louis XIV., and compelled the haughty monarch to seek for peace in the humblest manner, and even offer to forsake the cause of his grandson; but the conquerors, inebriated with the triumph obtained, endeavoured to

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

impose the most outrageous conditions, exacting that he himself should expel by force of arms Philip V. from the Spanish throne. This so exasperated Louis XIV. that, making a supreme effort, he appealed to the patriotism of the people and the devotion of the nobles, saying that as in every way they obliged him to make war, he preferred waging it against his enemies than to his own relatives and allies, hence war was continued despite the negotiations for peace. The people understood the immense depth of feeling in this cry of despair, and rose in a body to defend the menaced throne. Hundred thousand men gathered together under the command of Villars; this was all France could muster in her exhausted state. But all that came from this effort was the defeat of Malplaquet on the 11th of September, 1709. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough remained masters of the field—strewn with 28,000 dead.

At the commencement of that same year the Marquis de Fronteira and Lord Galway encamped on the shore of the Caia, the Marquis de Bey being on the opposite bank. On the 7th of May they resolved to cross the river without the Spaniards raising any obstacles. However, when the enemy's corps of cavalry, which was superior to the Portuguese, arrived, they charged with a tremendous intrepidity that left the result well assured. The Portuguese infantry resisted bravely, and it was due to them that the Marquis de Fronteira was able to retire in order. We have often had to observe in the pages of this history, when describing combats, that the want of discipline and the hesitation of the cavalry had on various occasions placed the Portuguese army at a disadvantage. Three whole regiments thus fell into the hands of the enemy, and it was on that account that the losses of the allied army on the field of Caia rose to 800 slain and over 2,000 prisoners. The Portuguese forces precipitately retired, and instead of taking the offensive as had been arranged, they were only able to cover Olivença.

The Marquis of Bey did not profit in the degree which might be expected from this victory, because Fortune disfavoured the Bourbons, and he could not undertake daring campaigns. Villars was losing in the Low Countries against Marlborough and Prince Eugene the battle of Malplaquet, and at the same time Stahremberg was passing from Italy to Spain, and taking the road to the Balearic Islands. The unimportant victory of Caia was but a small compensation for these great disasters.

D. João V., who was naturally obstinate, would not be disheartened

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

by these reverses, but persisted in his alliance, raising fresh troops, consenting that England should form in Portugal, at his expense, four regiments, wherein entered English and French Protestant officers despite the religious instincts of the youthful King; but there was no remedy but to overcome this repugnance, because it was the want of good officers which was most keenly felt by the allied forces as well as the cavalry corps of the Portuguese.

The campaign of 1710, on the frontiers of Portugal, bore insignificant results. It was limited to two actions in the autumn—the entry into Spain and taking Xerez, which surrendered, and returning to Portugal, after dismantling some of the fortifications. Pedro de Mascarenhas succeeded to enter the kingdom of Leon, taking Alcanizas and Puebla de Senabria.

Let us glance at the extraordinary events which were taking place in Spain during the absence of the Duke of Berwick who was succeeded by the Count de Villadarias. The generals of the allied army were Stahremberg and Lord Stanhope.

Philip V., with a promptitude worthy of all praise, prepared himself so as not to delay levelling fresh blows, but his attack on the allies bore consequences from which he did not know how to draw profit. Judging himself, owing to the effect of a surprise, the favoured child of fortune, he slumbered with the indiscreet confidence of princes. Stahremberg, who did not consider himself so favoured by fortune, and for that very reason sought her smile with greater insistence, gathered together the elements which were not in perfect connection, and brought them to bear upon the army of Philip V., forcing the latter to take a hurried flight and turn towards Saragoza. He did not leave him there at peace, however. Stahremberg was a general of finest mould. On the 20th of August he attacked Saragoza, and after a combat, wherein the Spanish cavalry behaved as ever, most splendidly, and in which the Portuguese infantry likewise gave proof of notable daring, the standards were unfurled triumphantly and anew were directed to the road of Madrid. The leader of this ostentatious march was solely Lord Stanhope. Stahremberg was opposed to it. He was well aware of the barrenness of this step, which was no more than exterior show. Madrid, so far removed from all, and further still on account of the hordes of enemies which separated it from the frontiers, was no more than a terrible latitude in the light of military science. It was doubtless far preferable to effect a fusion with the Portuguese army and render

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

communications easy and secure. The result was similar to the last. The Spaniards kept faithful to the king, and the archduke held no more than the sceptre of a theatrical sovereign. As it was urgent, however, to resolve this cause, which was becoming prolonged on both sides with immense losses in lives and money, the Duke de Vendôme came to assume the command of the Franco-Spanish army.

As Sr. Pinheiro Chagas writes: "Once again stood facing each other two skilful generals—Stahremberg and the Duke de Vendôme, both equally worthy to measure swords as the Duke of Berwick with the Marquis das Minas."

In both cases we trace the fatality to the English side. The battle of Villa Viçosa, which decided the strife in favour of Philip V., proceeded directly from the surrender of Brihuega by Lord Stanhope. When Vendôme invested this city, judging it was segregated from any external aid, Stahremberg had done no more than prepare a snare for him. Perchance was not the English commander in the plot? No doubt he was acting in concert with him. We would not wish to advance that his courage had altogether failed him, but had not Brihuega surrendered on the 1st of December 1710, with all its troops and ammunition, when Stahremberg arrived he could have offered battle under all auspices of victory. In the same manner as in Almanza, there was an instant in Villa Viçosa when destiny seemed to wish to favour the Portuguese cause, and be it said proudly, that instant was due in a great measure to the concourse of Portuguese soldiers. It was under equal circumstances, when the centre of the enemy had been broken as happened in Almanza, that the force coming from Brihuega forced Stahremberg to retreat under pain of becoming envolved. The losses were very considerable both in lives and war materials. Zaragoza in her splendour, and Villa Viçosa in her sadness, record, among others, the names of two notable Portuguese, D. Pedro d'Almeida, afterwards Count de Assumar, and the Count de Atalaya.

Affairs were, however, taking a turn towards a new course. The Emperor of Germany, Joseph I., was dead, and his brother, the Archduke Charles, succeeded him on the throne. From that moment the offered support sent by England and the States General was rendered useless. The universal sovereignty denied to the Duke of Anjou could not be transferred to Vienna. At the same time the Duchess of Marlborough was in disgrace with Queen Anne, and her fall precipitated the downfall of her glorious husband. The Tories took advantage of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the occasion to accuse him of embezzling the money assigned for the payment of the troops. The Duke, without formally denying the accusation, replied with the haughtiness of a Scipio.

Prince Eugene still following the impulse, took possession of Quesnoy and besieged Landrecies with 100,000 men, establishing with his lines the road which he called, to Paris.

The victory of Denain by Villars (July, 1712), and successively those of Douay, Bouchain, and Quesnoy, terminated this war, and established the throne of Philip V.

The events were disastrously unfavourable to the situation of Portugal.

Lord Portmore, the English Ambassador and Commander-in-Chief of the English troops, received orders to desist and to withdraw the soldiers, with the exception of a small portion under the command of General Pearce, who, later on, likewise retired. Yet with the unjustifiable madness of despair the Portuguese continued a serious strife, holding still Campo-Maior to close with honour the cycle of their prowess.

The Marquis of Bey had placed it under siege on the 28th of September, and its defence was at once attended to. The Governor of the fortress was the Brigadier Estevão da Gama de Moura e Azevedo, who had under his orders, all told, some 1,200 soldiers. The army of the Alemtejo was under the command of Pedro de Mascarenhas. In this event there is a circumstance which must be brought out in relief, this was the longing of those outside the fortress to obtain an entry. They ardently desired to share with the besieged their risks and their sufferings, and they were not satisfied to be far from them. The efforts of the Conde de Ribeira Grande were such that, having besought from Pedro de Mascarenhas the governorship of the stronghold, he entered in with Brigadier Massé after succeeding to break through the siege at the head of 300 grenadiers and 70 horsemen.

The sorties of the Portuguese were repeated, and it was due to their repetition that Campo-Maior was not left without means of communication with its own people.

On the 27th of October, D. Luis, the Count da Ericeira and the General Paulo Caetano d'Albuquerque, assisted by 600 men, charged upon the blockaders and forced a breach in the line. Simultaneously with the attack was the assault. The Spanish cavalry fought them fiercely, but their perseverance was truly heroic. At length they

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

succeeded to enter the fortress, and they lent the power of their arms against the aggression.

D. Pedro de Zuniga, who was the general leading the assault, after twice investing and being twice repulsed with serious losses, was compelled to abstain from fresh engagements, and the Marquis of Bey ordered the siege to be raised. The joy throughout the nation was immense, and D. João V. comprehended and appraised the value of that patriotic, obstinate resistance by the manner in which he munificently rewarded them. The soldiers were rewarded, the officers promoted, and praise was lavished on those who so fully merited it, adding a fresh stimulus generally. The town for the space of one year was exempted from the payment of tithes and dues, while royal gifts accompanied these exemptions. Nevertheless peace was daily becoming more necessary to the country. Portugal, whose finances and military organisation were in a failing state, continued with an inexplicable obstinacy a cruel debate to which she was not called, in view that the partnership had been severed.

From this resulted the first steps towards an amnesty which was to be the prelude of a definite peace. D. João V. was sufficiently haughty to bend before dishonourable stipulations, and we say it in truth, in view of the state of abandonment and inanition in which the nation was plunged, the terms of agreement might have been harder.

In Utrecht was signed, on the 7th of November, 1712, the treaty for the suspension of hostilities between D. João V. on one part, and on the other Louis XIV. and Philip V. The general suspension of arms and of all military actions by land and by sea, to commence from the 15th November, 1712, until the 15th of March, 1713. All vessels and crafts of the three crowns were free to navigate, with no restriction but the passports of their respective sovereigns. The Portuguese troops quartered in Catalonia to return to Portugal without delay, the King of France pledging to afford them a safe transit, in such a manner that should from any unforeseen event the passage of the troops be delayed beyond the expiration of the term assigned of four months, either by sea or by land, the suspension to continue in respect to the said troops until their arrival to Portugal.

The plenipotentiaries who signed this treaty were l'Abbé de Polignac, Mesnager, Huxelles, Count de Tarouca, and D. Luis da Cunha. The armistice, with all its articles and force and vigour, was

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

prorogued for a further term of four months. On the 11th of April, 1713, was celebrated, in Utrecht, the treaty of peace and friendship between D. João V. and Louis XIV. The plenipotentiaries agreeing to the stipulated conditions by which all hostilities to be laid aside, and the prisoners of war to be restored on either part, and should in the colonies or dominions of either crown any fortress have been taken, the same to be returned to the original possessor. Commerce to be allowed all possible freedom compatible with the conditions ruled by the treaties made on the matter. The King of Portugal was free to reconstruct the forts of Araguari and Camaú or Massapa, which had been demolished in the execution of the provisional treaty of 4th March, 1700. France recognising that the two margins of the river Amazon, southern and northern, belonged by right of proprietorship and dominion to Portugal. In order to avoid fresh dissensions arising in those parts, it was further stipulated that the inhabitants of Cayenne and others could not trade in the places above mentioned, it being absolutely prohibited to them to pass the river Vicente Pinson, to trade or ransom slaves in the lands of the North Cape, D. João V. promising that none of his vassals should proceed to Cayenne for trading purposes.

The armistice between Portugal and England continued, meanwhile being ratified by the act or terms of 10th of August, 1713. On the 19th, Queen Anne approved it in Hampton Court, pledging by all competent means, and even by force of arms in case of necessity, to maintain and fulfil the stipulated terms.

Finally, on the 6th of February, 1715, the treaty of peace between Portugal and Castille was signed by the plenipotentiaries João Gomes da Silva, Count de Tarouca, and D. Luiz da Cunha on one side, and the Duke of Ossuna on the other part. This treaty was composed of twenty-five articles.

The peace in its solid bases being agreed and signed, and the prisoners and hostages returned, to Portugal would be restored the castle of Nondar with its territories, the islet of Verdoejo, and the territory and colony of Sacramento; while to the crown of Spain the fortress of Albuquerque and of Puebla with their adjacent lands. All prizes taken on either side during the course of the war, or through its cause, would be held as legal, the subjects of either nation having no right or action to demand in future their restoration.

The security of the Portuguese troops on their return from Catalonia to Portugal was pledged by France, and there is no doubt

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

that either by her influence, or through the extreme kindness of the people, it was rendered easy.

The enmity which existed between the Spaniards and the Portuguese was truly terrible, and never, not even during the wars of the restoration, was odium between the two nations so bitter. This bad feeling had a flagrant manifestation in the return of D. Pedro d'Almeida from Catalonia to Portugal after the negotiation for the suspension of arms had been accomplished, and which we shall briefly describe.

The Portuguese corps in Catalonia after the defeat of Almanza, and the departure of the Marquis das Minas to Portugal, had become considerably diminished under the orders of the Count de Atalaya, who at their head assisted at the battles of Zaragoza and Villa Viçosa.

When the armistice had been arranged, and that this corps endeavoured to return to Portugal, crossing the whole of Spain, the Count d'Atalaya being invalided, the command was assumed by D. Pedro d'Almeida, son of the Count de Assumar, a youth of five-and-twenty. In this difficult march, extending over 180 leagues, he gave proofs of the greatest prudence and tact. In the first place this journey was rendered most difficult on account of the odium of the Spaniards against them, and secondly, by reason of the barefaced attempt of the authorities to suborn the troops, and for this end employing most atrocious means. The Portuguese army departed from Barcelona on the 7th of January, 1713, each regiment being escorted to the frontier of Catalonia by one of the principal fidalgos of the province in order to restrain the townspeople, who, indignant at the suspension of arms entered into by Portugal, and themselves forsaken by another of their allies, as England and Holland had done previously, feared a hostile attitude being taken against the Portuguese troops.

The Spanish Commissioner while conducting the Portuguese, subjected the patience of D. Pedro d'Almeida to rude provocations, by choosing the most rugged roads, or those covered with deep snow, and selecting the worst barracks, and otherwise arranging the itinerary of the march in a most barbarous manner, even subjecting the men to prolonged marches of twenty-four hours.

By acting thus, many of the soldiers remained in the rear, or actually deserted, in either case they enlisted in the service of Philip V. In Calpe, in the kingdom of Aragon, where D. Pedro d'Almeida arrived on the 22nd of January, were quartered two regiments of French dragoons,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and the men and officers laid out tables in the middle of the streets, and wine flowed in torrents; in this way they attracted many of the Portuguese soldiers to enlist under their banners. D. Pedro d'Almeida indignantly demanded that the deserters be delivered up. On this request being denied, the Portuguese general ordered a detachment of fifty men to attack a house where they had taken refuge, and having captured them, he ordered a summary process, and had them shot in presence of the amazed Frenchmen, who did not dare to oppose this energetic action.

The Commissary continued to molest as much as he could the troops he was conducting, but D. Pedro d'Almeida, perceiving that the best way to avoid the recurrence of annoyance was to proceed energetically, followed this system in such a manner that the military march across Spain was much talked of in the Peninsula. In Almendral, where he arrived on the 24th of February, the Commissary had not prepared sufficient quarters, and D. Pedro d'Almeida complained of this, and on receiving untruthful excuses, he declared he would have the soldiers encamp on the fields as well as they could.

The Portuguese army was at once formed on the fields sown with saffron, which constitutes the greatest wealth of the inhabitants of Almendral. The growers who saw the body of the troops, composed principally of the cavalry, about to encamp on these valuable plantations, complained with loud cries against this to the lieutenant, and very quickly proper quarters were found for the troops.

Carried away by the success of his energetic measures, D'Almeida exceeded himself, and in Almendral actually arrested an old deserter who had for years joined the garrison of that city, but as the Spaniards all rose against this proceeding, he was forced to alter the sentence pronounced against him and release him. He was accused of taking horses in Spain for the use of his cavalry, and the Marquis of Bey, the Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish troop on the Portuguese frontier, received orders not to allow D. Pedro d'Almeida to pass without subjecting his army to a strict examination, in order to take back all the horses he might illicitly have captured. The Marquis de Bey entirely disapproved of the order he had received, because, although it might possibly be true that he had appropriated some, it was not worth while to make a grave cause, in respect to brave soldiers, of what on the whole was only at best a matter of two or three hundred horses. Nevertheless, with all possible courtesy, he communicated the order through a

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Lieutenant-Colonel to D. Pedro d'Almeida; but the youthful General indignantly replied that he might at once come to reconnoitre and pass in review his corps, for he would receive him in the same manner as he had done at the battle of Zaragosa. The veteran Spanish General smiled at the natural exaltation of the youthful Portuguese fidalgo, and as the Lieutenant-Colonel soon perceived that there were no fresh horses in the fatigued lines of cavalry, the Marquis severely reprimanded the Commissary who had induced this unpleasantness by his false informations, and apologised to D'Almeida, without resenting his sarcastic reminder of the defeat of Zaragosa.

On the 16th of March, D'Almeida at length reached Olivença, having spent 68 days on the march. The inhabitants rushed out to receive the valiant troops with great demonstrations of joy—those troops, the last relics of the legions of the Marquis das Minas, which on two occasions had triumphantly entered into Madrid, and which, in the victory of Zaragosa as in the defeats of Almanza and Villa Viçosa, had ever upheld brilliantly in all its integrity the glory of the Portuguese name.

By these feats of D. Pedro d'Almeida may be seen the illwill which the Spaniards continued to show the Portuguese, and it is not a subject of astonishment that, despite that it was not disadvantageous to them, the Spaniards should manifest a great reluctance to fulfil the treaty of peace with Portugal. They hesitated to deliver up the colony of Sacramento, meanwhile that they continued to demand the surrender of all the trading ships which the Portuguese had captured during the war. Fears were rife that hostilities might break out anew, and the appointment of ambassadors was delayed for months, and even after the respective ambassadors were sent, intrigues and misunderstandings continued, until it may be said truly, that notwithstanding the double marriage effected in 1729 between the heirs of both crowns with princesses of two reigning houses, never, during the reign of Philip V., were satisfactory cordial relations established between the two kingdoms.

The general peace of Europe had been at length re-established, and the treaty of Utrecht marks, like the treaty of Westphalia, one of the great epochs of modern history. The map of Europe had been reformed completely to the prejudice of Spain, and the France of Louis XIV. saw its formidable union sanctioned, but at the same time its boundless ambition restrained. Spain was restricted in Europe to its peninsu-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

larian provinces; she lost her Low Countries, her Naples and Sicily, and the Milanese, and therefore ceased to be that predominant power whose enormous extension had been a perpetual terror to Europe. The empire likewise did not retain for any length of time its possessions to the south of Italy; some years later D. Carlos, son of Philip, created in Naples a new monarchy, the Duke of Savoy receiving the regal title, and, exchanging Sicily for Sardinia, formed to the north of the beautiful peninsula this prosperous Piedmontese kingdom, predestined to afford, after a lengthened probation, the desired unity to Italy; the Elector of Brandenburgh, also to the north of Germany, was assuming the royal title, and from annexation to annexation, Prussia was constituting itself a formidable power, which at the present day is the arbiter of the destinies of Europe, and has succeeded to unify beneath its rigid sceptre pensive Germany. Hence the Treaty of Utrecht marks a division which is well defined in history. With the wars, to which it placed a term, ends in effect the seventeenth century, and the new interests of the eighteenth commence from that date to become agitated and to figure in the scene of European politics. Among the Portuguese that age is almost completely occupied by the reign of D. João V. and the govern ment of the Marquis de Pombal.

All historic writers are agreed in confirming that the reign of D. João V. encloses but few facts or events worthy of historical interest; and in truth neither wars, nor revolutions, nor important cataclysms occurred during the period which elapsed between 1715, when the peace was signed by Spain and Portugal, and 1750, when the death of D João V. took place; nevertheless this reign becomes exceedingly interesting, viewed under the diplomatic, administrative, and economic point of view. This study forms an indispensable introduction to the history of the government of the Marquis de Pombal. In order fully to understand the energetic impulse given by the great minister to the kingdom whose administration, in a happy hour, had been entrusted to him, it is necessary for us to view and comprehend fully the state of misery, degradation, and corruption which Portugal was labouring under during the government of D. João V.

Towards the year 1710, Brazils was governed by Francisco de Moraes. The French navy, in those days, was a veritable corsairian fleet. The builders equipped the ships at their expense, and between them and the Government, that is to say, between the royal navy and the merchant navy, there existed a legal understanding. The fleets departing from the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Brazils, whose rich cargoes of gold, diamonds, and sugar fascinated the eyes of all, also greatly attracted the adventurers of the waters. The first to infest the coasts was Du Clerc, who equipped in Brest a flotilla of five ships and one bilander, and furnished them with seamen and fighting men. They hoisted, as a disguise, the English flag, and attempted to cross the bar, but the Governor knew how to keep them at a respectful distance. From thence he turned to seek a more favourable point, and succeeded to land in Guaratiba. As soon as the men landed the French took the road inland, and soon came upon the plantations of the Jesuit fathers, about a league from the city. The Governor of Guaratiba, who had allowed the French to land in order to capture them, left in the fort only the garrison absolutely needed, and taking the rest to the fields of Rosario, formed the men in battle array to defend the part of the city which the French intended to attack, and placed the artillery in convenient places, and arranging all things. On the night of the 18th the French encamped on the territory of the Jesuit fathers, and before those on board could receive reinforcement, the French found themselves literally surrounded by a girdle of iron and fire, and then, comprehending the madness of their action, endeavoured to redeem, by capitulation, their senseless act. But all to no purpose; the contenders refused to listen to capitulation, and replied by assassination. The number of French slain was enormous. Of the Portuguese many were killed; among them the Colonel de Moraes, and the commander of the cavalry, Dutra da Silva; but the soldiers of Du Clerc had suffered a terrible lesson, the captivity and death of many being the result of those who had ventured. The barbarities which were committed at that period served to develop the germs of revenge. Du Guay Trouin departed from La Rochelle with 17 ships, 742 guns, and 2,600 soldiers, and arrived to the coast of Brazils on the 11th of September, 1711. He forced the bar, took the Island of Cobras, and from thence swept the city, entered in, and beat the Portuguese who attacked him, and, mastering all things, he proceeded to Francisco de Moraes and demanded the punishment of the assassins of Du Clerc and the surrender of the city. As an understanding was not come to, Guay Trouin ordered the bombardment of the city, which produced terrible results. Panic took possession of the Portuguese, inducing desertion, and the city remained open and delivered up to the cupidity of the invaders.

The crowds of corsairs rushed in and dispersed about on all sides,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

dazzled by the spectacle of wealth which met their gaze, and proceeded, not only to pillage, but to tear down and destroy, like so many greedy birds of prey. Besides all the robberies effected, Du Guay Trouin received from the Governor, Francisco de Moraes, 610,000 cruzados, 100 cases of sugar, and 200 oxen, which, if it was not a great commercial gain, was a good profit on violence. To this may be added the loss of the ships anchored there, and many others which were lamentably ruined; and we can thus, in some measure, appraise how much this famous French corsair cost the Portuguese. This fleet, on its return, suffered great losses, but succeeded to reach Brest. Louis XIV., who, according to the principles then in vogue, had a part in this society of robbers, rewarded the intrepid sailor by granting him a pension and pinning to his breast the Cross of Saint Louis.

Francisco de Moraes was recalled to Portugal under arrest, but he succeeded to justify himself from the accusations brought against him. In truth, he was unfortunate rather than culpable, and if he did not offer proofs of energy and skill, we must bear in mind that his adversary was the most notable and daring sailor of France, and one of the greatest naval officers of any nation or of any age.

Tracing the history of the administrative, political, and economic government of the reign of D. João V., we shall endeavour to be as impartial as possible; and while recording his many defective measures and mistakes, also state what is to his favour. One of the qualities which honours the memory of D. João V., or rather his government, was his diplomatic firmness. Notwithstanding that Portugal was year by year falling into a state of decadence, and despite that it had ceased to exercise any influence in Europe, and of having lost the military prestige which rendered her alliance one so greatly desired in the time of D. Pedro II., Portugal was always treated with a certain consideration, and never did D. João V., nor his ministers, allow any retrenchment of the formulas of diplomatic courtesy to be practised in her regard, and never did she suffer the affronts in her period of deepest decadence to which she has been subjected to in the nineteenth century, owing to her weak ministries and unskilled diplomatists.

After the peace had been established, D. João V. directed his thoughts towards the occupations which he loved best, and these are what imparts to his reign a sympathetic colouring. Letters owe him a debt of gratitude. Wishing to take an equal footing with Louis XIV., he applied himself to establishing an academy for recording all that

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

appertained to the history of the kingdoms of Portugal and of her conquests. Its foundation dates from the decree of 8th of December, 1720, under the title of "Academia Real da Historia Portugueza." Its device was *Restituet omnia;* to imply that to it belonged to reconstruct what time had ruined, and laying the first foundations of what was to be a monument. The endowment of the new academy was voted at once at 1,000,000 reis annually, and the decree of 18th March, 1721, allowed the academicians to take copies from the royal archives.

An illustrious German professor, Doctor Emilius Hubner, writing in respect of this notable institution, says as follows: "In the eighteenth century the 'Academia Real da Historia,' formed by D. João V., in 1720, presented for the first time investigations properly historical in substitution to literature, so to say, monastic, in which hitherto all historical and archæological investigations had been based." And, in truth, besides the works of Fr. Jeronimo Contador d'Argote and the geographical dictionary of Fr. Luiz Cardozo, great and signal labours were afforded by this corporation of illustrious men, which numbered among its members Diogo Barboza Machado, D. Antonio Caetano de Sousa, and Fr. Raphael Bluteau. Eight officials, appointed for the reformation of the studies, were entrusted with the transcription of the documents claimed by the academy.

The chief custodian at the time was Manuel de Maya, and the King oftentimes visited the establishment in order to encourage his vassals. Further on, when sketching the literary movement of the long reign of D. João V., we shall have occasion to speak more extensively respecting this academia. Suffice it for the present to say that the Academia of Portuguese History was founded and patronised by the King. Besides the Torre do Tombo, all the maps and charts of the Camaras were bound to be sent to the Academia with all the informations and notes.

D. João V. did not limit himself to the elements found in the kingdom, but strove to acquire the most valuable works dispersed about Europe, and appointing his envoys to do so with all the ardour of diplomatic affairs. We have said that the first King of Portugal who gathered together a library was D. Duarte, a list of which exists in the catalogue. In this library that hapless monarch had made a large number of copies of ponderous works and of highest value, taking into account the especial conditions of the epoch. The author of the "Leal Conselheiro" deeply and daily studied the writers of antiquity, and

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

derived so much profit from the perusal of good books, that he recommended every one to do likewise, as the best means of driving away idleness and troublesome thoughts.

D. Alfonso V. continued in the path laid out by his father, purchasing, regardless of price, printed books and manuscripts of good authors and on important affairs. Gomes Eannes de Azurara, whom that King honoured like a brother, had the care of the library existing in the Palace of Evora. The impulse given by these two sovereigns was continued with praiseworthy perseverance by D. João II., the intimate friend of Angelo Policiano, and by D. Manuel, the patron of the arts; the superior genius of the Infante D. Luis, and lastly by the Infanta D. Maria, the illustrious pupil of the renowned Luiza Sigêa of Toledo. This princess rendered her palace a true temple of learning and study. The "domicile of the Muses and the school of virtues and of purity," it was called by one of the most polished Portuguese writers.* In this society of ladies not only were letters studied, but likewise the arts. In union with the perusal of Greek and Latin works was followed music, painting, and other accomplishments.

Although D. João III. was an inept king, nevertheless superior men came to the kingdom, and his reign marks a progress in the studies. In this glance at the past we have merely in view to indicate the point of starting and indicate the distance that exists to the date under consideration, in order the better to appraise the meritorious resolutions of D. João V.

The *Symmicta Lusitanica*, composed of over two hundred volumes, came from Rome, due to the efforts of Manuel Pereira de Sampaio, the representative at the Holy See. Collections of the most important works were purchased and remitted to Portugal. When Martim de Pina de Provença came to form the catalogue of the royal library it held thousands of volumes. The libraries Das Necessidades and of Mafra had a good share of these purchases. Sebastião José de Carvalho was one of those entrusted with obtaining a collection of works, and sent from London to Lisbon, in 1743, the rarest Hebrew Bibles which he was able to obtain.

Willingly would we continue this matter, but political events summon us away, to watch the bark of Government on the sea of events.

In the year 1716 war was declared by Charles VI. against Achmet III., and Pope Clement XI. besought the aid of D. João V. in

* Duarte Nunes de Leão, "Descripção de Portugal."

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the interests of Christianity. On beholding Morea in the power of the Sultan, the Doge of Venice, Giovanni Cornaro, had recourse to the Pope, and laid before him the dangers which threatened Italy, and how fatal to the empire would be the re-establishment of the former Mussalman power. It was then that the Pope besought the aid of Portugal to succour the Venetians.

A fleet was prepared and fitted, and departed from Lisbon on the 5th of July, 1716, commanded by the Count de Rio Grande, Lopo Furtado de Mendonça. The fleet composed of six vessels, one tartan, a fire ship, and a transport ship, proceeded to the Mediterranean, anchored in Leghorn, and went to succour Corfu, which was bravely defended by the Count de Schulemburg against the Turks. Meanwhile Prince Eugene, with the Emperor's troops, defeated in Peterwardein, on the 5th of August, 1716, the Grand Visier Kumurgi Ali, who died in battle.

Proceeding in the career of victory, Prince Eugene took Temeswar and Bucharest, at the moment that the Count de Schulemburg defended Corfu. The news of the approach of a squadron of relief compelled the Ottoman functionary to raise the siege and depart, leaving in Corfu over 15,000 slain. The Portuguese fleet then returned to Portugal.

In the year 1717, the Portuguese fleet, further strengthened by various ships and armaments, sallied out again and proceeded to join a Venetian squadron at Corfu, commanded by Andrew Pisani, with auxiliary ships Tuscan, Maltese, and Pontifical, under the command of Chevalier Ferreti. The Venetian fleet, commanded by Ludovico Flangini, which was cruising in the Archipelago, anchored in the port of Imbros, and on the 16th of June, 1717, fought the Turkish squadron, and both retired equally wrecked.

The Portuguese fleet, with the Venetian of Pisani, the Florentine, the Pontifical, and the Maltese, departed from Zante in search of the fleet of Flangini, and met it in a disastrous state, commanded provisionally by Marco Antonio Diedo. After some evolutions in the Archipelago they encountered the enemy close to the Cape Matapan.

The Turkish fleet was composed of forty-eight ships, the Christian fleet of thirty-four—that is to say seven Portuguese, two of the Order of Malta, and twenty-five Venetian. The latter, which had been terribly punished, were obliged to remain in a line by themselves, with the exception of a frigate which was incorporated to the Portuguese and the two of Malta. This was on the 19th of June. The Ottoman

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

squadron concentrated its efforts against the Portuguese division. Up to five in the evening a tremendous fire was sustained, until the Turks were fain to retreat under the daring, well-sustained, fire of the allies, although the Venetians, so to say, did not enter the combat, but only sustained the fire. The Portuguese fleet was terribly wrecked, and had not the ships been powerfully built, the greater part of their garrisons would have perished.

The Ottoman general defeated in Matapan was Ibrahim Pasha. Fortune was not more favourable to Mussalman arms on land. Prince Eugene, on the 16th of June, 1717, gained the great battle of Belgrade, and on the 18th this important city was delivered up to him. In Dalmatia Luigi Mocenigo took various strongholds, and lastly on the 21st of July, 1718, the treaty of peace of Passarowitz was signed, and bridled the ambition of the Turks, but left in their hands the beautiful historic peninsula of Peloponesia.

Meantime the Portuguese squadron departed for Messina, which it entered on the 24th of August, and after repairing the damages received, sailed for Lisbon, and reached that city on the 6th of November, where it was received by the King with great joy, and the officers rewarded. The naval officers of the Portuguese fleet certainly behaved gloriously and were always at the front in the engagement.

It was in November, 1716, that the Golden Bull, "*In supremo apostolatus solio*," was promulgated by Pope Clement XI., by which was erected the patriarchal see of Lisbon. In a secret consistory celebrated on the 7th of December, 1716, Clement XI. communicated to the Cardinals his reasons for granting Portugal the high honour of a patriarchate. The creation of the patriarchal see divided the capital into two cities, Eastern and Western Lisbon; the first continuing to be the seat of the ancient archbishopric, retaining as suffragans the bishops of Guarda, Portalegre, Cape Verde, Maranhão, and Gran Pará, with the penal settlement of Mazagão, leaving under the jurisdiction of the patriarch Western Lisbon, and the suffragan bishops of Leiria, Lamego, Funchal, and Angra.

On the 15th of January, 1717, D. João V. issued the royal decree by which Lisbon was divided into two cities, assigning to each its separate government, police, and other regulations. He granted to the canons of the Church all the privileges of grandees of the kingdom similarly as to bishops, and precedence in the tribunals.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The first patriarch appointed to the see of Lisbon was the Bishop of Oporto, D. Thomaz d'Almeida, who later on received the cardinal's hat, and it became an established understanding that the dignity of patriarch should, as an invariable consequence, be followed by the cardinalate. Later on, in 1750, Pope Benedict XIV. abolished the distinction between the Eastern and Western city, and reduced the two cities under one hierarchy, as formerly.

The privilege of the erection of a patriarchal see obtained by the King was the natural consequence of the aid afforded to the Venetians at the request of the Pope.

The preliminary articles for the double union of the Infantes of Spain and Portugal were signed in S. Ildefonso on the 7th of October, 1725. The matrimonial treaty of the Prince D. José and the Infanta D. Maria Anna Victoria was agreed upon, in virtue of which the Catholic King was to give as a dowry to the princess the sum of 500,000 gold escudos or its just value, in the city of Lisbon, the said sum being restored in the event of the dissolution of the marriage. The King of Portugal to bestow on the Infanta, on her arrival to the kingdom, 80,000 pesos for her use, and a rental of 20,000 gold escudos, independent of the expenses of supporting the state and house as befitted persons of such exalted rank. These articles were signed by José da Cunha Brochado, Antonio Guedes Pereira, and the Marquis de Gimaldo.

The definite matrimonial decree was signed in Madrid on the 3rd of September, 1727, ratified on the part of Spain on the 14th, and by Portugal on the 15th of the same month and year. The ministers plenipotentiaries were the Marquises of Paz and of Abrantes.

The treaty of marriage between the Infanta D. Maria Barbara and the Prince of Asturia D. Fernando was signed in Lisbon on the 1st of October, 1727, and ratified by both powers on the 18th of the same month. The ministers plenipotentiaries on this occasion were the Marquises of Balbases and of Capecelatro, and D. Diogo de Mendonça Corte Real.

The marriage settlement was signed on the 10th of January, 1728, and confirmed all that had been previously specified and stipulated. In both treaties the royal parents pledged to conduct the royal princes at their expense to the frontiers and boundary of the two kingdoms with all the dignity and escort worthy of their rank. The ostentation and magnificence displayed by D. João V. on these occasions are simply

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

indescribable, and has remained memorable in the annals of the country. In Vendas Novas the King ordered a palace to be erected, fitted with all the splendour that luxury could imagine or desire. This palace is still in existence.

This union of the two reigning houses of the Peninsula, which was calculated to establish a friendly alliance between the two nations, was, however, but fleeting, and the ambassadors of their respective Courts were soon treated with manifest coldness. This coldness was due to the fact that European policy was entering a new period.

With the fall of Cardinal Alberoni, Spain ratified the quadruple alliance between France, Great Britain, Holland, and Austria. The treaties respectively of Prado, Seville, and Vienna (1728, 1729, and 1731) terminated all dissensions and contentions. The coldness complained of by the ambassadors increased to iciness. Pedro Alvares Cabral was subjected to insult in Madrid, his residence was invaded, his servants arrested, his rank and the dignity he held put to scorn; all this being due to the suggestions of the Queen, the celebrated Isabel Farnese; meanwhile that in Lisbon the Marquis de Capecelatro was subjected to a similar treatment and forbidden to appear at the palace, and his officials expelled.

The political horizon was lowering and boded an approaching storm. The state of Portugal was truly deplorable, and the conflict could only end in reverses. Spain, which had been the first to offend, was exacting a prompt and complete satisfaction. The pretext alleged for this was the false one that the Portuguese ambassador had harboured a prisoner, when, on the contrary, he had ordered him to leave the palace. What solution could Portugal, with her small forces, afford in such a risky conflict? Under what conditions were political affairs at the moment to enable her to act with prudence, yet not lose her dignity? It is this which we must now study.

With the conflagration which seemed to be on the eve of bursting between Portugal and Spain coincides the debates respecting the succession to the throne of Poland. A similar event occurs in the history of Portugal, for in this intervened a Portuguese prince, the Infante D. Manuel, brother of the King, whom we have had occasion to mention when fighting at the side of Prince Eugene.

Let us state the facts. Augustus, the Elector of Saxe, was declared incapable of reigning in Poland. Charles XII., the great Swedish hero, was the lord and ruler of that part of the ancient Sarmacia. The

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Princes Jaques and Constantine Sobiesky were at the time captives in Leipsic, and their brother, Alexander, who had come demanding vengeance, refused the crown which King Charles offered him. Stanislaus Leczinsky was delegated by the Assembly of Warsaw to inform the King of the events which took place. The latter, favourably impressed by the superior qualities which he noticed in the Palatine of Pannonia, deliberated about conferring on him the heirless sceptre. When the Cardinal Primate was apprised of this resolve, he hastened to oppose it, putting forward a certain Lubomyrsky instead of Stanislaus. His efforts were, however, of no avail. The Count Hoorn signified to the Assembly of Warsaw that it was necessary to elect a king within the term of five days, and that the election should fall on Stanislaus Leczinsky, and in effect the votes were almost unanimously given in his favour. Six weeks later, Augustus entered anew into the capital which was his kingdom. Charles did not delay to sustain the cause of his *protégé*, and at once reconducted him to the throne, and assisted incognito to his and the Queen of Poland's coronation. In this period of Polish history there occur veritable theatrical scenes. Augustus, aided by the Muscovite power, and despite having entered into peace negotiations, accepts the challenge of war against the General Meyerfeld, and having succeeded to defeat him, enters radiantly into Warsaw. Hardly had the last echoes of the triumphant *Te Deum* died away than he was on his way to Saxe. Meanwhile the Czar had continued his work ; parties became divided, and raids and desolation multiplied, and Stanislaus departing from Altranstad with the General Renschild, entered into his States, and once more wielded the command. Within a short time he was acknowledged by Germany, France, England, Spain, and Turkey. This dominion, however, could only be an ephemeral one. The loss of the battle of Pultowa was the point from whence arose the revolution. Augustus, at the price of Livonia, enlisted to his service the sword of the victorious Czar, and recovers the throne. Stanislaus is taken prisoner on Turkish territory, and is conducted to Bender, where Charles XII. was at the time. In order to secure peace, and arrest the course of the Muscovite torrent, he desired solemnly to abdicate, and in this way arrange the affairs of Sweden. The contumacity of Charles XII. opposed this act, and in order to enable him to retain the title of king, he did no more than deprive him of all he held in legitimate possession. Up to the death of the Swedish monarch

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Stanislaus continued in the Duchy of Deux-Ponts, from whence he departed for Veissembourg, in Alsace.

The death of King Augustus promoted the contention for the succession. From Poland the King, by vote of the Diet, was quitting it, and the State, while upholding the royal dignity, retained the name of Republic.

Two pretenders presented themselves on the field—Stanislaus and the Elector of Saxe, son of Augustus. Let us quote what Voltaire says in this respect: "Each noble had a right to vote in the election of a king, and of becoming one himself. The grandest of rights was allied to the greatest of abuses, and the throne was nearly always being put up for auction, and as it was rare to find any Pole sufficiently wealthy to purchase it, it was oftentimes sold to foreigners."

From this circumstance arose the idea of putting forward D. Manuel as the candidate for the kingdom of Sobiesky. The flow of gold from the mines, and which was computed fabulously large, that came into Portugal, was investing that country with a monetary fame. In this auction of the purple it was natural that Portugal should bid with advantage. France as well as Germany made proposals to that effect; but D. João V. would not accept the invitation, and was not, as it appears, moved to accede through love for his brother.

The Infante D. Manuel, from his adventuresome, pugnacious character, bears some comparison to the Infante D. Pedro, Duke of Coimbra. Both had withdrawn from their native land and brandished their swords in the sun of the battlefield against the power of the enemies of their faith; and both were enabled to win legitimate renown for the brave deeds they performed.

This contention coincided, as we said above, with the disagreement existing between Spain and Portugal. Europe was labouring under a constant strife, and various interests and ambitions received rude shocks. All things implied that a solution must come out from diplomatic paths. D. João V. foresaw it, and applied himself seriously to the affair. A council was held, and the discussion which ensued was long and the propositions varied. Religious affairs had led D. João V. to lay aside worldly ones. From this resulted that Portugal had no army in a condition of being quickly mobilised. England was resorted to, and warlike preparations were hastened.

The Infante D. Manuel was ambitious to hold the crown of Poland and the Polish nobles joyfully accepted this chivalrous, intrepid Prince

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

who held with glory the sword of Sobiesky, and might therefore equally brandish the sceptre of the saviour of Vienna; yet D. João V. alleged he had no money to favour the election of D. Manuel! But the war of Poland was kindled: Marechal Munich, the celebrated German general in the service of Russia, was expelling Stanislaus Leczinsky from Polish territory. And Spain had allied with France. The French were taking Kiel and Philipsburg; the Austrians were beating the Milanese in Parma and in Guastalla; the Infante D. Carlos, son of Philip V., was landing in Sicily with a Spanish army, and taking the island, and then, proceeding on to the Continent, defeated the Austrians in Bitonto, and proclaimed himself King of the Two Sicilies.

In this war the belligerents were bent upon obtaining the alliance of Portugal, the Emperor going so far as to promise D. João V., as a reward for his co-operation, Sicily and Corsica, to form a kingdom, of which the Infante D. Manuel should be the King. England also hinted an increase of territory on the Continent, promising Galicia should the Portuguese wish to declare war against Spain, but D. João V. was unbending. It was at this juncture that Spain provoked hostilities in a singular manner, and nearly drove the Portuguese into a war, to which in vain England and the empire incited them.

Proud of the victory of her arms on the South of Italy, Spain judged that she could treat Portugal with contempt, and it was at this moment she chose to insult her in the person of her ambassador. The news of this event produced a formidable impression throughout Portugal, and the old resentment of the Portuguese against the Spaniards was suddenly reawakened, and on all sides resounded shouts of war.

Fortunately D. João V., although he had spent vast sums in purchasing war materials, was not inclined to enter into campaign. His character and inclinations were peaceful; moreover, he was well aware that he could not reckon in any degree upon the aid of Great Britain, and all he desired was to find some mediator to interpose between the two excited nations.

France promptly offered her mediation, but Portugal would not accept it alone, and therefore solicited the good offices of England and Holland. England, which did not wish France to regain her influence in Portugal should she succeed to re-establish good relations between the two kingdoms of the Iberic Peninsula, at once despatched a fleet of 26 ships of the line with over 100 pieces, this squadron being under

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the command of the celebrated Admiral Norris, and conveyed the no less renowned diplomatist, Lord Townshend, a deep thinker and of astute intelligence. Negotiations were at once started, meanwhile that an army of 10,000 men was being raised by the King of Portugal, and the Count de Atalaya appointed Commander of the frontier. But an event took place which delayed and embarrassed the negotiators. In America the Spanish troops of Buenos Ayres had taken the colony of Sacramento, which always fell the first victim to all the disagreements between Portugal and Spain, and was times innumerable lost and regained, and fated for the space of a century to see floating aloft from the towers of its walls alternately the Spanish and Portuguese flag. This act of the Viceroy greatly annoyed D. João V., who at once ordered 14 war and merchant ships, furnished with 28 pieces, to depart for the Rio de la Plata. The Spanish Government, nevertheless, affirmed that it was without its orders that the Viceroy attacked the Portuguese in America, while the Portuguese Government declared that this manifestation of hostilities was an offence against the mediators, who had been accepted and acknowledged by Spain. The Government of Spain had cooled its ardour against the Portuguese; the Infante D. Carlos had established himself definitely in the South of Italy, and Austria was leaning towards peace, accepting the consequences of her defeats. Isabel Farnese had obtained her ends; she had expelled the Portuguese Ambassador with impunity, and the influence of the Princess of Asturias had been insufficient to prevent it; therefore there was no ground for withholding a conciliation.

This desired result was further quickened by the transference of the negotiations to Paris, owing to the distrust felt by the Portuguese Government for the Consul, M. de Montagnac.

The negotiations were not long delayed, and a convention between the two crowns was agreed upon, by which the hostilities commenced on the shores of the Rio de la Plata in America were ended.

In 1739 a war broke out between England and Spain without any well-defined motive. The Spanish Government complained that the English carried smuggling on a large scale on the coasts of their American possessions, while England complained that the fiscal laws of Philip V. greatly embarrassed her commerce. From this resulted a prolonged war almost exclusively naval, but in which D. João V. remained neutral, as likewise in the European war, which took place after the death, in 1740, of the Emperor Charles V. This war lasted

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

seven years. Portugal always maintained her neutrality during this prolonged strife, which became easier to maintain when in 1746 Philip V. died and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand VI., wedded to the Portuguese Infanta D. Maria Barbara, who exercised a great influence over his spirit. The relations between Portugal and Spain became then most friendly, because Isabel Farnese no longer influenced the councils of the Government of Madrid. The first sign of friendship manifested by the sovereigns of Spain to Portugal was the nomination of the Duke de Sotomayor as Ambassador in Lisbon, in substitution of the Marquis of Candia, who filled that post, and who had been considered solely favourable to the policy, anti-Portuguese, of Isabel Farnese. The accession of Ferdinand VI. to the throne, whom it was well known followed a different policy from that of his father, gave rise to the idea among the different powers of making Portugal the mediator for effecting a peace which was ardently desired by the whole of Europe. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, the Marquis d'Argenson, was the first to propose to the Portuguese Government to intervene as mediator through the Portuguese Minister in Paris, D. Luiz da Cunha, who was very favourable to the idea and communicated the proposal to Portugal. After much discussion, the mediation was not realised, and the treaty of peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed without the intervention of Portugal; and therefore without the question of the limits of her possessions in America being presented, a question which was a constant subject of discord between the two crowns. By this peace treaty England, France, and Holland mutually restored each other the colonies conquered, and which was to the prejudice of France, because Dupleix and La Bourdonnais had been very successful in India. Maria Theresa was acknowledged heiress of Austria, and her consort Emperor of Germany. The Infante D. Philip, brother of the King of Spain and of the King of Naples, received the Duchess of Parma, Piacenza, and Modena, and lastly Frederick II. retained Silicia, conquered by his arms.

Hence we find that in neither of the congresses held during the Government of D. João V. were the Portuguese ministers admitted, in Cambray or in Aix-la-Chapelle; and in truth the Portuguese need not regret that they did not figure in Europe, because thus they were saved the horrors of war, and we should only have words of unqualified praise to offer the memory of D. João V. for his peaceful tendencies, had these tendencies not been carried to excess, and prejudiced

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

on various occasions the dignity and interests of the nation. Had the Portuguese armed themselves during the war of 1718, and known how to render their neutrality respected, they would not have been excluded from Cambray, and that congress, with the assent and guarantee of Europe, would have resolved the question with Spain respecting the carrying out of the treaty of Utrecht, which for such a length of time kept the kingdom in a state of justifiable anxiety. In a word, the foreign policy of the Government of D. João V. was not always skilful, but generally affairs were properly conducted, because directed by most able statesmen. The personal character of the King impresses a seal of inflexibility on all questions of etiquette; but in the administration of public affairs it led him to be weak on occasions when he should have been energetic.

Among the many erections which were effected during the reign of D. João V. must be mentioned the church and convent of Mafra. This was due to a vow taken by the King when it was feared that the Queen Marianna of Austria would be childless. Three years had elapsed and there were no hopes of succession, and it was then that the King promised to erect a convent in Mafra, should God be pleased to grant him children. When the Infanta D. Barbara was born the King desired to fulfil his promise, and regardless of expense approved of the plan, and the building was commenced. This edifice took nineteen years to build, and mountains of gold were spent in the erection, which was in effect colossal. The architect whose plan was followed was a German of the name of John Francis Ludovico. Mafra is enormous, but not grand in its form or conception. This erection well-nigh exhausted the treasury, and independently of the actual work done in the kingdom, there was much done abroad, and at a fabulous price. Belgium, France, and Italy worked the grandest vestments and ornaments, and engraved the finest metals.

In October, 1730, the Basilica was consecrated with the greatest pontifical pomp, and the works were continued five years longer, on which were employed from ten to twelve thousand workmen. At length, in 1735, the convent of Mafra was completed, and the monks established in that formidable citadel. He also built the convent of Our Lady das Necessidades. This was at first only a hermitage built by the alms of the faithful, but D. João V. purchased it from Pereira do Lago, who owned it and the orchard adjoining it, in the year 1743; and built the convent with the greatest magnificence, which was assigned to the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

fathers of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, who took possession on the eve of the Ascension, 6th of May, 1750.

On the 10th of May, 1742, D. João V. was stricken with paralysis, and of such a grave character that the government of the kingdom was taken by the Queen. Confiding rather to the intercession of the saints than to the skill of his physicians, he made a vow to enlarge the temple.

Let us now glance at the chapel of Saint John the Baptist, that precious monument of mosaic art. In respect to this singularly beautiful work we shall transcribe the brief description given by Fr. J. B. de Castro.

"On the 13th of January, 1751, the lovely and singular chapel of Saint John the Baptist was opened for the first time in the church of San Roque. In it are seen excellent pictures of mosaic work, which the faithful and ever-memorable King D. João V. ordered to be placed there, which had been worked in Rome by the most skilful artificers, of the finest stones, and the most precious ornamentation, and upon this marvellous work were spent an amount of two millions."

The opening of this chapel, however, took place after the death of the King. It is related that visiting the house of the fathers of the Society of Jesus, he was struck with the poverty of their chapel at the time, and through an especial love for the saint of his name he promised to substitute it for another, more worthy of that great saint.

The commission was given to Agostinho Massuci of Rome, and consecrated by Pope Benedict XIV., to whom the King sent a large sum. In the book of Sr. S. J. da Luz Soriano, entitled "Historia do Reinado d'el Rei D. José," may be found a description of this marvellous work, given with all the fulness which characterises his laborious investigations.

One of the grandest works carried out during this reign was certainly that of the *Aguas-livres*. Twenty years did the waterworks take to be completed, the whole of the work being due to the efforts of the Procurador of the city, Claudio Gorgel do Amaral. Having represented to D. João V. the want of water suffered by Lisbon, and which was more especially felt in the summers of 1727 and 1728, the representation was further laid before the senates (because at the time Lisbon was still divided into two sections), and on the 13th of May, 1731, the first company was formed, with a capital of eight contos, and on the 11th of July the papers were signed for the carrying out of the scheme.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

From the time of the Romans, notwithstanding the smallness of the city of Lisbon in comparison to its present extension, the want of water was keenly felt, because we find that in the map of Portugal of Father João Baptista de Castro, it says that Lisbon being a Roman municipality the dominators endeavoured to find a means of introducing water which flowed in the places of Bellas and Canecas by means of subterranean aqueducts, and for this object piercing through many rocks and cliffs, and in the spot where stands the two hills of Campolide they erected a spacious wall with the needful strength to repress the waters which flowed and those that came from the Aguas-livres by means of the above-mentioned underground aqueducts. On this spot, which was a spacious valley well known by the name of Ribeira d'Alcantara, was formed, owing to the wall, a huge lake which served as a canal, and deep enough for ships to navigate it for the service of the inhabitants of the valley. The King D. Manuel ordered these waters to be directed towards Lisbon and to flow into the Praça do Rocio, or Praça of D. Pedro, and for this object ordered one Francisco d'Olanda to make a drawing of a fountain, or *chafariz*, representing the figure of Lisbon standing on a column surrounded by elephants. The Infante D. Luiz, son of D. Manuel, laboured to the best of his power to conduct these waters to the palace of the Ribeira, in order that the vessels departing for India should be able to take in water.

During the reign of D. Sebastian there were also projects made for conducting the water to the fountain of *agua-livre*, as may be inferred by a document quoted in the "Gabinete Historico," bearing the date of 23rd June, 1588. But although the glory of the original idea dates long before the reign of D. João V., it was not until the 12th of May, 1731, that the work was decreed and commenced. The work was directed by the superior officers of the engineers Manuel de Maia and Custodio Vieira, and as the aqueduct had to traverse the hilly ground of the suburbs of Lisbon, it became necessary to excavate through mountains to carry the water, and in order to cross the valleys which stretch between these mountains, it became necessary to construct 127 magnificent arches of masonry, which are the admiration of the world even to the present day. In 1744 a wooden fountain, or *chafariz*, was erected in the place called Das Amoreiras, which began to play on the 4th of October of that same year; the whole work of the aqueduct being concluded in 1748, which had taken seventeen years to construct. Later on eighteen fountains were opened in various parts, such as Loretto,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Rua Formosa, Campo de Santa Anna, Esperanza, Caes do Tojo, Janellas Verdes, Necessidades, S. Bento, Travessa do Arco, Amoreiras, Estrella, Buenos Ayres, S. Sebastião, Cruz de Taboado e Alegria, which amply supplied Lisbon with water, brought along the arches of the aqueduct, to the monumental reservoir of the Amoreiras, known by the name of Mãe d'Agua.

Other useful works were successfully undertaken by the King D. João V. Those of the bar of Oporto merited a special subsidy. To him is also due the great hydraulic labours of the Valla de Azambuja and of Tejo Novo, and the improvements of the baths of Das Caldas da Rainha, so called because the Queen D. Leonor, wife of D. João II., erected a hospital close to these medicinal baths. When in August, 1742, D. João V. required to use these baths, on account of the paralytic seizure which disabled his left side, he enlarged the original work, and endowed the hospital with a monthly rental of four thousand cruzados. He also ordered the erection of the Mint of Lisbon in the spot called S. Paulo, and projected an arsenal for the building of ships, and a factory for powder in the Ribeira de Alcantara, and he repaired some of the fortresses of the kingdom, and concluded others, among them Povoa de Varzim.

If it were possible for us to sum up the gold which flowed from the Brazils and compute the millions which poured from the mines, and the most rigorous calculations could afford us an approximate idea of the wealth possessed by the Portuguese, we would find that these works of general usefulness and of national aggrandisement represent but a very small fraction of the immense totality of the fabulous outlay incurred by D. João V. The reign of D. João V. was a brilliant mistake. The period it embraces is, on the whole, a calamitous one. Placed under circumstances which allowed him scope for improvements and the most beneficial constructions; having around him ministers of firm and authoritative counsels, and having it in his power to elevate the kingdom he ruled to the highest pinnacle among the nations by consolidating its strength and developing the robust germs of its life, he allowed himself to be completely swayed by his religious tendencies, and became, not the shepherd of his people, but the protector of confraternities.

Letters owed him much, it is true, as we have proved and shall further prove, and in particular the studies whose paths he prepared and marked out, perchance without attempting its results; but it was

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

not possible under an intellectual point of view that things should remain in the state they had been for a long time. The evolution worked did not proceed from the King, it was born naturally from the elaboration of the spirits. The eulogiums which some easy panegyrists have raised to the memory of D. João V., as though these could stand as eternal landmarks, have in many ways been refuted. The summary of the forty-four years of his reign may be rendered in the eloquent words of one of the most illustrious writers of Portugal.* "The periods left by peace were not employed to repair the devastations of war, nor the steel which lay idle after the battles used for ploughing the sandy lands and in levelling the immense tracts of broken fields, where the almost primitive state of agriculture left the kingdom deficient of crops. In order to hasten the decadence of Portugal and diminish its population, the current of emigration had set in of those who proceeded to the Colonies, and especially to Brazils, to seek in easy work what they could not obtain on their native soil, despite great and multiplied labours.

"In vain the Government of the metropolis, alarmed at the prospect of an almost total depopulation, more especially since the discoveries of the gold and diamond mines in the vast American possessions, sought to arrest the liberty of emigration by successive laws. But individual cupidity was more powerful than the previsions of Government.

"The favour which ecclesiastical institutions received and by which monasteries and religious houses were filled, nearly always proclaimed, not the spiritual consecration of chastity, but the worldly eulogium of celibacy. The constitution of properties, immovable, and in a great measure rendered sterile, in the hands of opulent corporations or privileged persons; the oppressive taxation and the unbearable charges which weighed down labour had as its consequences the penury of the classes, while the disfavour, amounting almost to dishonour and scorn, which the aristocracy manifested and which so greatly predominated in all ideas and facts, for all agricultural labour and the industrial arts, lessened the number of those who followed them, and condemned them to support without a proportionate aid from the elevated classes the heaviest imposts, both military and fiscal, and increased the causes that enervated the extension of national wealth."

When the gold mines of Brazils were discovered a great impulse was given to emigration, which in course of time rapidly increased. After

* Latino Coelho, "Historia Politica e Militar de Portugal."

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

the discovery of these which were called *Minas geraes*, André Pontos found other auriferous lands. The discovery of such valuable lodes and veins attracted, as a consequence, explorers. Among other repressive documents issued to prevent this stream of emigration was the law dated 20th of March, 1720, which forbade any person to proceed to Brazils excepting public *employés*. The crowds of people of varied classes and conditions gathered together, and their covetous impatience induced discords which grew later on to grave conflicts. S. Paulo and Minas constituted a captaincy independent of the Rio de Janeiro, to which was appointed Antonio d'Albuquerque.

Besides the gold mines wherein so fiercely wrestled natives and foreigners, there were the diamond fields. These were first discovered by Bernardo Fonseca Lobo in the streams of the Tejuco in 1729, who reported them to the Government. Two years later it was ordered that the diamond fields should be put up for contract. The diamonds of over 20 carats were exclusively adjudicated to the Crown. The Brazils, which teemed with these natural riches, increased its commerce in an enormous manner. The value of sugar which it alone produced was computed in over 6,000,000 cruzados. The contract for tobacco rendered to the Crown of Portugal 2,200,000 cruzados; to this was added the *Courania*, or Brazilian bark, the contract for whales, the annual product from the mines, and we may form some idea of the value of the productions of that colony. Furthermore, there were the revenues accruing from the tithes and dues on coinage and salt and liquor, the taxes on the slaves brought from Africa, and the 10 per cent. dues of the Custom House.

At that time the State of Brazils had been already raised to a Vice-royalty, a charge held in 1713 by D. Pedro Antonio de Noronha de Albuquerque e Sousa, second Count de Villa Verde, and first Marquis d'Angeja.

Other industries besides the above-mentioned, and of some importance, were likewise arising, such as pepper and cinnamon, and subsequently saltpetre, although the latter did not give the results expected. The colonisation of the various provinces was gradually expanding. Through the influence of Alexandre de Gusman it was resolved upon to populate the island of Santa Catherina with natives of the island of Madeira. The Brigadier José da Silva Peres had already colonised the Rio Grande de S. Pedro. The population was increasing, and the captaincies augmented. Five had newly arisen—viz., Minas

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catherina, Goyaz, and Cuiabá, or Matto Grosso. By their side were five prelacies, having three categories * of bishoprics—Para, S. Paulo, and Marianna. Such was the prosperity of this colony wasted by the King of Portugal in childish fancies.

The author of "Estudos Historicos e Archeologicos," when treating on the quantity of gold extracted from the mines of Brazils, follows on this point the calculations made by the Baron of Eschwege, published in the work entitled "Pluto Brasiliensis."

"The amount of gold extracted from the Province of Minas Geraes from the year 1700 to 1820 is computed at 35,687 arrobas. The quantity drawn from the Province of Goyaz from 1720 to 1730 amounted to 9,212 arrobas. From the mines of Matto Grosso, from 1721 to 1820, rises over 3,107 arrobas; and from the Province of St. Paulo, from 1700 to 1820, ascends to 4,650 arrobas. To this enormous quantity may be added the great one lost to computation through contraband, confiscation, and other losses. The calculation above made was ruled solely by the value of the tax paid on gold to the Crown, which tax amounted to a sum of close upon 162 million cruzados. Nearly a third of this sum was spent on the enormous work of the erection of the Convent of Mafra; another sum, larger still, was sent to Rome in order to purchase the honour of making Lisbon a patriarchal see; and a small sum was apportioned to the repairing of the ruins caused by the earthquake of 1755; and it was only in quite recent times that the rest was expended in defraying the expenses of the State."

Sr. Vilhena Barbosa, adding some further accounts in corroboration of those tendered by the Baron of Eschwege, says: "From the commencement of the colonisation of the Brazils the Portuguese merchant ships which approached its ports, and likewise on their return, made the voyages in large fleets convoyed by war ships on account of the corsairs of the Barbary powers that infested the coasts of Portugal. The Tagus was the centre of reunion, to which all ships from various parts of the kingdom came to and awaited the moment of departure. From the bar of Lisbon there sailed every year a numerous fleet, which returned the subsequent year loaded with riches. The greatest import-

* See "Historia Geral do Brazil," by F. A. de Varnhagem, quoted by Sorriano in the "Historia da Guerra civil em Portugal," Second Epoch, tom. i., p. 548, and fol.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ation of gold from the Brazils into Portugal took place about the middle of the reign of D. João V. To this was added the prodigious quantity of diamonds sent into Portugal from the Brazils, and which were from thence exported to all the European States."

When diamonds over 20 carats were found and shown by slaves, these were freed on paying a certain sum to their owners. In view of the statistics of the time, it is a subject of regret that the reins of government should have fallen into the hands of a sovereign who so foolishly spent the wealth laid at his feet.

Among the many events which prove the frivolity of his spirit was the projected pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loretto. Some warnings of ill-health induced him to make pious vows. Without heeding the labour and State embarrassments he would bring on the country by his absence, the King desired to go on a devout pilgrimage through the courts of Europe, and for which he had assigned eight million cruzados. He was not moved solely by faith; there was also in this a craving for worldly amusement. The conjunction of opposite qualities which we find in the King are found equally in the people. It is a singular picture that mixture of devotion and barbarism, of penances and sensuality. Religious processions meeting autos de fé; the new Christians serving as spectacles to jesters. Fashion had attained the most senseless limits. In truth, the epoch of D. João V. was characterised by an incomprehensible mixture of elements and events. The most contrary facts are mingled and reversed. It would seem as though D. João V. was bent upon ruining the kingdom by conferring enormous gifts, while loans were effected to cancel the debts of the Three States, and at the same time 100,000 cruzados were being sent to the widowed Queen of Spain, because the Spanish Government did not pay her annuity, and so on.

Let us glance at the political life in relation to the colonies beyond seas. "In view of Portuguese progress," writes Senhor Simão Soriano, "Spain conceived serious apprehensions in respect to the State of Brazils, and furthermore was anxious to obtain a pacific possession of the colony of Sacramento, and Portugal on her side laboured to secure diplomatically the peace of the conquests obtained, and the two Governments entered into negotiations for assigning and fixing the limits of their respective colonies in South America, in union with a commercial agreement which was under negotiation ever since 1741, but which was once again brought forward after the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748. At length, on 13th January, 1750, the much-desired treaty

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

of limitation was signed in Madrid, the negotiator on the part of Portugal being the Viscount of Villa-Nova de Cerveira, D. Thomaz da Silva Telles, and on the part of Castille the Minister D. José Carbajal y Lencastre, brother of the Duke d'Abrantes. By this treaty Spain ceded to Portugal, in exchange for the colony of Sacramento, the *Sete Povos das Missões* (Seven Towns of the Missions), actually Brazilian. The definition of the limits are unnecessary to state, because unfortunately this treaty had to be annulled a few years later, and the limits of the Brazils were for a long time badly defined."

In this exchange of rights and dominions clamours and censures arose in both Spain and Portugal, and it was principally upon the Jesuit missionaries that the evil consequences of the exchange fell, and these set to kindle ill-will between the two Cabinets. Further on we shall see that the complicity of the Jesuits in the revolutions which occurred drove a herculean minister to crush them out altogether.

In Angola, besides the constant disputes arising among the indigenous tribes, the English and the Dutch were ever molesting the Portuguese with their piracies and exigencies. At this epoch the Governor of the province was D. João Manuel de Noronha. As the English carried their audacity to the point of fortifying themselves with artillery in Caberida, it became necessary to employ force to prevent them from establishing themselves. In Colonial affairs the friendship and good faith of their British ally was proved in equivocal acts. Loanda of the present day comprehends as the possessions of the Portuguese the territories of Congo, Benguella, and Angola. By the convention of 1817 England acknowledged the boundaries of the province of Angola, and admitted the rights of Portugal to the territories of Molembo and Caberida. In 1723 these rights were not defined in such express terms. But Portuguese maritime power was, nevertheless, following a precipitate decadence.

On the Barbary coast the Portuguese soldiers bravely resisted the raids of the Moors, and some of their deeds still reflected the gallant daring of former days. The names of Matheus do Couto Valente, Manuel de Azevedo Coutinho, and Bernardo Perreira de Bernedo are inscribed on the ruined walls of Mazagão with all the splendour of heroic devices. In the East affairs coursed in a similar manner.

It is true that Portuguese swords were not yet idly put aside, and when the natives strove to molest them the ancient forms of the soldiers of Albuquerque seemed to rise up again to instil fresh effort

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and daring. José Pereira de Brito, burning the ships of the Rajah of Kanará, and setting on fire Barcelor, Kalianapor, Molequim, and Mangalor; bearing down upon the enemy with all the swiftness of towering anger and imposing upon them the hardest conditions for peace, and making them feel the whole weight of his iron rule—still comes forth with all the outlines of the ancient warriors. The King of Kanará was forced, after suffering the punishment of his rebellion—which consisted in refusing the proper dues—to pay 30,000 xerafins for the expenses caused to the Portuguese fleet, besides a large quantity of rice and other imposts.

These and other conditions afforded the Portuguese a certain amount of apparent power, and was the result of the energetic spirit of the Viceroy, Vasco Fernandes Cesar. He was succeeded by D. Luiz, Count de Ericeira, who, in 1717, gained a signal victory over the populace, and another no less important one in 1719, won by the admiral Antonio de Figueiredo Utra. The reconquest of Mombaça belongs to the reign of João Saldanha da Gama, the Commander of the fleet being Luiz de Mello de Sampaio, who entered into possession on the 16th of March, 1728. These triumphs, however, were ephemeral.

The power of the Mahrattas was constantly threatening not only the Portuguese, but also all the nations that sought to establish themselves on Indian territory. But some advantage had been gained, because after the victories obtained over Bensulo, the King of Portugal sent as ambassador to the court of Pekin, Alexandre Metello de Sousa e Menezes, in 1728, both parts exchanging most valuable presents; but besides aboriginal resistance was found the rivalry of pretending powers.

In August, 1721, an alliance had been entered into with England respecting the States of Asia, but nevertheless this support was but a weak barrier against the course of events. With the object of somewhat recovering lost ground and prestige, the appointment of Viceroy of India was conferred again upon the Count de Ericeira, who was at the time Marquis do Louviçal, and he obtained some advantages, to which his successor, the Count de Assumar and Marquis of Castello Novo, added others worthy of his great heroism.

The fortress of Pondá, which in the previous reign had been taken, was still in the hands of the enemy, and the Viceroy, desirous of lessening the loss, conquered the village of Alorna, in Pangim, in the year 1746, from which victory he obtained the title of Marquis of that name for himself and his descendants. This form of D. Pedro d'Almeida

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

shines brilliantly in the annals of Portuguese Asiatic history. In it we see the form which, from his grandeur and manliness, is truly imposing. During an epoch of decadence and frivolity, when warlike impulses had been succeeded by courtly effeminacies, and when the balsamic scents of myrrh were more pleasant to the nostrils than the smoke of gunpowder, this individual comes forth on the canvas in salient relief amid the vulgar hordes, with features bearing the impress of former manly epochs.

In the Colony of Mozambique affairs were taking their course. It was due to the Marquis de Louviçal the success of public affairs in that province, and to the attention bestowed on the search of its gold mines.

The Portuguese had known how to conquer without becoming robust. They had followed the epic spirit, but not pursued the commercial line. They gallantly attacked fortifications, but allowed the factories to be crushed and dispersed. For that reason, when other peoples followed the track left by the Portuguese on the waters, they found their possessions dismantled, and their fields run to weeds. Their work was more useful, but less brilliant. The adventurer preceded the merchant. The age of epic deeds ceased to open that of commercial agreements. It was for this second period that fate had not favoured the Portuguese, and, therefore, for that reason they saw one by one the pearls wrenched from the glorious necklace which had adorned Portugal in those prosperous days when she was the Queen of the Seas, and when the sun, kissing her in the East, yet bestowed upon her a last farewell at the sun-setting, and when darkness fell around.

When, by the decree of 28th of July, 1736, three Secretarie of State were created, it was ostentatiously decreed that to the Secretary of Marine and Conquests appertained all despatches respecting the expeditions of armadas and fleets, and the administration of the finances of their arsenals, the filling-in of all military posts of the said navy and its offices; the issuing of passports of the ships leaving, the orders of those entering, and the councils, advices, and all requirements in respect to the above-mentioned matters. Likewise to it appertained the nomination of viceroys, governors, and captain-generals of the States of India, Brazil, Maranhão, the Kingdom of Angola, the Islands of Madeira and the Azores, Cape Verde, and the penal settlements of Africa; also the victualling of all military ports and Offices of Justice and Finance of the above-said conquests, and of all dignities, canonries,

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

parochial, and other benefices of their churches; the affairs of the missions, and all else belonging to the administration of justice, royal finances, commerce, and government of the aforesaid dominions.*

On perusing the ample list of these duties and provisions, the reader naturally looks forward to witness a great movement in all and so important branches of the service, and in spirit seems to hear the sonorous hammering in caverns, and the hewing down of timber to raise masts of towering height, and supposes to listen to providences issued of magisterial and enlightened forethought in all points of public administration. But, on the other hand, when we seek for the proud galleons, we find them broken down and unfit for the combat, and unprepared for retaking any stronghold, and when we look for governative solicitude in matters of economy, we hear naught else but speeches on gold and diamonds, and fulminations against those who should open a path or inlet into any mines over which existed a form of royal taxation, under grave penalties.

But the lugubrious days approached of the end of the reign of a sovereign whose days were fast ebbing away. Before, however, concluding the history of his lengthened reign of forty-four years, in which we have endeavoured to bring forward impartially both his merits and all that was worthy of merit in him, as well as the errors and mischief of his administration, and before stating the fact which especially distinguishes him, and renders him a sympathetic figure; that is to say, the impulse given to letters and sciences, let us see what the industrial arts owe him, and let us linger for a moment with attention upon a circumstance which traces the profile of this monarch.

D. João V. was futile, vain, incoherent in his acts, versatile in his ideas, puerile in his deliberations. Proud of his power, it became absolute, and led him to despotic conclusions. The assemblies of the people ceased, so to say, to exist, and the imposition and collecting of tithes and other taxation was no longer an inalienable prerogative of the people. The King could dispose of the goods of the State with the greatest discretionary independence and liberty. His wish was law. The Articles of the States of the Kingdom which he found in the first Cortes of the Braganza dynasty disappeared during this epoch, and only the decrees and letters patent issued by the King on his own responsibility, and as an indestructible and supreme power, were published, and all former liberty of speech and privileges of his subjects

* See "Collec. Chronol. de Leis Extravag, tom. ii., p 461

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ignored. "Never," says Sr. Latino Coelho, "in any reign was more widely established the fundamental principle of absolute royalty formulated on the celebrated aphorism of the Imperial Jurisconsults, *Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*, than in governments of pure monarchy the law and the will of the ruler."

"Up to D. João V. royalty had rather delayed than abolished the congregation of national assemblies, had not dared to openly profess in theory the doctrine that in the Crown was vested by Divine right all the powers of the sovereignty. The pious founder of the Basilica of Mafra continued, like some of his predecessors of the House of Braganza, to decree impositions, practically defrauding the people of their privileges, and alleging frivolous pretexts for justifying the systematic absence of the Cortes of the nation.

"The representatives of the popular arm could not appeal to the Crown against the invasions of the ecclesiastical power, as they had done in remote times, assisting the ruler in his prolonged strifes with the Church during the Middle Ages. And in memory that resolute national assembly no longer existed, but as a sort of mythical legend, which had dared to raise up a bastard as the defender and King of Portugal. The echoes of the voices, arrogant and daring, which had carried to the scaffold the Secretary of State, Francisco de Lucena, were almost lost in the world of tradition."

In view, therefore, that the people had not a shadow left of an independent political life—the sovereign being who at his sweet will altered or reformed, applying the revenues of the State to his own designs—let us see what this ostentatious King bequeathed his subjects in demonstration of his love for the industrial arts.

Commencing by the paper manufactory of Louzan, we are informed by Sr. Dr. Pereira Forjaz, and confirmed by the actual proprietor of the mills, that during the reign of D. João V., or some time previously, a Genoese had ordered its erection, and for this object he received an important aid from Government on the mortgage of the factory, and a further aid to his benefit in the prohibition of the exportation of rags by decree of 1749. By the death of this foreigner, and neglect of his successors to pay the State the mortgage fees due, it was determined, during the government of the Marquis de Pombal, that the factory should become national property; its administration for the time being was entrusted to wealthy merchants, when soon after, or about that period, the manufactory was put up

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

for sale, the purchasers being bound to keep it always in working order.

It is known that in the year 1716 the Jesuits of the College of Arts, in Coimbra, purchased paper for their press from the Factory of Louzan. D. João V. gave his especial attention to this manufactory, as is amply proved by documents, among them one dated 19th of April, 1749. It appears that Bartholomew Marinelli, as testamentary tutor of the orphans left by the founder of the factory, José Maria Otone, made a representation against the exportation from the kingdom of black and white rags, by which it prevented the fabrication of paper and rendered the factory useless. A decree was then issued, by which it was resolved and ordered that no one of any condition of life or rank should export rags under pain of loss of same and a fine of double their value, one half to be given to the accuser, and the other half to the Hospital of Todos os Santos, if in the city, or to the hospital belonging to the district. In the purchase of the seized rags, if not made by any other paper mill, the said Bartholomew Marinelli be regarded in preference, or whomsoever should hold the factory of Louzan.

This especial concession signified a privilege granted to the successors of Otone, and in doing so, D. João V. favoured this factory above all others in the kingdom.

In respect to the foundation of the factory of Marinha Grande, Senhor Brito Aranha gives us the following particulars:—

"The foundation of this manufactory dates from the previous century, and it is proved by official documents that, previous to the foundations laid by the Englishman, William Stephens, of an establishment which his successor bequeathed to the State, glass and common drinking goblets were in that place already produced, a branch of industry that employed many of the inhabitants; and it was, doubtless owing to that fact and its proximity to the royal pine forests that the project was started of developing that industry. In this the Marquis of Pombal co-operated, when he furthered the creative powers of the nation by making use of many elements of wealth that he found had accumulated, or were rarely employed during the latter years of the reign of D. João V."

Under the influence of the Protectionist ideas of that epoch it was not easy to introduce foreign glass into the kingdom. The provision of the 10th of May, 1734, of the Council of Finance defined the prohibitions. Later on in August, 1749, the privileges awarded to the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

manufacturers of glass were suppressed and foreign glass allowed to enter. And lastly, we find the resolution of 3rd of April, 1750, proroguing the elaboration of glass in the factory of Marinha Grande. Hence these affairs were not treated with absolute disdain. In the subsequent reign William Stephens obtained concessions of high value which enabled him to enlarge his establishment. From the royal treasury were given him 80,000 cruzados as a loan, no limit of time or term for repayment being specified, and he was also allowed, free of duty, coal from England, and permission to have, free of cost, wood from the pine forest of the King.

The silk manufactory of the Rato, founded by Robert Godwin, belongs likewise to this epoch. The productions of this branch of national industry did not, however, attain to that height of perfection demanded by the luxury of the age, which reached the highest limits of extravagance. In vain did the King's pragmatical decrees attempt to restrain the excess in dress apparel, because fashion, that discretionary mistress, overcame all obstacles, and the gold ornaments, capes of ermines, and ribbons of splendid embroideries were flaunted with unabatable despotism.

The King himself, who decreed moderation in dress, was the first to set the example of excessive display. Hence, as a consequence, native textile industry became crushed out by the foreign fabrics which were adopted in preference. This inclination for richness and display in dress of the Portuguese dates from early times, and their predilection for imported goods likewise of long standing. Naturally the Portuguese nation is vain, but this attribute appears general to all the inhabitants of the Spanish Peninsula.

We are approaching the end of this reign, which was for Portugal a cancer covered with gold. The mistakes of the King, stimulated by the flatterers of the Court; the smiling despotism with which the wealth of the State was squandered; the corruption which was brought on under the soft appearance of piety, all things were insensibly leading the nation to the brink of the precipice. The forty-four years of rule held by D. João V. was about to terminate, and history, with her implacable hand, was turning over a new leaf in her eternal book engraved in bronze.

When the month of July, 1750, commenced, the King felt a perceptible weakness of body and spirit. The general prostration of the body which supervened likewise left its mark on the spirit by a taciturn despondency. The whole month was spent in prayers and processions

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

and in rogations, but the disease was gaining ground, dispelling all hope of prolonging life. On the 30th D. João V. was anointed by the Patriarch, and the next day at seven in the evening he yielded up his soul to his Creator. At his bedside were the Queen D. Marianna of Austria, and the Prince heir, and also the Infantes D. Pedro and D. Antonio and the Cardinal Nuno da Cunha e Athaide, and many fidalgos and distinguished persons. After the King expired, the Queen withdrew to her apartments, and the Infantes and personages present in the death-chamber kissed the hand of the new King in sign of their fealty and vassalage. The remains were embalmed and vested in the habit of the Order of Saint Francis, as was the usual pious custom of the time. Over this was laid the mantle of the Military Order of Christ, of which he was the Grand Master, and he was otherwise vested with all the insignias of the Order, and the royal sword buckled to his side. He was laid on a bed richly arrayed, his hand being left exposed, and all the grandees of the kingdom, fidalgos, and ecclesiastics proceeded in procession to kiss that hand stricken in death.

The castle guns discharged their funeral signals, which were repeated every quarter of an hour by the watch-towers and war-ships. On the 2nd of August the remains of the King were placed in a coffin of cypress wood, another of lead, and a third of oak, these being left open until the conclusion of the office for the dead and Mass, which took place in the hall of the Patriarchal Palace contiguous to the cathedral. On the 3rd of August all the religious communities proceeded to the lying-in-state to chaunt the responses for the dead, usual on similar occasions previous to the interment, at which assisted D. José, his brothers the Infantes D. Pedro and D. Antonio, their uncle the Infante D. Manuel, and all the principal nobility.

D. João was sixty-one years of age, and had reigned forty-four years. His children born in wedlock were—the Infante D. Maria Barbara, who became Queen of Spain ; Prince D. Pedro, who died an infant ; D. José, the successor to the throne ; D. Carlos, who died at nineteen ; D. Pedro, who became Grand Prior of Crato, and D. Alexandre, who died a child. He left several illegitimate children, among them the celebrated *Meninos de Palhavan*, who held an important place, and became so well known in popular traditions. These D. João made a special mention of and left them to the care of D. José, who by a decree dated 21st April, 1751, declared that all privileges, honours, and exemptions as befitting royal illegitimate children be granted to them.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

On the 1st of August, 1750, the King D. José sent an official announcement of the death of his father to all justices of the kingdom, aldermen, and representatives of towns, and commanding two years' general mourning. All was ended as regarded the kingship of an individual whose sovereignty had been so mischievous to the country.

On the 2nd of August, 1750, the decree was issued by D. José appointing Sebastian José de Carvalho e Mello Minister of State and of Foreign Affairs and War, in consideration of the valuable services rendered in foreign dominions to his father the late king. The great statesman who was to remodel the institutions was now in power. Portuguese society was about to enter a new period, and the movement which that powerful hand was to effect in the lethargic body of the nation would be in such a manner energetic and decisive that it would be felt throughout Europe.

When the *Academia Real da Historia Portuguesa*, which we mentioned at the commencement of the reign of D. João V., was established, among other decrees for its constitution was one dated 29th of August, 1721, prohibiting the defacement or destruction of medals and ancient monuments. As in the course of the history of his reign it was inopportune to interrupt the narrative, we shall, before concluding this volume, offer our readers some accounts of the literary movements and studies of the period, and which we judged best to reserve to the end. The document referred to may be found in the "Livro das Leis da Chancellaria-Mor," and declares "that the King, having been appealed to by the Director and Censors of the *Real Academia da Historia Portuguesa*, ecclesiastical and secular, respecting the ancient monuments which existed, and those that might still be discovered in the kingdom since the periods of the dominations of the Phœnicians, Greeks, Persians, Romans, Goths, and Arabs, it was found on examination that many buildings, statues, marbles, sepulchres, panels, medals, coins, and other works of art had been destroyed through the ignorance of the people, by which much had been lost for the verification of history and races of venerable antiquity, religious as well as political, and as vestiges which might throw light and knowledge of past ages. That in order to avert the destruction of such monuments, and of others that might be still further discovered to the interest and glory of the Portuguese nation, and to the reputation of ancient Lusitania, he solemnly declared that from that date any person of whatsoever con-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

dition, rank, or state of life, who should deface or totally destroy, or in part, any building of remote times, although such be in ruins, as likewise statues, marbles, and sepulchral slabs, upon which there be engraved or sculptured, or have any lettering in Phœnician, Greek, Roman, Gothic, and Arabic, or any medals and coins and other work up to the time or reign of D. Sebastian, should be punished as false coiners. Furthermore, all discoveries of monuments and so forth should be made known to the Real Academia."

In order to understand how deeply D. João V. had at heart the preservation of ancient monuments, and how energetic his proceeding against the delinquents, it is sufficient to state that the penalties incurred for defacing coinage was ten years' transportation to Africa and the loss of half the property possessed by the culprit, one half of which was to go to the Camara and the other half to the accusers.

The *Academia Real da Historia Portuguesa* had as its nucleus the Academia Portuguesa, formed in the library of the Count de Ericeira, all its members being named academicians, because, according to the expressed terms, "the former election justified the worth of the present."

Meanwhile that in the capital of the kingdom an impulse was given to the studies, although not so wide and fully as might be desired, in other smaller places there was manifested a grateful inclination for them. In Santarem there existed the *Academia dos Laureados*. Prose and poetry were there made the objects of study. The most learned persons of the place attended the Academia, and its sessions became distinguished by its discourses. Setubal had its *Academia Problematica*, while Guimarães also contributed its share to the literary movement.

The *Academia* consisted of fifty members; among them figured such erudite and distinguished men as D. Antonio and D. Manuel Caetano de Sousa, D. José Barbosa, Francisco Leitão Ferreira, Diogo Barbosa Machado, D. Raphael Bluteau, and many others. The *Academia Real da Historia* undoubtedly rendered important services to Portuguese history, not only on account of the critical value of the works published by its members, as by the documents brought to light, and which served to invest with great value the *Memorias do Reinado d'el Rei D. João I.*, written by José Soares da Silva, and the *Provas da Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portugueza* of D. Antonio Caetano de Sousa. Up to the year 1734, through the influence of the Academia, the publication of the following valuable works had taken place :—

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

As Antiguedades de Braga, in Latin and in Portuguese, and the *Memorias ecclesiasticas e Geographia antiga de Braga*, by Father D. Jeronymo Contador de Argote.

Memorias ecclesiasticas do Bispado da Guarda, by the Doctor Manuel Pereira da Silva Leal.

Historia de Malta, by Father Lucas de Santa Catharina.

Ordens militares de Portugal, 3 volumes, by Alexandre Ferreira.

Vidas dos Bispos d'Elvas, in Latin, by Fernão Telles da Silva' Marquis de Alegrete.

A part of the *Historia dos Romanos na Lusitania*, by the Marquis de Fronteira.

Disciplina Ecclesiastica, by D. Francisco d'Almeida.

Memorias d'el Rei D. Sebastian, by Diogo Barbosa Machado.

Memorias para a Historia da Universidade de Coimbra, by Francisco Leitão Ferreira.

Catalogo historico das Rainhas de Portugal, by Father José Barbosa.

Various works of Father Raphael Bluteau.

Vida do Infante D. Luiz, by the Count de Vimioso.

Memorias d'el Rei D. Duarte, by Martinho de Mendonca de Pina e Proenza.

Vida do Condestavel Nuno Alvares Pereira, besides hundreds of *Noticias*, panegyrics, orations, critical extracts of rare books, manuscripts and printed matter, documents extracted from archives, explanations of medals, inscriptions, and epitaphs, royal diplomas, statutes, decisions, &c., in relation to the Academia. Many works of the greatest importance to the history of Portugal in its civil, economic, ecclesiastical and literary aspects were published subsequently, as well as the magnificent bibliographical monument, the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, erected by D. B. Machado. In effect, the Academia Real da Historia was one of the most useful creations of the King D. João V., and in this matter we must fain offer our sincere homage to him. Whether through vanity or predilection, he always favoured and appreciated men distinguished in letters, and whether native or foreigners, they ever found in him a steadfast patron.

Science owes to D. João V. the construction of the hall of the library of the University, and of an astronomical observatory in the College of Santo Antão, where Father Carbone used to take his observations. The School of Sculpture of Mafra likewise honours his memory.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Quitting the Continent, we find across the seas the *Academia brazilica dos Esquecidos*, of the *Felizes* and the *Selectos*, the *Renascidos* and the *Scientifica* of Rio do Janeiro.

Among the many foreign scientific or literary men whom D. João V. favoured was the French naturalist, Merveilleux, who, when he arrived in Lisbon, was invited by the King to work in the country and follow his researches, and, moreover, assigned him a good appointment in the Mint, and even asked leave of the French Government to allow Merveilleux to remain in Portugal. Le Quien, of the French Academy, who wrote a history of Portugal in the time of D. Pedro II., received a pension and the investiture of the Order of Christ. The French Consul, Duverger, had in his possession a magnificent collection of pictures, and at his death D. João V. went in person to his house with connoisseurs in arts and selected over forty of the best masters, and a portrait of Louis XIV., belonging to the Abbot of Mornay, and gave for these works a high price. He likewise sent some Portuguese students to Rome where he had established an academy to study the Fine Arts. The Portuguese ambassador at Rome, D. Alexandre de Souza, entrusted the direction of this academy to João Gerardo Derrozi, and had it not been for subsequent events, the results of these ventures would have been most brilliant. In reference to the art of painting, the highest place must be assigned to the illustrious name of Francisco Viera Luzitano. When the Marquis d'Abrantes was sent as ambassador to Rome, he took with him this youthful artist, who had Trivisani for his master. One of the first manifestations of his exalted talents was the painting, undertaken at the request of the Conde das Galvêas, of the Fable of Perseus. On his return to Lisbon he was received with signal distinction by the King, and various works were given him to execute. On him was conferred, among other favours, the knighthood of the Order of Santiago. His paintings were numerous, many of which were destroyed by the earthquake of 1755, and among them his celebrated one of the taking of Lisbon from the Moors. This famous artist died in 1783, full of years and renown, as we are told by José da Cunha Taborda in his work entitled "Memoria dos mais famosos Pintores Portuguezes," and his body rests in the church of S. Francisco de Xabregas.

Among poets flourished D. Francisco Xavier de Menezes, fourth Count de Ericeira, and Director of the Real Academia. His heroic poem *Henriqueida* has, more than all his other works, perpetuated his

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

name. He was very erudite, and some say he was the first poet of Portugal during the eighteenth century. To this reign belongs also Francisco Botelho de Moraes e Vasconcellos, author of the poem entitled *Affonso*, which merited for him from the King the Order of S. Pedro de Folgosinho and a pension. He was a native of the Torre de Moncorvo, and died in Salamanca in 1747.

Although a Brazilian by origin, we must mention the name of Antonio José da Silva, the Jew. His end was sufficiently notorious and needs no further description. A victim to the Holy Office, he expired at the stake on the 19th of October, 1739. The original process of this unfortunate victim is to be found in the national archives of the Torre do Tombo. There exist, among other writings, his works entitled "Precipicious de Phaetonte," "Guerras de Alecrim e Mangerona," and "Esopaida e Labyrnto de Creta." Unfortunately fanatical intolerance burnt at the stake this man, who, among national comic writers, holds a most distinguished place. It is a subject of regret that his *Theatro* is not better known and made use of, because in it is found much local colour, much Portuguese feeling, great propriety in style and wit; and it would be unnecessary to beg, so to say, at foreign doors for what in the kingdom the natives would find ample to suit their requirements and taste. It is for this reason that the restorer of Portuguese scenes writes as follows :—

"The drama is a literature new to us, or lost, which is the same. In truth, it is new, because the first cultivators only sowed a few seeds on raw soil which vegetated in the shade, badly nourished in body and sap. Few saw them in their living state, and when they died no one heeded their death; there only remained a vague memory of a little seed that had been lost, and nothing more. Nevertheless, this small yearning for what had been lost tormented the nation and her poets, and to deceive them, they illuded themselves by seeking cuttings of foreign trees grown in other soils, accustomed to other treatments, and planted them in our land. The soil is a good one, and yields all it can; the branch seemed to have taken root: but no, it was a plant that only would yield luxuriantly on its native soil, a few flowers opened their petals, a few autumnal fruits hung on the branch, and then all became dried up. In this parable is enclosed the whole history of our poor theatre."*

A notable name of this epoch is Father Bartholomew Lourenço de

* See Garrett—"Catão"—the author's preface to the third edition.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Gusmão, brother of the eminent statesman Lourenço de Gusmão. To him is due the first aerial or aerostatic machine. The priority of invention arrogated to themselves by the French has been long ago refuted, and has not the smallest foundation. When the brothers Montgolfier presented in Annonay, in 1783, their prodigious invention, and when the States-General and an immense concourse of people marvelled to see that balloon rising in the air, seventy-four years previously in the Court Yard of the India House, the celebrated aeronaut had raised his strange *passarola*, as the people continued to call his machine.

Theofile Gautier, in his book, "Les Grotesques," when speaking of the poet Cyrane de Bergerac, says that the "Voyage to the Moon" and the "Comic History of the Imperial States of China" not only were the sketches from whence Fontenelle drew his "Worlds," Voltaire his "Micromegas," and Swift his "Gulliver," but it was likewise the probable starting-point from whence Montgolfier drew the creation of his balloons. Among other means for voyaging to the moon and the sun Cyrane says as follows: "Fill an empty and delicate globe with a portion of light air, and a smoke less heavy than the atmosphere." Cyrane flourished at the commencement of the seventeenth century; but it is most improbable that Father Gusmão could have had any knowledge of this obscure poet of Perigord. This, however, could not be the case as regarded the brothers Montgolfier. The experiment took place in presence of the King and the Court, and an event of this kind must have caused some stir in the scientific world. Moreover, the press made known the result, and some time subsequently a pamphlet was published entitled 'Descripção do novo invento aerostatico,' and another in 1774 by Simão Thadeu Ferreira."

Nevertheless, Bartholomew de Gusmão was unable to apply himself to perfecting his work. The people, ignoring physical theories, refused to see anything but the intervention of the diabolical powers of the Evil One, and this good father's life was at stake as an agent paid by the enemy. In the history of aerostatics, however, his name claims a place as the one who first had the prescience of the possibility of so natural but perilous an undertaking.

The establishment of the *Academia Cirurgica Prototypo-Lusitanica Portuense*, whose statutes were approved of by Royal prescription on September 5, 1748. As regards medicine, some efforts were initiated, but from the beginning unsuccessfully. In many other branches of

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

human knowledge D. João V. sought to leave traces of his footprints. Mathematics owe him an extreme cultus. Not only did he send for all instruments necessary for the practice of this science, but he also attracted to the kingdom all who were distinguished in that science. It suffices to mention the names of the Fathers Francisco Musarra, Domingos Capace, and João Baptista Carbonne.

The decree of 24th December, 1732, informs us that military academies were created in Almeida and Elvas; that examinations were established for engineers and their companies, and that civil measurers were also examined in geometry.

The King D. João V., wishing that the Portuguese should apply themselves to the science of fortifications, a science indispensable for the defence of the kingdom, established two academies besides the one in the capital, and in the stronghold of Vianna do Minho. The officers and soldiers who followed the course of the academies should be favoured for their advancement in the Council of War in accordance to the progress they might make. The examination for all posts up to Lieutenant-Colonel would be made by the Engineer-in-Chief of the kingdom, in presence of the Ministers of the Council of War and Junta of the three States.

Manuel de Azevedo Fortes was one of those who held a high place in these efforts at improvements. In view of the low state in which studies of this order had fallen, he proposed that in all the principal strongholds of the provinces where regiments of infantry and artillery should be quartered, military academies be established, wherein engineers be bound to read, who, after the aforesaid reforms, had been adjudicated capable. In these academies the science of fortifications, attack and defence of strongholds, castrametation, strategy, artillery practice, and other military work would be taught. Resort to these studies to be afforded not only to soldiers and others reading for appointments in military engineering works, but likewise to the qualified soldiers and garrison officers on days when not on guard. With the object of encouraging study, rewards would be awarded to those who manifested the greatest aptitude for engineering work, and these be preferred to fill posts of any importance. The most hopeful candidates to be sent, during times of peace, to foreign nations to serve when these should be at war, and lastly he proposed that a regulation of duties and statutes be elaborated of engineering work for its benefit.

For the instruction and teaching of military science the works were

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

adopted of Luiz Serrão Pimentel, entitled "Methodo Lusitanico" and "Fortificação Moderna," and the "Engenheiro Portuguez."

It was in 1729 that the powder manufactory of Barcasena, under the direction of Antonio Cremer, was commenced.

In view of the aforesaid we cannot in truth allege that D. João V. was indifferent to the pursuits of study. It might, as has been put forward by some historians, be vanity in him to do so, but it was a profitable vanity. The *Academia Real de Marinha* created in later times, if it afforded a fresh impulse to the studies, and brought out some works of acknowledged utility, did not, however, destroy the worth and merit of the *Academia de Fortificação*.

A writer of authority in such matters tells us "that in epochs when scientific knowledge was small and less general in the Portuguese army, there were nevertheless not such a deficiency of good military books according to the requirements of the time as there is at the present day. From the second half of the last century when they commenced to constitute public forces with a greater degree of regularity, some military writers brought out various works of instruction in the art of warfare." *

After noting other works, the illustrious engineer and academician quotes the treaty of Azevedo Fortes, which he calls a classical work. From this military writer there is also the "Logica nacional, geometrica e analytica," printed in the year 1744.

As a last trait of the character of D. João V. we must mention his solicitude for the *Academia dos Arcades*, in Rome, of which he was patron, and one of its members, under the title of Pastor Albano, a title which "properly belonged to him, on account of the prudent and wise rule he exercised over his people, which is the flock that the King pastures in the temporal," as one of the eulogiers of D. João V. tells us. For the better accommodation of the students he purchased the land upon which was constructed the *Arcadia*, and over its doors the following inscription was engraved:—

"Joan V. Lusitaniæ Regi, Pio, Felice, Invicto, quod Parrhusii nemoris stabilitati munificentissime prospexerit, cœtus Arcadum universus posuit. Andrea de Mello de Castro, comite de Galvéas, Regio oratore, anno salutis MDCCXVI."

In conclusion, we must mention the *Academia do Nuncio*, established by Monseigneur Firrão, when he came to Portugal, bringing the torches

* "Elementos da Arte Militar." Criticism of J. M. Latino-Coelho on the above work by D. Luiz da Camara Leme.

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

sent by his Holiness to the newly-born prince, who subsequently became D. José. The solemn inauguration took place on the 24th of August, 1715, the opening speeches being delivered by the Count da Ericeira, D. Francisco Xavier de Menezes, and various learned men. The Count de Villar-Maior, afterwards Count de Alegrete, celebrated this academy by an elegant Latin poem, the conferences lasting until 1716, during which the subjects principally discussed were religious ones, or canonical laws. In these conferences figured the most distinguished men of the time, such as D. João André Tria, Father Gabriel Coutinho, of the Cistercian Order, and professor in theology of the University of Coimbra, and Father Miguel de Santa Maria, of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine.

As regards the Count of Ericeira, who was the soul of these conferences, says D. José Barbosa, when to him was assigned the history of the Universal Councils, he discoursed on this matter with such lofty genius that the greatest professors of the sacred sciences were in admiration at such profound erudition in a person of so different a profession.

In effect, despite the goodwill of D. João V., and the wish he had of gathering around him a court as brilliant as that which surrounded Louis XIV., he could not succeed in raising literature from the low state he found it. This was due to the narrow spirit of the age and the disastrous imitation of his great model, Louis XIV., who as he favoured arts and sciences as objects of luxury, he likewise followed him by sending to Italy for musicians, and introduced operas into Portugal, while at the same time he expelled, among others, the great Jacob Rodrigues Pereira, the inventor of the method for teaching the deaf-mutes, he who raised those afflicted ones from the depth of ignorance in which nature had cast them; and while France erects statues to this great lover of humanity, Portugal ignores the name of its illustrious son, who so greatly honoured her, yet was so unreasonably expelled from his native land.

Agriculture was in a miserable condition. It would have been a difficult matter, even had Portugal possessed a more intelligent and more skilful government than that of D. João V. to protect and develop it, when the mines of Brazils were attracting multitudes, in the same manner as a century later the mines of California drew suddenly to that part of America an immense crowd of adventurers of all nations. Some idea may be formed of the Portuguese emigration towards the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Brazils when this Californian land on the South of America, the royal Eldorado, was by law forbidden ground to foreigners.

Hence agriculture declined to such an extent that corn and even oil were sent for to other countries, and wine growth alone was cultivated in the agricultural districts. This evil vividly impressed later on the Marquis de Pombal as it had done Alexandre de Gusmão, and suggested a similar idea to both statesmen—that of ordering many vineyards to be destroyed in order to sow corn. This certainly was not the best means to resort to, according to the dictates of sound political economy, but reveals the agricultural state of the country, because it was only grape-growing provinces that showed any degree of prosperity, and in the Alemtejo and other parts where vineyards were not cultivated, they were simply barren tracts of waste land.

Commerce, as may be imagined, was at a very low ebb, consequent upon the decay of agriculture and industry which more especially nourished it. In the same manner as in the epoch of conquests the commerce of India was the sole occupation of the Portuguese, so also in the eighteenth century the attention of the subjects of D. João V. was solely directed towards the colonisation of the Brazils.

The government of D. João V., without being enlightened nor truly energetic, was, for the misfortune of Portugal, the most despotic of all that had hitherto ruled the destinies of that kingdom. A notable fact in the legislation of D. João V. was that whereas he was the sovereign who more greatly developed luxury and vanity, and who afforded the greatest examples of prodigality and pomp, he was the one sovereign who issued the largest number of decrees and laws against luxury. Two pragmatics were decreed by him which very greatly affected industry, and did not prevent the development of the vain display that was ruining all classes and were manifest proofs of the general corruption of the kingdom. Whatever may be said of the reign of D. João V., it is certain that it was the origin of the irremediable downfall of Portugal. When the extraordinary and enormous revenues accruing from the gold mines of Brazils were unable to sow the seeds of prosperity on the nation's soil, the fruits of which we ought to be gathering in our day; when this colossal capital was all cast to the winds, how can it be expected that the people should rise up when all the elements to do so are wanting? Providence had given to D. João V. the posses-

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

sion of the golden dream of modern statesmen, a condescending banker who issued loans without claiming a bond. He did not profit from this boon; he left Portugal in a worse state than he had found her; and to this sepulchre, teeming with rottenness within, he merely whitened its walls. If in those days of hope the philosopher's stone was not found in the proud ships that flaunted the royal ensign, we doubt very much that it should exist at the present day in the bonds and coupons of the banking houses of Paris and London.

Had not the repairing genius and rule of the Marquis de Pombal succeeded this sad reign of forty-four years which had so deeply stained the face of the monarchy restored by the glorious revolution of 1640, the Portuguese would have irretrievably descended into the pools of opprobrium to find the manacles of captivity.

Portugal, which might have been raised to the loftiest pinnacle of greatness had the sovereign so willed, finds herself in full right to claim an examination of accounts for his ephemeral prodigalities; of so many seeds of power and germs of brilliant flowers which had been smothered and crushed by the hand of a most destructive democracy; but at the same time it must, on the other hand, acknowledge that there is one side wherein the shadow is less dense.

Far from us be the idea of those who wish to tune by the diapason of modern economic ideas the manner of thinking of long past ages. Even in our days the most fervent apostles of the liberal creed diverge in principle, as to the practical application of this science, which is still a modern one.

If in subsequent epochs facts are laid before us which on this point awaken but small sympathy, it is not very strange that the reign of D. João V. should be found completely deficient of those providencies which afford a just value to creative minds. The "Wealth of Nations" of Adam Smith had scarcely been perused by the school of modern economists. The great event of the epoch was the literary movement and the changes effected and carried out in the studies The congregation or oratorians of Saint Philip Neri, by sequestrating the power of the Jesuits, levelled the first blow for the ultimate secularisation of the studies.

Those deep, skilled minds that had known how to grasp all the reins of social government, and who ruled supreme alone by the force of their intelligence and astuteness, were now to be spectators to the

Digitized by Google Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

crumbling down of their work, so colossal and so deeply laid in its foundation. The controversy which ensued flashed up and became a conflagration which illumined the horizon far and wide, and as a consequence, induced a decision which was not long delayed, because in the councils of the Crown there had arisen up one of the first statesmen of Europe.

END OF TWELFTH BOOK AND OF VOL III.

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google
Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

A FINE IS INCURRED IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW.

OCT 1 '74 H

455 9615

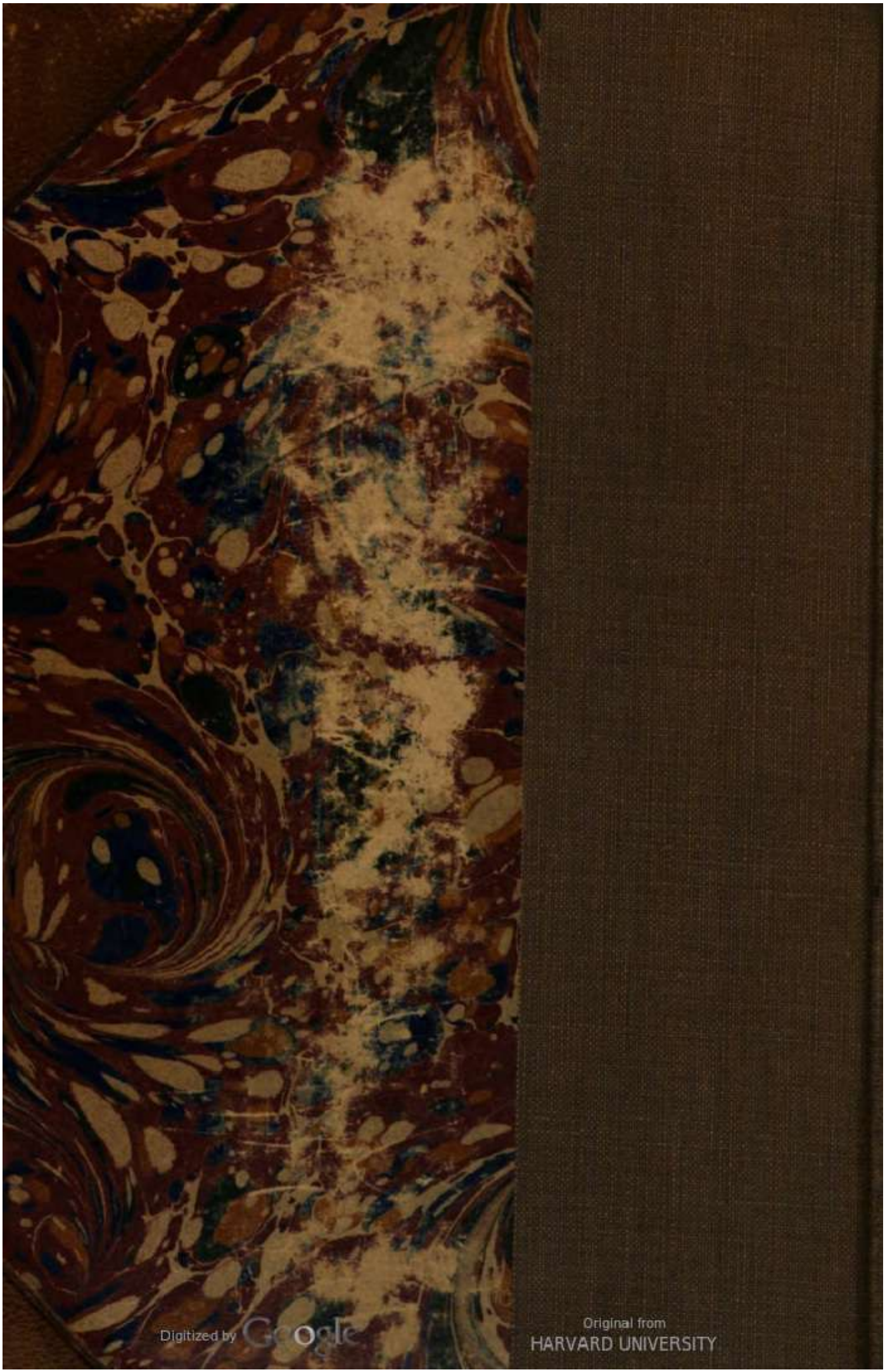
JUL 18 1974

8 '48

62 H

Digitized by Google

Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY


Digitized by Google
Original from
HARVARD UNIVERSITY